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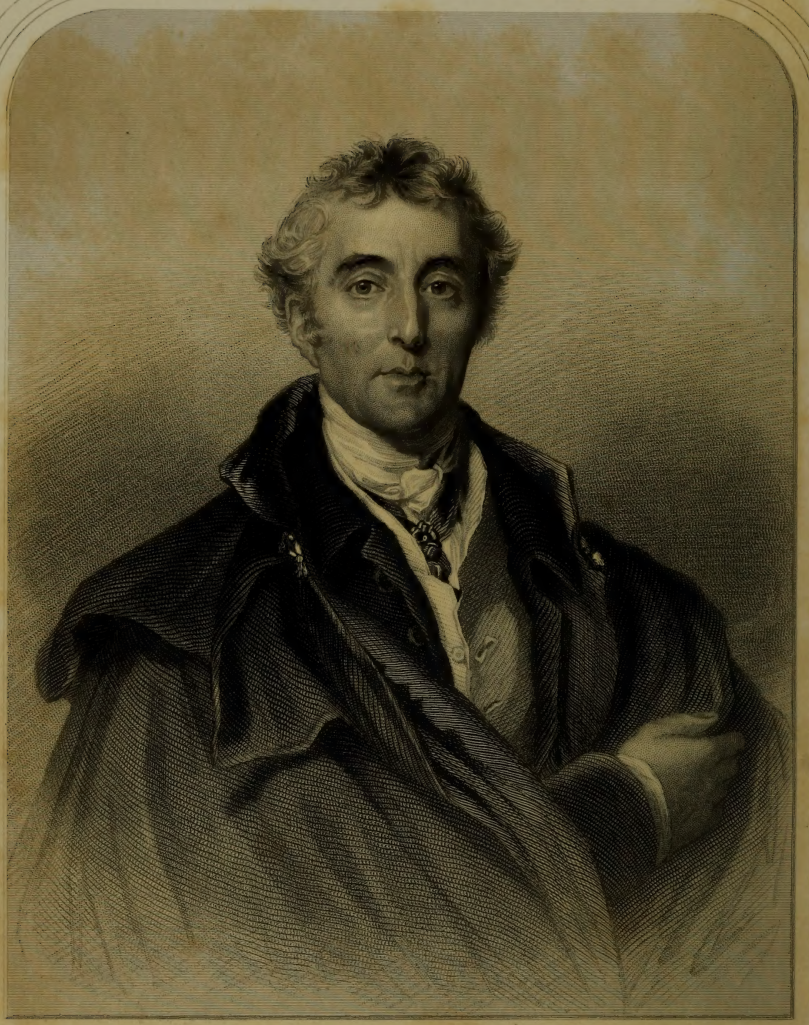

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BY M. DE BOURRIENNE

WITH NOTES & NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

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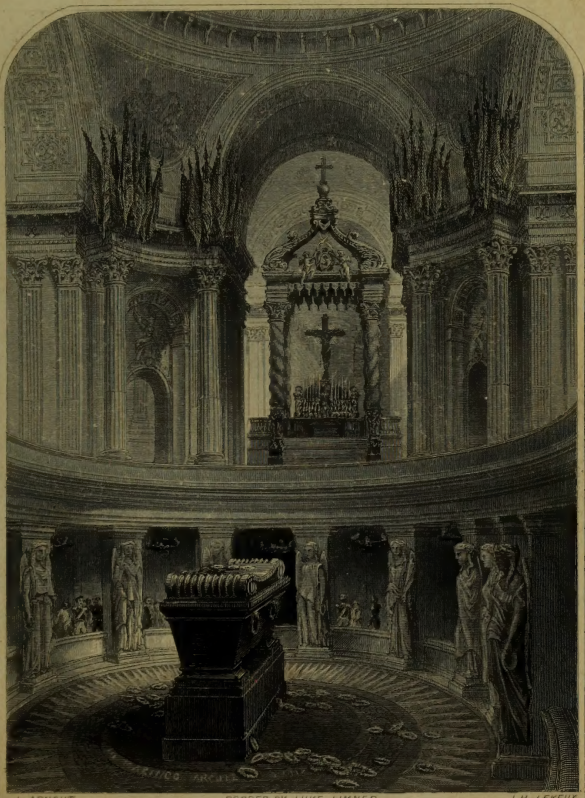

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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Louis Antoine Fauvelet

BY M. DE BOURRIENNE,

HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY.

WITH A CONTINUATION,

EMBRACING AN ACCOUNT OF THE HUNDRED DAYS, AND OF HIS RESIDENCE AND DEATH AT ST. HELENA.

AND MANY

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES AND ANECDOTES,

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MEMOIRS

OF

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

CHAPTER I.

1806—1807.

New system of war—Winter quarters—The emperor's proclamation—Necessity of marching to meet the Russians—Distress in the Hanse Towns—Order for fifty thousand cloaks—Seizure of Russian corn and timber—Murat's entrance into Warsaw—Re-establishment of Poland—Duroc's accident—M. de Talleyrand's carriage stopped by the mud—Napoleon's power of rousing the spirit of his troops—His mode of dictating—The Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin—His visits to Hamburg—The Duke of Weimar—His letter and present—Journey of the hereditary Prince of Denmark to Paris—Butler, the English spy—Travelling clerks—Louis Bonaparte and the Berlin decree.

Bonaparte was not only beyond all comparison the greatest captain of modern times, but he may be said to have wrought a complete change in the art of war. Before his time, the most able generals regulated the fighting season by the almanack. It was customary in Europe to brave the cannon's mouth only from the first five days of spring, to the last five days of autumn; and the months of rain, snow, and frost, were passed in what were called winter quarters. Pichegru, in Holland, had set the example of indifference to temperature. At Austerlitz, too, Bonaparte had braved the severity of winter: this answered his purpose well, and he adopted the same course in 1806. His military genius and activity seemed to increase, and, proud of his troops, he determined to commence a winter campaign in a climate more rigorous than any in which he had yet fought. The men, chained to his destiny, were now required to brave the northern blast, as they had formerly braved the vertical sun of Egypt. Napoleon, who, above all generals, was remarkable for the choice of his fields of battle, did not wish to wait tran-

quilly until the Russian army, which was advancing towards Germany, should come to measure its strength with him in the plains of conquered Prussia; he resolved to march to meet it, and to reach it before it should cross the Vistula: but before he left Berlin to explore, as a conqueror, Poland and the confines of Russia, he addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he stated all that had hitherto been achieved by the French army, and at the same time announced his future intentions. It was especially advisable that he should march forward; for, had he waited until the Russians had passed the Vistula, there could, probably, have been no winter campaign, and he would have been obliged either to take up miserable winter quarters between the Vistula and the Oder, or to recross the Oder to combat the enemy in Prussia. His military genius and indefatigable activity served him admirably on this occasion, and the proclamation just alluded to, which was dated from Berlin before his departure from Charlottenburg, proves that he did not act fortuitously, as he frequently did, but that his calculations were well made.*

A rapid and immense impulse given to great masses of men by the will of a single individual, may produce transient lustre, and dazzle the eyes of the multitude; but when, at a distance from the theatre of glory, we see only the melancholy results which have been produced, the genius of conquest can only be regarded as the genius of destruction. What a sad picture was often presented to my eyes! I was continually doomed to hear complaints of the general distress, and to execute orders which augmented the immense sacrifices already made by the city of Hamburg. Thus for example, the emperor desired me to furnish him with fifty thousand cloaks, which I immediately did. I felt the importance of such an order at the approach of winter, and in a climate the rigour of which our troops had not yet encountered. I also received orders to seize at Lubeck (which town, as I have already stated, had been alternately taken and retaken by Blucher and Bernadotte), four hundred thousand lasts of corn, and to send them to Magdeburg. This corn belonged to Russia. Marshal Mortier, too, had seized some timber for building, which also belonged to Russia, and which was estimated at fourteen hundred thousand francs.

Meanwhile our troops continued to advance with such rapidity, that before the end of November Murat arrived at Warsaw, at the head of the advanced guard of the grand army, of which he had the command. The emperor's head-quarters were then at Posen, and he received deputations from all parts soliciting

* Before leaving the capital of Prussia, Bonaparte insulted the remains of Frederic the Great, and stole from his monument his sword and military orders. He also plundered the galleries of Berlin and Potsdam of their best pictures and statues, thus continuing the iniquitous system he had begun in Italy. All these things he sent on to Paris as trophies of victory and glory.—*Editor.*

the re-establishment and independence of the kingdom of Poland. Rapp informed me, that after receiving the deputation from Warsaw, the emperor said to him, "I love the Poles; their enthusiastic character pleases me; I should like to make them independent, but that is a difficult matter. Austria, Russia, and Prussia, have all had a slice of the cake; when the match is once kindled, who knows where the conflagration may stop: my first duty is towards France, which I must not sacrifice to Poland—we must refer this matter to the sovereign of all things—time: he will presently show us what we must do." Had Sulkowsky lived, Napoleon might have recollected what he had said to him in Egypt, and in all probability he would have raised up a power, the dismemberment of which, towards the close of the last century, began to break that sort of political equilibrium which had subsisted in Europe since the peace of Westphalia.

It was at the head-quarters at Posen, that Duroc rejoined the emperor after his mission to the King of Prussia. His carriage overturned on the way, and he had the misfortune to break his collar-bone. All the letters I received were nothing but a succession of complaints on the bad state of the roads. Our troops were absolutely fighting in mud, and it was with extreme difficulty that the artillery and forges of the army could be moved along. M. de Talleyrand had been summoned to head-quarters by the emperor, in the expectation of treating for peace, and I was informed that his carriage stuck in the mud, and he was detained on his journey for twelve hours. A soldier having asked one of the persons in M. de Talleyrand's suite, who the traveller was, was informed that he was the minister for foreign affairs: "Ah! bah!" said the soldier, "Why does he come with his diplomacy to such a devil of a country as this?"

The emperor entered Warsaw on the 1st of January, 1807. Most of the reports which he had received previous to his entrance, had concurred in describing the dissatisfaction of the troops, who, for some time, had had to contend with bad roads, bad weather, and all sorts of privations. Bonaparte said to the generals, who informed him that the enthusiasm of his troops had been succeeded by dejection and discontent, "Does their spirit fail them when they come in sight of the enemy?"—"No, Sire."—"I knew it; my troops are always the same." Then turning to Rapp, he said, "I must rouse them;" and he dictated the following proclamation:

SOLDIERS,

It is a year this very hour since you were on the field of Austerlitz, where the Russian battalions fled in disorder, or surrendered up their arms to their conquerors. Next day proposals of peace were talked of; but they were deceptive. No sooner had the Russians escaped by, perhaps, blameable generosity, from the disasters of the third coalition, than they contrived a fourth. But the ally on whose tactics

they founded their principal hope was no more. His capital, his fortresses, his magazines, his arsenals, two hundred and eighty flags, and two hundred fieldpieces have fallen into our power. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, and the inclemency of the season, have not for a moment retarded your progress. You have braved all; surmounted all; every obstacle has fled at your approach. The Russians have in vain endeavoured to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagle hovers over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles, on beholding you, fancied they saw the legions of Sobiesky returning from their memorable expedition.

Soldiers, we will not lay down our arms until a general peace has secured the power of our allies, and restored to us our colonies and our freedom of trade. We have gained on the Elbe and the Oder, Pondicherry, our Indian establishments, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. Why should the Russians have the right of opposing destiny and thwarting our just designs? They and we are still the soldiers who fought at Austerlitz.*

When Bonaparte dictated his proclamation—and how many have I not written from his dictation—he was for the moment inspired, and he evinced all the excitement which distinguishes the Italian Improvisatori. To follow him, it was necessary to write with inconceivable rapidity. When I have read over to him what he has dictated, I have often known him to smile triumphantly at the effect which he expected any particular phrase would produce. In general his proclamations turned on three distinct points—praising his soldiers for what they had done, pointing out to them what they had yet to do, and abusing his enemies. The proclamation to which I have just now alluded was circulated profusely through Germany, and it is impossible

* Rapp thus describes the entrance of the French into Warsaw, and adds a few amusing anecdotes connected with that event:

"At length we entered the Polish capital. The King of Naples had preceded us, and had driven the Russians from the city. Napoleon was received with enthusiasm. The Poles thought that the moment of their regeneration had arrived, and that their wishes were fulfilled. It would be difficult to describe the joy thus evinced, and the respect with which they treated us. The French troops, however, were not quite so well pleased; they manifested the greatest repugnance to crossing the Vistula. The idea of want and bad weather had inspired them with the greatest aversion to Poland, and they were inexhaustible in their jokes on the country.

"The French troops used to say that the four following words constituted the whole language of the Poles:—*Kleba? niema; vota? sara.* (Some bread? there is none; some water? we will go and fetch it.) This was all that was to be heard in Poland. Napoleon one day passed by a column of infantry in the neighbourhood of Nasielsk, where the troops were suffering the greatest privations, on account of the mud, which prevented the arrival of provisions. 'Papa, kleba?' exclaimed a soldier. 'Niema,' replied the emperor. The whole column burst into a fit of laughter: they asked for nothing more.

"One evening at the theatre, when the curtain was very late of rising, a grenadier, who was among the spectators, became impatient at the delay. 'Begin!' he called out from the further end of the pit, 'begin directly, or I will not cross the Vistula.'"—*Rapp's Memoirs.* (*Editor.*)

to conceive the effect it produced on the whole army. The corps stationed in the rear burned to pass, by forced marches, the space which still separated them from head-quarters; and those who were nearer the emperor, forgot their fatigues and privations, and were only anxious to encounter the enemy. They frequently could not understand what Napoleon said in these proclamations; but no matter for that: they would have followed him cheerfully barefooted and without provisions. Such was the enthusiasm, or rather the fanaticism, which Napoleon could inspire among his troops, when he thought proper to *rouse* them, as he termed it.

When, on a former occasion, I spoke of the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Schwerin, and his family, I forgot a circumstance respecting my intercourse with him, which now occurs to my memory. When, on his expulsion from his states, after the battle of Jena, he took refuge in Altona, he requested, through the medium of his minister at Hamburg, Count Plessen, that I would give him permission occasionally to visit that city. This permission I granted without hesitation; but the duke observed no precaution in his visits, and I made some observations to him on the subject. I knew the object of his visits. It was a secret connexion in Hamburg; but in consequence of my observations, he removed the lady to Altona, and assured me that he adopted that determination to avoid committing me. He afterwards came very seldom to Hamburg; but as we were on the best understanding with Denmark, I frequently saw his daughter and son-in-law, who used to visit me at a house I had in Holstein, near Altona. There I likewise saw, almost every day, the Duke of Weimar, an excellent old man. I had the advantage of being on such terms of intimacy with him, that my house was in some measure his. He also had lost his states. I was so happy as to contribute to their restitution, for my situation enabled me to exercise some influence on the political indulgences or severities of the government. I entertained a sincere regard for the Duke of Weimar, and I greatly regretted his departure. No sooner had he arrived in Berlin, than he wrote me a letter of thanks, to which he added the present of a diamond, in token of his grateful remembrance of me. The Duke of Mecklenburgh was not so fortunate as the Duke of Weimar, in spite of his alliance with the reigning family of Denmark. He was obliged to remain at Altona until the July following; for his states were restored only by the treaty of Tilsit. As soon as it was known that the emperor had returned to Paris, the duke's son, the hereditary prince, visited me in Hamburg, and asked me whether I thought he could present himself to the emperor, for the purpose of expressing his own and his father's gratitude. He was a very well-educated young man. He set out, accompanied by M. Oertzen and Baron Brandstaten.

Some time afterwards I saw his name in the Moniteur, in one of the lists of presentations to Napoleon, the collection of which, during the empire, might be regarded as a general register of the nobility of Europe.

It is commonly said that we may accustom ourselves to any thing, but to me this remark is subject to an exception; for in spite of the necessity to which I was reduced of employing spies, I never could surmount the disgust I felt at them, especially when I saw men destined to fill a respectable rank in society degrade themselves to that infamous profession. It is impossible to conceive the artifices to which these men resort to gain the confidence of those whom they wish to betray. Of this the following example just now occurs to my mind:

One of those wretches who are employed in certain circumstances, and by all parties, came to offer his services to me. His name was Butler, and he had been sent from England to the continent as a spy upon the French government. He immediately came to me, complained of pretended enemies and unjust treatment. He told me he had the greatest wish to serve the emperor, and that he would make any sacrifice to prove his fidelity. The real motive of his change of party was, as it is with all such men, merely the hope of a higher reward. Most extraordinary were the schemes he adopted to prevent his old employers from suspecting that he was serving new ones. To me he continually repeated how happy he was to be revenged on his enemies in London. He asked me to allow him to go to Paris to be examined by the minister of police. The better to keep up the deception, he requested, that on his arrival in Paris he might be confined in the Temple, and that there might be inserted in the French journals an announcement in the following terms: "John Butler, commonly called Count Butler, has just been arrested and sent to Paris under a good escort, by the French minister at Hamburg." At the expiration of a few weeks, Butler, having received his instructions, set out for London, but by way of precaution, he said it would be well to publish in the journals another announcement, which was as follows: "John Butler, who has been arrested in Hamburg as an English agent, and conveyed to Paris, is ordered to quit France, and the territories occupied by the French armies and their allies, and not to appear there again until the general peace." In England Butler enjoyed the honours of French persecution. He was regarded as a victim who deserved all the confidence of the enemies of France. He furnished Fouché with a considerable deal of information, and he was fortunate enough to escape being hanged. Who indeed would not have been duped by such an imposition? Truly there are some crimes which only those who are guilty of them can suspect!

Notwithstanding the pretended necessity of employing secret

agents, Bonaparte was unwilling that, even under that pretext, too many communications should be established between France and England. Meanwhile Fouché actively directed the evolutions of his secret army. Ever ready to seize on any thing that could give importance to the police, and encourage the suspicions of the emperor, Fouché wrote to me, that the government had received certain information, *that many Frenchmen, travelling for commercial houses in France, were at Manchester purchasing articles of English manufacture. This was true:* but how was it to be prevented. These travelling clerks passed through Holland, where they easily procured a passage to England.

Louis Bonaparte, conceiving that the King of Holland ought not to sacrifice the interests of his new subjects to the wishes of his brother, was at first very lenient as to the disastrous continental system. But at this Napoleon soon manifested his displeasure, and about the end of the year 1806, Louis was reduced to the necessity of ordering the strict observance of the blockade. The facility with which the travellers of French commercial houses passed from Holland to England gave rise to other alarms on the part of the French government. It was said, that since Frenchmen could so easily pass from the continent to Great Britain, the agents of the English cabinet might, by the same means, find their way to the continent. Accordingly, the consuls were directed to keep a watchful eye, not only upon individuals who evidently came from England, but upon those who might by any possibility come from that country. This plan was all very well, but how was it to be put into execution? . . . . The continent was, nevertheless, inundated with articles of English manufacture, for this simple reason, that, however powerful may be the will of a sovereign, it is still less powerful, and less lasting, than the wants of a people. The continental system reminded me of the law created by an ancient legislator, who, for a crime which he conceived could not possibly be committed, condemned the person who should be guilty of it to throw a bull across Mount Taurus.

CHAPTER II.

1807.

Creation of the kingdom of Saxony—Veneration of Germany for the King of Saxony—The emperor's uncertainty respecting Poland—Fêtes and reviews at Warsaw—The French government at the emperor's head-quarters—Ministerial portfolios sent to Warsaw—Military preparations during the month of January—Difference of our situation during the campaigns of Vienna and Prussia—News received and sent—Conduct of the cabinet of Austria similar to that of the cabinet of Berlin—Battle of Eylau—Unjust accusation against Bernadotte—Death of General d'Hautpoult—Te Deum chanted by the Russians—Gardanne's mission to Persia—Abuse of military power—Defence of diplomatic rights—Marshal Brune.

It is not my present design to trace a picture of the state of Europe at the close of 1806. I will merely throw together a few facts which came to my knowledge at the time, and which I find in my correspondence. I have already mentioned that the emperor arrived at Warsaw on the 1st of January. During his stay at Posen, he had, by virtue of a treaty concluded with the Elector of Saxony, founded a new kingdom, and consequently extended his power in Germany, by the annexment of the kingdom of Saxony to the confederation of the Rhine. By the terms of this treaty, Saxony, so justly famed for her cavalry, was to furnish the emperor with a contingent of twenty thousand men and horses.

It was quite a new spectacle to the princes of Germany, all accustomed to old habits of etiquette, to see an upstart sovereign treat them as subjects, and even oblige them to consider themselves as such. Those famous Saxons, who had made Charlemagne tremble, threw themselves on the protection of the emperor; and the alliance of the head of the house of Saxony was not a matter of indifference to Napoleon; for the new king was, on account of his age, his tastes, and his character, more revered than any other German prince.

From the moment of Napoleon's arrival at Warsaw, until the commencement of hostilities against the Russians, he was continually solicited to re-establish the throne of Poland, and to restore its chivalrous independence to the ancient empire of the Jagellons. A person who was at that time in Warsaw told me, that the emperor was in the greatest uncertainty as to what he

should do respecting Poland. He was entreated to re-establish that ancient and heroic kingdom; but he came to no decision, preferring, according to custom, to submit to events that he might appear to command them. At Warsaw, indeed, the emperor passed a great part of his time in fêtes and reviews, which, however, did not prevent him from watching, with his eagle eye, every department of the public service, both interior and exterior.* He himself was in the capital of Poland; but his vast influence was present every where. I heard Duroc say, when we were conversing together about the campaign of Tilsit, that Napoleon's activity and intelligence were never more conspicuously developed.

One very remarkable feature of the imperial wars was, that with the exception of the interior police, of which Fouché was the soul, the whole government of France was at the head-quarters of the emperor. At Warsaw, Napoleon's attention was not only occupied with the affairs of his army, but he directed the whole machinery of the French government just the same as if he had been in Paris. Daily estafettes, and frequently the useless auditors of the council of state, brought him reports more or less correct, and curious disclosures, which were frequently the invention of the police. The portfolios of the ministers arrived every week, with the exception of those of the minister for foreign affairs, and the minister of the war department; the former had first stopped at Mentz with the empress, but had been called on to Warsaw; and the latter, Clarke, was, for the misfortune of Berlin, governor of that city. This state of things lasted during the ten months of the emperor's absence from Paris. Louis XIV. said, "I am myself the State." Napoleon did not say this; but, in fact, under his reign the government of France was always at his head-quarters. This

* "Our halt at Warsaw was delightful. With the exception of theatres, the city presented all the gaieties of Paris. Twice a week the emperor gave a concert; after which a court was held, which led again to numerous meetings in private parties. On these occasions, the personal beauty and graceful manners of the Polish ladies were conspicuous. It may truly be said that they excited the jealousy of the most charming women of other nations. With the most polished elegance they combine a fund of information, which is not usually found even among Frenchwomen; and they are very superior to the generality of females bred in cities, to whom habit renders company almost a necessary of life. The Polish ladies of rank always pass one half of the year in the country, where probably they apply themselves to reading and the cultivation of their minds; and they return to spend the winter-season in the capital, graced with those talents and accomplishments which render them so peculiarly attractive.

"The emperor and all the French officers paid their tribute of admiration to the charms of the fair Poles. There was one whose powerful fascinations made a deep impression on the emperor's heart. He conceived an ardent affection for her, which she cordially returned. She received with pride the homage of a conquest which was the consummation of her happiness. It is needless to name her, when I observe that her attachment remained unshaken amidst every danger, and that, at the period of Napoleon's reverses, she continued his faithful friend."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

circumstance had wellnigh proved fatal to him, on the occasion of the extraordinary conspiracy of Mallet, with some points of which I alone, perhaps, am thoroughly acquainted. The emperor employed the month of January in military preparations for the approaching attack of the Russians, but at the same time he did not neglect the business of the cabinet: with him nothing was suffered to linger in the rear.

While Napoleon was at Warsaw, a battle was not the only thing to be thought about; affairs were much more complicated than during the campaign of Vienna. It was necessary, on the one hand, to observe Prussia, which was occupied; and on the other, to anticipate the Russians, whose movements indicated that they were inclined to strike the first blow. In the preceding campaign, Austria, before the taking of Vienna, was engaged alone. The case was different now: Austria had had only soldiers; and Prussia, as Blucher declared to me, was beginning to have citizens. There was no difficulty in returning from Vienna, but a great deal in returning from Warsaw, in case of failure, notwithstanding the creation of the kingdom of Saxony, and the provisional government given to Prussia, and to the other states of Germany which we had conquered. None of these considerations escaped the penetration of Napoleon: nothing was omitted in the notes, letters, and official correspondence which came to me from all quarters. Receiving, as I did, accurate information from my own correspondents of all that was passing in Germany, it often happened that I transmitted to the government the same news which it transmitted to me, not supposing that I previously knew it. Thus, for example, I thought I was apprizing the government of the arming of Austria, of which I received information from headquarters a few days after.

During the Prussian campaign, Austria played precisely the game which Prussia had played during the campaign of Austria. There was indecision on the one part, and indecision on the other. As Prussia had, before the battle of Austerlitz, awaited the success or defeat of the French, to decide whether she should remain neutral, or declare herself against France; so Austria, doubtless supposing that Russia would be more fortunate as the ally of Prussia, than she had been as *her* ally, assembled a corps of forty thousand men in Bohemia. That corps was called an army of observation; but the nature of these armies of observation is well known; they belong to the class of armed neutralities, like the ingenious invention of sanitary cordons. The fact is, that the forty thousand men assembled in Bohemia were destined to aid and assist the Russians in case they should be successful: and what reasonable man can blame the Austrian government for wishing for a vengeance which should wash away the shame of the treaty of Presburg. Napoleon had not a moment to lose, but his activity required no

spur: he had hastened the battle of Austerlitz to anticipate Prussia, and he now found it necessary to anticipate Russia, in order to keep Austria in a state of indecision.

The emperor, therefore, left Warsaw about the end of January, and immediately gave orders for engaging the Russian army in the beginning of February; but, in spite of his desire of commencing the attack, he was anticipated. On the 8th of February, at seven in the morning, he was attacked by the Russians, who advanced during a terrible storm of snow, which fell in large flakes. They approached Preussich-Eylau, where the emperor was, and the imperial guard stopped the Russian column. Nearly the whole French army was engaged in that battle, one of the most sanguinary ever fought in Europe. The corps commanded by Bernadotte was not engaged in the contest: it had been stationed on the left at Mohrungen, whence it menaced Dantzic. The issue of the battle would have been very different, had the four divisions of infantry, and the two of cavalry, composing Bernadotte's corps, arrived in time; but, unfortunately, the officer instructed to convey orders to Bernadotte to march without delay on Preussich-Eylau, was taken by a body of Cossacks: Bernadotte, therefore, did not arrive. Bonaparte, who always liked to throw blame on some one if things did not turn out exactly as he wished, attributed the doubtful success of the day to the absence of Bernadotte: in this he was right; but to make that absence a reproach to the marshal was a gross injustice. Bernadotte was accused of not having been willing to march on Preussich-Eylau, though, as it was alleged, General d'Hautpoult had informed him of the necessity of his presence. But how can that fact be ascertained, since General d'Hautpoult was killed on that same day? Who can assure us that that general was able to communicate directly and personally with Marshal Bernadotte?

Those who knew Bonaparte, his cunning, and the artful advantage he would sometimes take of words, which he attributed to the dead, will easily solve the enigma. The battle of Eylau was terrible:—night came on—Bernadotte's corps was constantly, but in vain, expected; and, after a great loss, the French army had the melancholy honour of passing the night on the field of battle. Bernadotte at length arrived, but too late. He met the enemy, who were retreating, without the fear of being molested, towards Koningsberg, the only capital remaining to Prussia. The King of Prussia was then at Memel, a small port on the Baltic, thirty leagues from Koningsberg.

After the battle of Eylau, both sides remained stationary; and several days elapsed without any thing remarkable taking place. The offers of peace made by the emperor, with very little earnestness it is true, were disdainfully rejected, as if a victory disputed with Napoleon was to be regarded as a triumph. The battle of Eylau seemed to turn the heads of the Russians, who

chanted "Te Deum" on the occasion. But while the emperor was making preparations to advance, his diplomacy was taking effect in a distant quarter, and raising up against Russia an old and formidable enemy. Turkey declared war against her. This was a powerful diversion, and obliged Russia to strip her western frontiers to secure a line of defence on the south.*

Some time after General Gardanne set out on the famous embassy to Persia; for which the way had been paved by the success of the mission of my friend, Amédée Jaubert. This embassy was not merely one of those pompous legations, such as Charlemagne, Louis XIV., and Louis XVI., received from the Empress Irene, the King of Siam, and Tippoo Saib. It was connected with ideas which Bonaparte had conceived at the very dawn of his power. It was, indeed, the light from the East which first enabled him to see his greatness in perspective; and that light never ceased to fix his attention, and dazzle his imagination. I know well that Gardanne's embassy was, at first, conceived on a much grander scale than that on which it was executed. Napoleon had resolved to send to the Shah of Persia four thousand infantry, commanded by chosen and experienced officers; ten thousand muskets, and fifty pieces of cannon; and I also know that orders were given for the execution of this design. The avowed object of the emperor was to enable the Shah of Persia to make an important diversion, with eighty thousand men, in the eastern provinces of Russia. But there was likewise another, an old and constant object, which was always uppermost in Napoleon's mind, namely the wish to strike England in the very heart of her Asiatic possessions. Such was the principal motive of Gardanne's mission, but circumstances

* On this occasion the diplomacy of England was notoriously and shamefully at fault. A clever and determined ambassador at Constantinople might have kept the Turks quiet, but Mr. Arbuthnot, the resident minister, was not the man, and he was sick with a slow fever at the moment of crisis. The year before, when the Turks were on the point of going to war with Russia about Wallachia and Moldavia, they were bullied into peace by a young English diplomatist, who has since then made himself notorious in very different ways. This was the Honourable William Long Wellesley Pole, who was then second secretary to our embassy. Knowing that the Divan were coming to a decision, he left the ambassador's house at Buyukderré, mounted his horse, and galloped to Constantinople, through a torrent of rain. He never stopped till he reached the Porte, where he leaped out of his saddle and presented himself to the divan of ministers, with his whip in his hand, and covered all over with mud. He

"Looked not lovingly on that divan."

He stormed the Turks to their beards—he threatened them with annihilation, and drawing on his imagination for his facts, he swore to them that a tremendous English fleet which had already set out from Gibraltar, would force the passage of the Dardanelles, and be before Constantinople in a few days, to dictate the law to the sultan. The Turks, terrified out of their senses instantly came to terms for the nonce.—See *Juchereau de Saint Denis' Révolution de Constantinople.* (*Editor.*)

did not permit the emperor to give it all the importance he desired. He contented himself with sending a few officers of engineers and artillery to Persia, who, on their arrival, were astonished at the number of English they found there.

Meanwhile the internal affairs of the towns over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended soon gave me more employment than ever. The greatest misfortune of the empire was, perhaps, the abuse of the right arrogated by the wearers of epaulettes. My situation gave me an opportunity of observing all the odious character of a military government. Another, in my place, could not have done all that I did. I say this confidently; for my situation was a distinct and independent one, as Bonaparte had told me. Being authorized to correspond directly with the emperor, the military chiefs feared, if they did not yield to my just representations, that I would make private reports: this apprehension was wonderfully useful in enabling me to maintain the rights of the towns, which had adopted me as their first citizen.

A circumstance occurred in which I had to defend the rights of the diplomatic and commercial agents against the pretensions of military power. Marshal Brune, during his government at Hamburg, went to Bremen, to watch the strict execution of the illusive blockade against England. The marshal, acting, no doubt, in conformity with the instructions of Clarke, then minister of war, and governor of Berlin, wished to arrogate the right of deciding on the captures made by our cruisers.

He attempted to prevent the consul Lagau from selling the confiscated ships, in order to sell them himself. Of this M. Lagau complained to me. The more I observed a disposition to encroach on the part of the military authorities, the more I conceived it necessary to maintain the rights of the consuls, and to favour their influence, without which they would have lost their consideration. To the complaints of M. Lagau, I replied "That to him alone belonged the right of deciding in the first instance, on the fate of the ships: that he could not be deprived of that right without changing the law: that he was free to sell the confiscated Prussian ships: that Marshal Brune was at Bremen only for the execution of the decree respecting the blockade of England, and that he ought not to interfere in business unconnected with that decree." Lagau showed this letter to Brune, who then allowed him to do as he wished; but it was an affair of profit, and the marshal, for a long time, owed me a grudge.

Bernadotte was exceedingly disinterested; but he loved to be talked about. The more the emperor endeavoured to throw accusations upon him, the more he was anxious to give publicity to all his actions. He sent to me an account of the brilliant affair of Braunsburg, in which a division of the first corps had been particularly distinguished. Along with this narrative, he

sent me a note in the following terms: "I send you, my dear minister, an account of the affair of Braunsburg. You will, perhaps, think proper to publish it. In that case, I shall be obliged by your getting it inserted in the Hamburg journals." I did so. The injustice of the emperor, and the bad way in which he spoke of Bernadotte, obliged the latter for the sake of his own credit, to make the truth known to the world.

CHAPTER III.

1807.

Army supplies—English cloth and leather—M. de Gimel's successor—Double appointment at London and Mittau—M. Hue, valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI.—Arrest on a charge of libel—M. Hue's arrival at Altona—Fresh arrivals of emigrants—Baron d'Imbert and General Danican—Colonel de Blacas in the Swedish service—Command accepted by Dumouriez—Despatch from M. de Talleyrand—A page of Napoleon's glory—Interview between the two emperors at Tilsit—Silesia restored to the Queen of Prussia—The Prince of Wittgenstein—Commercial treaty between England and Russia—Mediation of Russia offered to England—Reply of Mr. Canning—The Prince of Wales and Mr. Canning favourable to peace—Unfortunate situation of Prussia—Impossibility of re-establishing Poland in 1807—Foundation of the kingdom of Westphalia—The grand duchy of Warsaw and the King of Saxony.

I HAVE mentioned that I received an order from the emperor to supply fifty thousand cloaks for the army. With this order, which was not the only one I received of the same kind, some circumstances were connected, which I may take the present opportunity of explaining.

The emperor gave me so many orders for army clothing, that all that could be supplied by the cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, would have been insufficient for executing the commissions. I entered into a treaty with a house in Hamburg, which I authorized, in spite of the Berlin decree, *to bring cloth and leather from England.* Thus I procured these articles in a sure and cheap way. Our troops might have perished of cold, had the continental system, and the absurd mass of inexecutable decrees relative to English merchandise, been observed.

At the beginning of 1807, my occupations at Hamburg were divided between the furnishing of supplies for the army, and the inspection of the emigrants whom Fouché pretended to dread, in order to give greater importance to his office. M. de Gimel was now dead. I had informed Fouché of that event, and he desired me to send him all the information I could col-

lect respecting the individual who might be appointed M. de Gimel's successor. M. de la Chapelle made choice of M Maillard, and as soon as I ascertained this fact, I sent to Fouché a description of M. Maillard, whose portrait could not possibly have been flattered without depriving it of all resemblance. I had learned, by a letter from Count Dumoustier, who was then in England, that Maillard had been commander of the gendarmerie at Valenciennes, and prévôt of the army of Condé. Count Dumoustier had described him as a brutal, obstinate, and exceedingly narrow-minded man, and he finished his portrait with the following remark: "The king's cause must be desperate indeed, when such fellows are chosen to support it." M. Maillard was sent from London to Altona to succeed M. de Gimel as agent of the emigrants; but at the same time Louis XVIII. had given the appointment to M. Grémion, an inhabitant of Holstein. However, both these nominations were merely provisional, and I ascertained that M. Hue was definitively appointed to succeed M. de Gimel as agent for the emigrants. M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May. He was that faithful servant of Louis XVI. who shared his master's captivity, and to whom honourable immortality is bequeathed in the will of the unfortunate sovereign. His name must have recalled strange recollections to Fouché, who wished that I should be doubly vigilant. His distrust, real or feigned, of the emigrants, was such, that he more than once directed me to keep watch upon persons who were very far from supposing themselves to be objects of the slightest suspicion.

I never let slip an opportunity of mitigating the rigour of Fouché's orders, which, indeed, were sometimes so absurd, that I did not attempt to execute them. Of this the following instance just now occurs to my recollection: A printer at Hamburg had been arrested on the charge of having printed a libel in the German language. The man was detained in prison because, very much to his honour, he would not disclose the name of the writer of the pamphlet. I sent for him and questioned him: he told me, with every appearance of sincerity, that he had never but once seen the man who had brought him the manuscript. I was convinced of the truth of what he said, and I gave an order for his liberation. To avoid irritating the susceptibility of the minister of police, I wrote to him the following few lines: "The libel is the most miserable rhapsody imaginable. The author, probably with the view of selling his pamphlet in Holstein, predicts that Denmark will conquer every other nation, and become the greatest kingdom in the world. This trait alone will suffice to prove to you how little danger there is in fooleries, written in the style of the Apocalypse."

M. Hue was expected at Altona in the beginning of May, but he did not arrive until the 20th. He had left London on the

15th. I was assured that several emigrants had taken the opportunity of coming with him on board the packet-boat. This was true, and some emigrants arrived, who were by no means the most select of that body. Among them was a Baron d'Imbert, who was accompanied by a Sieur Louis, his secretary, and MM. Barthélemy and Plagnés. In a list which Fouché had sent me, Barthélemy was designated as a clerk, on board the corvette Tantallen, and Plagnés as an officer in the marines. D'Imbert maintained that he had been banished from England with the three individuals who accompanied him, on account of a demand of 5000*l.* which he had made upon Mr. Cooke, one of the under secretaries of state, on account of advances to agents whom he, d'Imbert, had sent to France in obedience to the instructions of the English ministry. D'Imbert added, that it had been found convenient to evade the payment of this sum by banishing him. I indeed saw it stated in the English journals at the time, that two French emigrants, Martello and Dublin, were arrested in London, and that thirty emigrants were about to be sent from England. Among the latter appeared the name of Baron d'Imbert and also that of General Danican, who opposed the convention and led the sections who were termed rebels, on the 13th Vendémiaire. It is well known how Danican fell beneath the tact and boldness of the young General Bonaparte. He escaped, by flight, the sentence of death pronounced upon him by a court-martial. He afterwards became a constant, though not a very able, agent of the royalists. On the 20th of May, Danican arrived at Altona from London. As it was alleged that he would certainly come to Hamburg to see one of his friends, I sent a description of him to the commander of the gendarmerie.

Danican said he was going to Sweden, whither he had been summoned by the king, who was making every exertion to recruit the enemies of France. He had seen the German Legion embark. Twenty men belonging to that legion had attempted to escape, and had been conveyd to London in irons. According to the account given by Danican, the legion was more favourable to the French than to the English. I also learned from Danican, who related all these circumstances at his inn, in the presence of some one who reported them to me, that the Sieur Derolle, a man in the confidence of the Count d'Artois, having swindled 30,000 francs of the property left by Pichegru, and being prosecuted for that offence by Count de la Chapelle, division was sown in the party, because the Count d'Artois wished to defend his favourite Derolle. Danican, on the part of the English government, made some propositions to the Sieur Belcombe (the Abbé Delamarre). The latter rejected them, saying, "What reliance can be placed on a government that chooses Fauche-Borel as its confidential agent?" This was in allusion to what Danican had said to him some months before, viz., that

Mr. Hammond saw only with the eyes of Fauche Borel, and acted only by his counsels.

Danican came once to Hamburg, but the gendarmes missed him, and took another Frenchman for him. He returned to England on the 29th of July. I do not know what prevented his going to the King of Sweden, as he announced his intention of doing. In his furious animosity against *Monsieur Bonaparte*, the King of Sweden published all his communications with the Bourbons. I read in a bulletin, dated Stralsund, "Colonel Count de Blacas, sent on a special mission from Louis XVIII., has arrived here from Mittau, and this day had an audience of his majesty."

Among the newly-arrived emigrants there was another, who, from the part he had played at the commencement of the revolution, possessed a degree of importance different from that of Baron d'Imbert and General Danican. He has been frequently mentioned in the course of these memoirs. I allude to Dumouriez. That general had, for a long time, been commander-in-chief in a pamphlet war against the French government, and he at length determined to take up the arms he had formerly borne. One of my agents in London informed me, that, after a great deal of tergiversation, Dumouriez had accepted the command of the Swedish troops which were to be landed at Stralsund, and to which was to be joined the Hanoverian legion, then at sea. But, during all this hesitation, Napoleon, who never hesitated, was advancing by giant strides, though not without considerable difficulty, on the confines of Russia, while his able lieutenants were conquering provinces in the north of Prussia on an immense line of operations.

After the battle of Eylau, I received a despatch from M. Talleyrand, to which was added an account in French of that memorable battle, which was more fatal to the conqueror than to the other party; I cannot say the conquered, in speaking of the Russians; the more especially when I recollect the precautions which were then taken throughout Germany to make known the French before the Russian version. The emperor was exceedingly anxious that every one should view that event as he himself viewed it. Other accounts than his might have produced an unfavourable impression in the north. I therefore had orders to publish that account. I caused two thousand copies of it to be published, which were more than sufficient for circulation in the Hanse Towns and their territories.

The reader will perhaps complain that I have been almost silent with respect to the grand manœuvres of the French army from the battle of Eylau to that of Friedland, where, at all events, our success was indisputable. There was no necessity for printing favourable versions of that event, and, besides, its immense results were soon felt throughout Europe. The interview at Tilsit is one of the culminating points of modern history, and

the waters of the Niemen reflected the image of Napoleon at the height of his glory. The interview between the two emperors at Tilsit, and the melancholy situation of the King of Prussia, are generally known. I was made acquainted with but few secret details relative to those events; for Rapp had gone to Dantzic, and it was he who most readily communicated to me all that the emperor said and did, and all that was passing around him.*

I, however, learned one circumstance peculiarly worthy of remark, which occurred in the emperor's apartments at Tilsit, the first time he received a visit from the King of Prussia. That unfortunate monarch, who was accompanied by Queen Wilhelmina, had taken refuge in a mill beyond the town. This was his sole habitation, whilst the emperors occupied the two portions of the town, which is divided by the Niemen. The fact I am about to relate reached me indirectly through the medium of an officer of the imperial guard, who was on duty in Napoleon's apartments and was an eyewitness of it. When the Emperor Alex-

* Savary gives the following interesting account of the interview between Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit

"The Emperor Napoleon, whose courtesy was manifest in all his actions, ordered a large raft to be floated in the middle of the river, upon which was constructed a room well covered in and elegantly decorated, having two doors on opposite sides, each of which opened into an antechamber. The work could not have been better executed in Paris. The roof was surmounted by two weathercocks: one displaying the eagle of Russia, and the other the eagle of France. The two outer doors were also surmounted by the eagles of the two countries.

"The raft was precisely in the middle of the river, with the two doors of the saloon facing the two opposite banks.

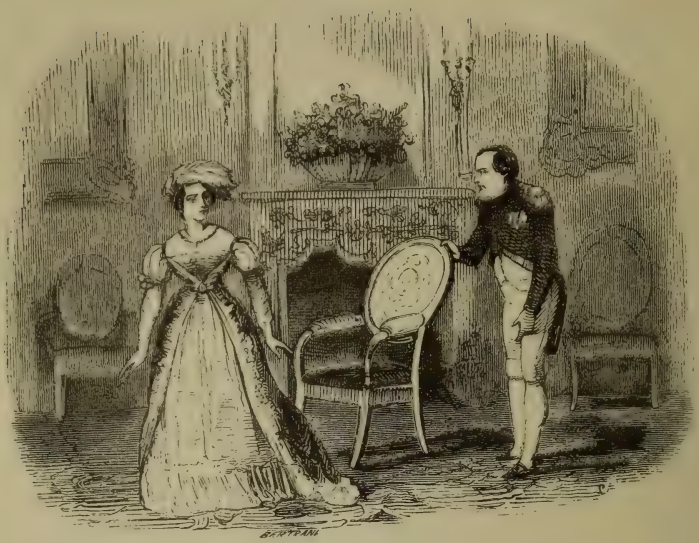
"The two sovereigns appeared on the banks of the river, and embarked at the same moment. But the Emperor Napoleon having a good boat, manned by marines of the guard, arrived first on the raft, entered the room, and went to the opposite door, which he opened, and then stationed himself on the edge of the raft to receive the Emperor Alexander, who had not yet arrived, not having such good rowers as the Emperor Napoleon.

"The two emperors met in the most amicable way, at least to all appearance. They remained together for a considerable time, and then took leave of each other with as friendly an air as that with which they had met.

"Next day the Emperor of Russia established himself at Tilsit with a battalion of his guard. Orders were given for evacuating that part of the town where he and his battalion were to be quartered; and though we were very much pressed for room, no encroachment on the space allotted to the Russians was thought of.

"On the day the Emperor Alexander entered Tilsit, the whole army was under arms. The imperial guard was drawn out in two lines of three deep from the landing-place to the Emperor Napoleon's quarters, and from thence to the quarters of the Emperor of Russia. A salute of one hundred guns was fired the moment Alexander stepped ashore, on the spot where the Emperor Napoleon was waiting to receive him. The latter carried his attention to his visiter so far, as to send from his quarters the furniture for Alexander's bedchamber. Among the articles sent was a camp-bed belonging to the emperor, which he presented to Alexander, who appeared much pleased with the gift.

"This meeting, the first which history records of the same kind and of equal importance, attracted visiters to Tilsit from a hundred leagues round. M. de Talleyrand arrived, and after the observance of the usual ceremonies, business began to be discussed."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)



Interview between the Queen of Prussia and Napoleon.

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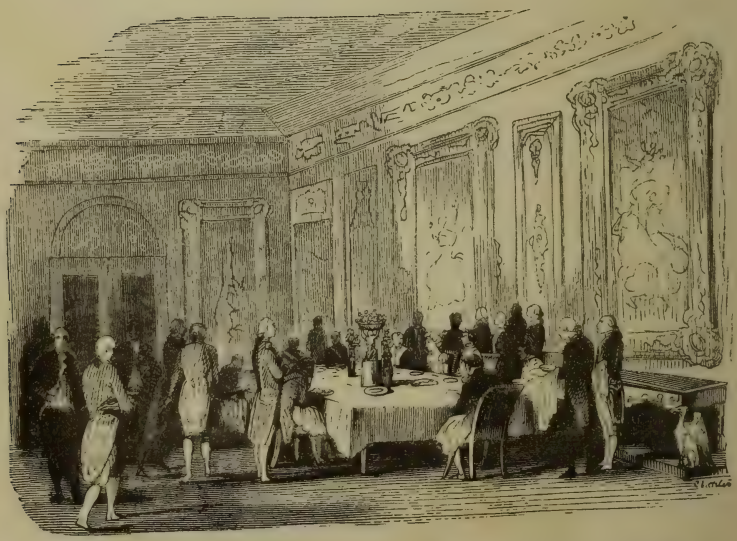

Dinner at Tilsit.—Napoleon, Alexander, and King and Queen of Prussia.

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ander visited Napoleon, they continued for a long time in conversation on a balcony below, where an immense crowd hailed their meeting with enthusiastic shouts. Napoleon commenced the conversation, as he did the year preceding with the Emperor of Austria, by speaking of the uncertain fate of war. Whilst they were conversing, the King of Prussia was announced. The king's emotion was visible, and may easily be imagined; for as hostilities were suspended, and his territory in possession of the French, his only hope was in the generosity of the conqueror. Napoleon himself, it is said, appeared moved by his situation, and invited him, together with the queen, to dinner. On sitting down to table, Napoleon with great gallantry told the beautiful queen that he would restore to her Silesia, a province which she earnestly wished should be retained in the new arrangements which were necessarily about to take place.*

I was intimately acquainted with the Prince of Wittgenstein, during his residence at Hamburg. Without having any apparent mission, he nevertheless enjoyed all the confidence of the King of Prussia, to whom, on many occasions, his political talents and excellent advice were of great service. During the summer of 1807, the Prince of Wittgenstein proceeded to England. On his return he visited me, and informed me that a Russian courier from Taurroggen had arrived in London on the 30th of July, with very important despatches for M. Alopœus, the Russian minister in England. One of these despatches, which the Prince of Wittgenstein assured me he had read, stated, that there had not been sufficient time for sending copies of the treaties which had been signed at Tilsit. On the same day M. Alopœus despatched a courier to Russia with the commercial treaty which he had concluded and signed. I may here mention a circumstance connected with this commercial treaty between England and Russia, not, certainly, because the treaty is now of the slightest interest, but because the anecdote presents a striking example of British policy. The treaty was the same which M. Alopœus had proposed on his arrival in London at the beginning of March. At that time the English cabinet would not listen to it; but, step by step, as intelligence of the

* Las Casas mentions that, at the time of the treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon wrote to the Empress Josephine as follows:

"'The Queen of Prussia is really a charming woman. She is fond of coquetting with me; but do not be jealous: I am like a searcloth, along which every thing of this sort slides, without penetrating. It would cost me too dear to play the gallant.'

"On this subject, an anecdote was related in the saloon of Josephine. It was said that the Queen of Prussia one day had a beautiful rose in her hand, which the emperor asked her to give him. The queen hesitated for a few moments, and then presented it to him, saying, 'Why should I so readily grant what you request, while you remain deaf to all my entreaties?' She alluded to the fortress of Magdeburg, which she had earnestly solicited."—*Mémorial de St. Hélène.* (*Editor.*)

success of the French army reached London, the ministry yielded. Every fresh victory was followed by a new concession, until at length the treaty was concluded in the terms on which Russia had proposed. The Prince of Wittgenstein gave me some further particulars respecting what he had seen or learned in England. The day after M. Alopœus received from Tilsit the laconic despatch to which I have alluded, he formally offered to the court of London the mediation of Russia to effect the conclusion of a treaty of peace between France and England, preparatory to the re-establishment of a general peace. On the 1st of August, a grand council was held at Windsor, at which George III. was present. Two days after, Mr. Canning replied to M. Alopœus, but verbally, and every one knows the difference which exists in diplomatic transactions between writing and speaking. Mr. Canning's reply was, "that the court of London would accept the mediation of Russia, but only on condition of being furnished with copies of the public and private treaties, in order that the King of England might satisfy himself that they contained no stipulations contrary to the interests of his crown and his people." Mr. Canning added, "that as Austria had, previously to the commencement of the campaign, offered to mediate between the hostile powers, it would be proper that she should act in concert with Russia in the mediation now proposed—a proceeding which would be the more suitable on the part of Austria, as she herself had voluntarily suggested it." On the 19th of August, M. Alopœus despatched a courier to St. Petersburg with Mr. Canning's verbal answer.

Mr. Canning besides declared to M. Jacobi, the Prussian ambassador at London, "that the King of England deplored the misfortunes which had befallen his master; that he felt the greatest concern for him; but that, as the Prussian ports were closed against English ships, the interests of his people, and the honour of his flag, compelled him to adopt hostile measures against Prussia." Prince Wittgenstein, in addition to these particulars, informed me that the Prince of Wales, and especially Mr. Canning, strongly urged the necessity of peace; and that the majority of the English nation earnestly desired it. Under these circumstances how unfortunate was the situation of Prussia! and could any thing be more cruel on the part of the English government than to threaten Prussia with hostilities, because she had not opened her ports to British ships? Thus the two powers who so bitterly hated each other, seemed to agree upon one point, namely, the spoliation of Prussia. France occupied all her continental territory, and England coveted her seaports, in revenge for mishaps which it was impossible to attribute to any other cause than the inflexible law of necessity.*

* Mr. Canning wished for peace, but not on Bonaparte's conditions. With regard to Prussia, M. Bourrienne forgets her provoking tergiversation and ac-

The treaty of peace concluded at Tilsit, between France and Russia, on the 7th of July, and ratified two days after, produced no less striking a change in the geographical division of Europe, than had been effected the year preceding by the treaty of Presburg. The treaty of Tilsit contained no stipulation dishonourable to Russia, whose territory was preserved inviolate; but how was Prussia treated! Some historians, for the vain pleasure of flattering, by posthumous praises, the pretended moderation of Napoleon, have almost reproached him for having suffered some remnants of the monarchy of the great Frederick to survive. There is, nevertheless, a point on which Napoleon has been wrongfully condemned, at least with reference to the campaign of 1807. It has been said that he should, at that period, have re-established the kingdom of Poland; and certainly, there is every reason to regret, for the interests of France and Europe, that it was not re-established. But when a desire, even founded on reason, is not carried into effect, should we conclude that the wished-for object ought to be achieved in defiance of all obstacles? At that time, that is to say, during the campaign of Tilsit, insurmountable obstacles existed.

If, however, by the treaty of Tilsit, the throne of Poland was not restored to serve as a barrier between old Europe and the empire of the czars, Napoleon founded a kingdom of Westphalia, which he gave to the young *Enseigne de Vaisseau*, whom he had scolded as a schoolboy, and whom he now made a king, that he might have another crowned prefect under his control.* The kingdom of Westphalia was composed of the states of Hesse-Cassel; of a part of the provinces taken from Prussia by the *moderation* of the emperor, and of the states of Paderborn, Fulde, Brunswick, and a part of the electorate of Hanover. Napoleon, at the same time, though he did not like to do things by halves, to avoid touching the Russian and Austrian provinces of old Poland, planted on the banks of the Vistula, the grand duchy of Warsaw, which he gave to the King of Saxony, with the intention of increasing or destroying it afterwards as he might find convenient. Thus he allowed the Poles to hope better things for the future; and ensured to himself partisans in the north, should the chances of fortune call him thither. Alexander, who was cajoled even more than his father had been, by what I may call the political coquetry of Napoleon, consented to all these arrangements, acknowledged, *in globo*, all the kings crowned by the emperor, and accepted some provinces which had belonged to his despoiled ally, the King of Prussia, doubt-

ceptance of Hanover. Moreover, as matters then stood, Prussian ports, and Prussian ships were to be considered as French, for Napoleon grasped all the kingdom as a master, and availed himself of all the resources of it.—*Editor.*

* This King of Westphalia was his brother, Jerome Bonaparte, who, unlike all the rest of the family, had scarcely a talent or a single good quality to recommend him.—*Editor.*

less by way of consolation for not having been able to get more restored to Prussia. The two emperors parted the best friends in the world; but the continental system was still in existence.

NOTES ON CAMPAIGN WITH RUSSIANS IN 1806—7.

The result of the campaign of Bonaparte against the Russians in 1806—7, cannot be stated, in a few words, better than in the following passage from a recent writer, who takes up the subject at the point when the French had entered into Poland with promises of liberty and national independence.

"French agents had previously penetrated into Russian Poland, and had spread a report that Kosciusko was at Napoleon's head-quarters. Napoleon had invited Kosciusko, who was then living in Switzerland, to come, but that single-minded patriot, mistrusting the views of the conqueror, declined the invitation.—*Mémoires de Michel Oginski sur la Pologne et les Polonais depuis* 1788 *jusqu'en* 1815.

"Napoleon received at his head-quarters at Posen, numerous addresses from various parts of Poland, entreating him to restore that country to its independence. His answers were cold and cautious. He began his winter campaign against the Russians by the battle of Pultusk (28th of December), in which the French experiencing a severe check, retired towards the Vistula. The month of January, 1807, passed without any engagements; but on the 8th of February, the great battle of Eylau was fought between the two grand armies. General Beningsen commanded the Russians. The French made repeated and furious attacks on the Russian infantry, which stood like walls of brass, and the assailants were at last obliged to desist. The battle lasted till near ten o'clock at night. The loss on both sides was dreadful; it has never been correctly ascertained, but has been roughly estimated at 50,000 men. After the battle Napoleon withdrew again to the line of the Vistula, and Beningsen retired towards Königsberg. There was no more fighting between the two armies for more than three months after. The French meantime besieged Dantzig, which was defended by the Prussian General Kalkreut, and surrendered at the end of May, 1807. Napoleon having now reinforced his army to 200,000 men, advanced again towards the Russians. On the 13th of June the battle of Friedland took place, in which, after an obstinate struggle, the Russians were at last worsted, and driven beyond the river Aller. They did not lose, however, either cannon or baggage, and they affected their retreat upon Tilsit, near the Russian frontiers.—Sir Robert Wil-

son's *Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland in* 1806—7; and *Geschichte der Feldzüge Napoleons gegen Preussen und Russland in* 1806—7, Leipzig, 1809.

"As Bonaparte and Alexander both wished for peace, an armistice was made, and a personal interview took place between the two emperors on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen on the 25th of June. The two sovereigns after this took up their residence in the town of Tilsit, where the treaty of peace was finally signed. The king of Prussia was restored to about one-half of his former territories, as far as the Elbe. The duchy of Warsaw was given to the elector of Saxony, who was made a king, and became the faithful ally of Napoleon. The principal Prussian fortresses and seaport towns were to remain in the hands of the French till the general peace. Russia made no sacrifices; on the contrary she obtained a part of Prussian Poland. But there were secret articles to the treaty, by which France allowed Russia to take Finland from Sweden, and Russia, on her part, promised to close her ports against British vessels."—*Memoir of Bonaparte. P. C.*

The battle of Pultusk was even more than a severe check to the French, and had General Kaminskoy, who was then commander-in-chief, only done his duty, Bonaparte must have been involved in dreadful perplexities. But, as if a curse attended all the enemies of the prestiged Napoleon, Kaminskoy was deranged in his intellects, and a few weeks after he betrayed such symptoms of downright madness, that he was removed from the command, which was then intrusted to the brave and skilful Beningsen—the hero of this, as Blucher had been of the recent Prussian campaign. But, unluckily for Russia, Napoleon, who could now dispose of so large a portion of Europe, had been allowed time to summon and press aid; and reinforcements from France, Switzerland, and the confederation of the Rhine were set in motion, and arrived in time for the decisive battle of Friedland, in which, as M. Bourrienne states, there could be no doubt that Bonaparte was the conqueror. Never, however, up to that day had he found a field so sternly contested.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER IV.

1807.

Effect produced at Altona by the treaty of Tilsit—The Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin's departure from Hamburg—English squadron in the Sound—Bombardment of Copenhagen—Perfidy of England—Remark of Bonaparte to M. Lemercier—Prussia erased from the map—Napoleon's return to Paris Suppression of the tribunate—Obstinacy of Mustapha-Baraictar—Confiscation of English merchandise—Nine millions gained to France—M. Caulaincourt ambassador to Russia—Repugnance of England to the intervention of Russia—Affairs of Portugal—Junot appointed to command the army—The prince regent's departure for the Brazils—Heligoland taken by the English—M. Hue threatened with arrest—The Code Napoleon—Introduction of French laws into Germany—Leniency of Hamburg juries—The stolen cloak and the syndic Doormann.

The treaty of Tilsit, as soon as it was known at Altona, spread consternation amongst the emigrants. As to the German princes, who were awaiting the issue of events, either at Altona or Hamburg, when they learned that a definitive treaty of peace had been signed between France and Russia, and that, two days after the treaty of Tilsit, the Prussian monarchy was placed at the mercy of Napoleon, every courier that arrived threw them into indescribable agitation. It depended on the emperor's will whether they were to be, or not to be. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin had not succeeded in getting himself re-established in his states, by an exceptional decision, like the Duke of Weimar; but at length he obtained the restitution of his territory, at the request of the Emperor Alexander; and on the 28th of July he quitted Hamburg to return to his duchy.

The Danish chargé-d'affaires communicated to me, about the same time, an official report from his government. This report announced, that on Monday, the 3d of August, a squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line, and twelve frigates, commanded by Admiral Gambier, had passed the Sound. The rest of the squadron was seen in the Categat. At the same time the English troops, which were in the island of Rugen, had re-embarked. We could not then conceive what enterprise this considerable force had been sent upon. But our uncertainty

was soon at an end. M. Didelot, the French ambassador at Copenhagen, arrived at Hamburg, at nine o'clock in the evening of the 12th of August. He had been fortunate enough to pass through the Great Belt, in sight of the English, without being stopped. I forwarded his report to Paris by an extraordinary courier.

The English had sent twenty thousand men, and twenty-seven vessels, into the Baltic; Lord Cathcart commanded the troops. The coast of Zealand was blockaded by ninety vessels. Mr. Jackson, who had been sent by England to negotiate with Denmark, which she feared would be invaded by the French troops, supported the propositions he was charged to offer to Denmark, by a reference to this powerful British force. Mr. Jackson's proposals had for their object nothing less than to induce the King of Denmark to place, in the custody of England, the whole of his ships and naval stores. They were, it is true, to be kept in deposit; but the condition contained the words "until the conclusion of a general peace," which rendered the period of their restoration uncertain. They were to be detained until the period when such precautions should be no longer necessary. A menace, and its execution, followed close upon this demand. After a noble, but useless resistance, and a terrific bombardment, Copenhagen surrendered, and the Danish fleet was destroyed. It would be difficult to find in history a more infamous and revolting instance of the abuse of power against weakness. Sometime after this event, a pamphlet, entitled "Germania," appeared, which I translated, and sent to the emperor. It was eloquently written, and expressed the indignation which the infamous conduct of England had excited in the author as in every one else.*

* "That expedition," said Napoleon at St. Helena, "showed great energy on the part of your ministers: but setting aside the violation of the laws of nations which you committed—for, in fact, it was nothing but a robbery—I think that it was injurious to your interests, as it made the Danish nation irreconcilable enemies to you, and, in fact, shut you out of the north for three years. When I heard of it, I said, I am glad of it, as it will embroil England irrecoverably with the northern powers. The Danes being able to join me with sixteen sail of the line was of but little consequence. I had plenty of ships, and only wanted seamen, whom you did not take, and whom I obtained afterwards: while by the expedition your ministers established their characters as faithless, and as persons with whom no engagements, no laws, were binding. — *Voice from St. Helena.* (*Editor.*)

This talk about the violation of the laws of nations from one who had set, and was actually setting all those laws at defiance, is absurdly impudent. We have not thought it a necessary part of our humble duty to set up a defence on all such points that occur in these memoirs, but the present charge, as reflecting on the national honour, is so serious, that we may be excused for saying a very few words upon it. The plain state of the case was this: the King of Denmark had a fleet of which Bonaparte stood in great need, and which, from the position of affairs, must fall into his hands, if not secured by the English. It was utterly impossible for the King of Denmark, who soon became a mere satrap of Napoleon's, to keep his ships out of that conqueror's clutches. We

I have stated what were the principal consequences of the treaty of Tilsit; it is more than probable, that if the bombardment of Copenhagen had preceded the treaty, the emperor would have used Prussia even worse than he did. He might have erased her from the list of nations; but he did not do so, out of regard to the Emperor Alexander. The destruction of Prussia was no new project with Bonaparte. I remember an observation of his to M. Lemercier upon that subject, when we first went to reside at Malmaison. M. Lemercier had been reading to the first consul some poem in which Frederick the Great was spoken of: "You seem to admire him greatly," said Bonaparte to M. Lemercier: "what do you find in him so astonishing? He is not equal to Turenne."—"General," replied M. Lemercier, "it is not merely the warrior that I esteem in Frederick; it is impossible to refrain from admiring a man who was a philosopher even on the throne." To this the first consul replied, in a half ill-humoured tone. "Certainly, Lemercier; but Frederick's philosophy shall not prevent me from erasing his kingdom from the map of Europe." The kingdom of Frederick the Great was not, however, obliterated from the map, because the Emperor of Russia would not basely abandon a faithful ally, who had incurred with him the chances of fortune. Prussia then bitterly had to lament the tergiversations which had prevented her from declaring herself against France during the campaign of Austerlitz.

Napoleon returned to Paris about the end of July, after an absence of ten months, the longest he had yet made since he had been at the head of the French government, whether as consul or emperor. The interview at Tilsit, the emperor Alexander's friendship, which was spoken of every where in terms of exaggeration, and the peace established on the continent, conferred on Napoleon a moral influence in public opinion, which he had not possessed since his coronation. Constant in his hatred of deliberative assemblies, which he had often termed collections of babblers, ideologists, and phrasemongers, Napoleon, on his return to Paris, suppressed the tribunate, which had been

demanded then, for our own safety, that he should surrender his vessels of war to us, not in property as prizes, but merely in pledge, and in order that their guns should not be turned against us. He refused, and then we took them, and brought them to England, but did not destroy them as stated by M. Bourrienne. It was a harsh measure, as regarded the Danes, but self-defence justified it. Let us take a familiar case: A man knows that in the house immediately adjoining his own, there is deposited a quantity of gunpowder sufficient to endanger his property or his life; he is perfectly well aware of his next-door neighbour's pacific and friendly intentions, but he also knows that his neighbour's next-door neighbour has a deadly spite against him, and being much stronger than the proprietor of the house where the powder is, that he will seize it to do him a mischief. What does he?—what ought a man to do under such circumstances, but hasten and be the first to seize the powder, and remove it from a point so dangerous to himself? This is neither more nor less than what we did with regard to the Danish fleet.—*Editor.*

an annoyance to him ever since the first day of his elevation. The emperor, who was skilful above all men in speculating on the favourable disposition of opinion, availed himself at this conjuncture of the enthusiasm produced by his interview on the Niemen. He therefore discarded from the fundamental institutions of the government, that which still retained the shadow of a popular character. But it was necessary that he should possess a senate merely to vote men; a mute legislative body to vote money: that there should be no opposition in the one, and no criticism in the other; no control over him of any description. The power of arbitrarily doing whatever he pleased; an enslaved press;—this was what Napoleon wished, and this he obtained. But the month of March, 1814, resolved the question of absolute power.

In the midst of the singularly complicated situation of affairs in Europe, after the peace of Tilsit, it was not a little surprising to observe how the emperor's influence with the grand signior had diminished. After he had succeeded so well in arming Turkey against Russia, he failed in his attempt to restore the good understanding he had interrupted. Every endeavour for this purpose, during the ephemeral reign of Mustapha-Bairactar, was useless. Guilleminot could not appease the storm which Sebastiani had conjured up, and the Turks determined to continue in a state of war with Russia. The emperor had promised Alexander to use his utmost exertions to restore peace. To prove his sincerity, he gave Guilleminot orders to that effect, but all in vain. Mustapha proved inflexible. The war continued, and soon became more complicated, when the emperor's evil star led him to take part in the fatal affairs of Spain. Distant as I was from the scene, I obtained some curious information, which I will relate with confidence, having no reason to doubt the purity of the source whence I obtained it.

In the midst of these great affairs, and while Napoleon was dreaming of universal monarchy, I beheld, in a less extensive sphere, the inevitable consequences of the ambition of a single man. Pillage and robbery were carried on in all parts over which my diplomatic jurisdiction extended. Rapine seemed to be legally authorized, and was perpetrated with such fury, and at the same time with such ignorance, that the agents were frequently unacquainted with the value of the articles which they seized. Thus, for example, the emperor ordered the seizure, at Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, of all English merchandise, whatever might be its nature or origin. The Prince of Neufchatel* wrote to me from the emperor, that I must procure ten millions of francs from the Hanse Towns. M. Daru, the commissary-in-chief, whose business it was to collect this sort of levies, which Napoleon had learned to make in Egypt, wrote to

* Marshal Berthier.

urge me to obtain a prompt and favourable decision. The unfortunate towns which I was thus enjoined to oppress, had already suffered sufficiently. I had obtained, by means of negotiation, more than was demanded for the ransom of the English merchandise, which had been seized according to order. Before I received the letters of M. Daru and the Prince of Neufchatel, I had obtained from Hamburg sixteen millions instead of ten, besides nearly three millions from Bremen and Lubeck. Thus I furnished the government with nine millions more than had been required, and yet I had so managed, that those enormous sacrifices were not over oppressive to those who made them. I fixed the value of the English merchandise, because I knew that the high price at which it sold on the continent would not only cover the proposed ransom, but also leave a considerable profit. Such was the singular effect of the continental system.

Peace being concluded with Russia, it was necessary to make choice of an ambassador, not only to maintain the new relations of amity between Napoleon and Alexander, but likewise to urge on the promised intervention of Russia with England; to bring about reconciliation and peace between the cabinets of Paris and London. The emperor confided this mission to Caulaincourt, with respect to whom there existed an unfounded prejudice relating to some circumstances which preceded the death of the Duke d'Enghien. This unfortunate and unjust impression had preceded Caulaincourt to St. Petersburg, and it was feared that he would not experience the reception due to the French ambassador, and to his own personal qualities. I knew at the time, from positive information, that after a short explanation with Alexander, that monarch retained no suspicion unfavourable to our ambassador, for whom he conceived and maintained great esteem and friendship.

Caulaincourt's mission was not, in all respects, easy of fulfilment, for the invincible repugnance and reiterated refusal of England to enter into negotiations with France, through the medium of Russia, was one of the remarkable circumstances of the period of which I am speaking. I knew positively that England was determined never to allow Napoleon to possess himself of the whole of the continent, a project which he indicated too undisguisedly to admit of any doubt respecting it. For two years he had indeed advanced with rapid strides; but England was not discouraged. She was too well aware of the irritation of the sovereigns, and the discontent of the people, not to be certain, that when she desired it, her lever of gold would again raise up and arm the continent against the encroaching power of Napoleon. He, on his part, perceiving that all his attempts were fruitless, and that England would listen to no proposals, devised fresh plans for raising up new enemies against England.

It probably is not forgotten, that in 1801 France compelled Portugal to make common cause with her against England. In

1807 the emperor did again what the first consul had done. By an inexplicable fatality, Junot obtained the command of the troops which were marching against Portugal. I say against Portugal, for that was the fact, though France represented herself as a protector to deliver Portugal from the influence of England. Be that as it may, the choice which the emperor made of a commander astonished every body. Was Junot, a compound of vanity and mediocrity, the fit man to be intrusted with the command of an army in a distant country, and under circumstances in which great political and military talents were requisite? For my own part, knowing Junot's incapacity, I must acknowledge that his appointment astonished me. I remember, one day, when I was speaking on the subject to Bernadotte, he showed me a letter he had received from Paris, in which it was said, that the emperor had sent Junot to Portugal only for the sake of depriving him of the government of Paris. Junot annoyed Napoleon by his bad conduct, his folly, and his incredible extravagance. He was alike devoid of dignity—either in feeling or conduct. Thus Portugal was twice the place of exile selected by consular and imperial caprice: first, when the first consul wished to get rid of the familiarity of Lannes; and next, when the emperor grew weary of the misconduct of a favourite.

The invasion of Portugal presented no difficulty. It was an armed promenade, and not a war; but how many events were connected with the occupation of that country! The Prince Regent of Portugal, unwilling to act dishonourably to England, to which he was allied by treaties, and unable to oppose the whole power of Napoleon, embarked for Brazil, declaring that all defence was useless. At the same time he recommended his subjects to receive the French troops in a friendly manner, and said, that he consigned to Providence the consequences of an invasion which was without a motive. He was answered in the emperor's name, that Portugal being the ally of England, we were only carrying on hostilities against the latter country by invading his dominions.* But whilst our eagles were advancing on Lisbon, England captured the island of Heligoland. Much more importance has been attributed to that event than it really deserved. The garrison, which was brought to Gluckstadt, consisted only of thirty invalids. The only circumstance which conferred any importance on the little island of Heligoland, was its situation at the mouths of the Elbe and the Eyder. It furnishes pilots for ships sailing into either of those rivers.

The conduct of England with respect to Denmark and the bombardment of Copenhagen, excited general indignation even amongst persons who were not favourable to Napoleon's cause, *which Denmark sincerely joined.* The Prince Royal of Denmark,

* When Bonaparte used this argument what did he think of his severe strictures on our proceedings in Denmark?—*Editor.*

wishing to be revenged for the violence committed upon his capital, regarded as his enemies all who made common cause with England, and ordered M. Hue to be arrested.

It was in the month of November, that the code of French jurisprudence, upon which the most learned legislators had indefatigably laboured, was established, as the law of the state under the title of the Code Napoleon. Doubtless this legislative monument will redound to Napoleon's honour in history;* but was it to be supposed that the same laws would be equally applicable throughout so vast an extent as that comprised within the French empire? Impossible as this was, as soon as the Code Napoleon was promulgated, I received orders to establish it in the Hanse Towns. The long and frequent conversations I had on this subject with the senators, and the most able lawyers of the country, soon convinced me of the immense difficulty I should have to encounter, and the danger of suddenly altering habits and customs which had been firmly established by time.

The jury system gave tolerable satisfaction; but the severe punishments assigned to certain offences by the code were disapproved of. Hence resulted the frequent and serious abuse of men being acquitted, whose guilt was evident to the jury, who pronounced them not guilty, rather than condemn them to a punishment which was thought too severe. Besides, their leniency had another ground, which was, that the people being ignorant of the new laws, were not aware of the penalties attached to particular offences. I remember that a man who was accused of stealing a cloak at Hamburg, justified himself on the ground that he committed the offence in a fit of intoxication. M. Von Einingen, one of the jury, insisted that the prisoner was not guilty, because, as he said, the syndic Doormann, when dining with him one day, having drunk more wine than usual, took away *his* cloak. This defence *per Baccho* was completely successful. An argument founded on the similarity between the conduct of the syndic and the accused, could not but triumph; otherwise the little debauch of the former would have been condemned in the person of the latter. This trial, which terminated so whimsically, nevertheless proves, that the best and the gravest institutions may become the objects of ridicule when suddenly introduced into a country whose habits are not prepared to receive them.

The Romans very wisely reserved in the Capitol a place for the gods of the nations they conquered. They wished to annex provinces and kingdoms to their empire. Napoleon, on the contrary, wished to make his empire encroach upon other states, and to realize the impossible Utopia of ten different nations, all

* Bonaparte was as proud of his Code as of his victories. He was accustomed to say, "I shall go down to posterity with the Code in my hand."—*Editor.*

having different customs and languages, united into a single state. Could justice, that safeguard of human rights, be duly administered in the Hanse Towns, when those towns were converted into French departments? In these new departments many judges had been appointed who did not understand a word of German, and who had no knowledge of law. The presidents of the tribunals of Lubeck, Stade, Bremerlehe, and Minden, were so utterly ignorant of the German language, that it was necessary to explain to them all the pleadings in the council-chamber. Was it not absurd to establish such a judicial system, and above all, to appoint such men in a country so important to France, as Hamburg and the Hanse Towns? Add to this the impertinence of some favourites who were sent from Paris to serve official and legal apprenticeships in the conquered provinces, and it may be easily conceived what was the attachment of the people to Napoleon the Great.

CHAPTER V.

1807—1808.

Disturbed state of Spain—Godoy, Prince of the Peace—Reciprocal accusations between the King of Spain and his son—False promise of Napoleon—Dissatisfaction occasioned by the presence of the French troops—Abdication of Charles IV.—The Prince of the Peace made prisoner—Murat at Madrid—Important news transmitted by a commercial letter—Murat's ambition—His protection of Godoy—Charles IV. denies his voluntary abdication—The crown of Spain destined for Joseph—General disapprobation of Napoleon's conduct.

The disorders of Spain, which commenced about the close of the year 1807, soon assumed a most complicated aspect. Though far from the theatre of events, I obtained an intimate knowledge of all the important facts connected with the extraordinary transactions of the Peninsula. However, as this point of history is one of the most generally, though I cannot say the best, known, I shall cancel in my notes and memoranda many things which would be but repetitions to the reading portion of the public. It is a remarkable fact that Bonaparte, who, by turns, cast his eyes on all the states of Europe, never directed his attention to Spain as long as his greatness was confined to mere projects. Whenever he spoke of his future destiny, he alluded to Italy, Germany, the East, and the destruction of the English power; but never to Spain. Consequently, when he heard of the first symptoms of disorder in the Peninsula, he paid but little attention to the business, and some time elapsed before he took any part in events which, subsequently, had so great an influence on his fate.

Godoy reigned in Spain under the name of the imbecile Charles IV.* He was an object of execration to all who were not his creatures; and even those whose fate depended upon him, viewed him with the most profound contempt. The hatred of a people is almost always the just reward of favourites. What sentiments, therefore, must have been inspired by a man who, to the knowledge of all Spain, owed the favour of the king only to the favours of the queen. Godoy's ascendancy over the royal family was boundless; his power was absolute: the treasures of America were at his command, and he made the most infamous use of them. In short, he had made the court of Madrid one of those places to which the indignant muse of Juvenal conducts the mother of Britannicus. There is no doubt that Godoy was one of the principal causes of all the misfortunes which have overwhelmed Spain under so many various forms.

The hatred of the Spaniards against the Prince of the Peace was general. This hatred was shared by the Prince of the Asturias, who openly declared himself the enemy of Godoy. The latter allied himself with France, from which he hoped to obtain powerful protection against his enemies. This alliance gave rise to great dissatisfaction in Spain, and caused France to be regarded with an unfavourable eye. The Prince of the Asturias† was encouraged and supported by the complaints of the Spaniards, who wished to see the overthrow of Godoy's power.

Charles IV., on his part, regarded all opposition to the Prince of the Peace as directed against himself, and in November, 1807, he accused his son of wishing to dethrone him.‡

* Manuel Godoy, originally a private in the guards, became the paramour of Charles the Fourth's queen; then a grandee; and then the supreme manager of the state.—*Editor.*

† The late king, Ferdinand VI.

‡ This accusation is said to have been conveyed to Napoleon in the following letter, addressed to him by Charles IV.—*Editor.*

"SIRE, MY BROTHER,

"At the moment when I was occupied with the means of co-operating for the destruction of our common enemy, when I believed that all the plots of the late Queen of Naples had been buried with her daughter, I perceive, with a horror that makes me tremble, that the most dreadful spirit of intrigue has penetrated even into the heart of my palace. Alas! my heart bleeds at reciting so dreadful an outrage. My eldest son, the presumptive heir to my throne, entered into a horrible plot to dethrone me; he even went to the extreme of attempting the life of his mother. So dreadful a crime ought to be punished with the most exemplary rigour of the laws. *The law which calls him to the succession ought to be revoked; one of his brothers will be more worthy to occupy his place, both in my heart and on the throne.* I am at this moment in search of his accomplices, in order to sift thoroughly this plan of most atrocious wickedness; and I would not lose a moment in informing your imperial and royal majesty of it, and to beseech you to assist me with your knowledge and counsel

"For which I pray, &c.

"CHARLES.

"San Lorenzo, November 29, 1807."

The French ambassador in Spain, M. de Beauharnais, a relation of Josephine's first husband, was a very circumspect man. His situation at Madrid was extremely delicate and difficult. Without being gifted with any superior abilities, M. de Beauharnais possessed a certain tact which enabled him to see into things, and it was he who first informed the government of the misunderstanding which existed between the King of Spain and the Prince of the Asturias. He could not, indeed, avoid informing his court of all he observed. Could he conceal from the emperor that in the excess of his irritation against his son, Charles IV. had openly manifested a wish to revoke the law which called the Prince of the Asturias to the succession of one of the thrones of Charles V.? The King of Spain did not confine himself to verbal complaints. He, or rather the Prince of the Peace, acting in his name, arrested the warmest partisans of the Prince of the Asturias. The latter, understanding the sentiments of his father, wrote to Napoleon, soliciting his support. Thus the father and son, at open war, were appealing one against another, for the support of him who wished only to get rid of them both, and to put one of his brothers in their place, that he might have one junior more in the college of European kings: but, as I have already mentioned, this new ambition was not premeditated; and if he gave the throne of Spain to his brother Joseph, it was only on the refusal of his brother Louis (King of Holland) to accept it.

The emperor had promised to support Charles IV. against his son; and not wishing to take part in these family quarrels, he had not answered the first letters of the Prince of the Asturias. But finding that the intrigues of Madrid were taking a serious turn, he commenced provisionally by sending troops to Spain.* This gave offence to the people, who were averse to the interference of France. In the provinces through which the French troops passed, it was asked what was the object of the invasion. Some attributed it to the Prince of the Peace, others to the Prince of the Asturias; but it excited general indignation, and troubles broke out at Madrid, accompanied by all the violence peculiar to the Spanish character.

In these fearful circumstances, Godoy proposed that Charles IV. should remove to Seville, where he would be the better en-

* French troops had appeared in Spain some months before, on their way to Portugal, the conquest of which country by Junot was to be aided by Godoy and a Spanish force of 27,000, according to a treaty (more disgraceful to the court of Spain than to Bonaparte) which had been ratified at Fontainebleau on the 29th of October, 1807. Charles IV. was little better than an idiot, and Godoy and the French made him believe that Bonaparte would give part, or the whole of Portugal, to Spain. At the time of Junot's march on Lisbon, a reserve of 40,000 French troops were assembled at Bayonne—a pretty clear indication, though the factious, infatuated court of Madrid would not see it, that Bonaparte intended to seize the whole of the peninsula.—*Editor.*

abled to visit the factious with punishment. A proposition from Godoy to his master was, in fact, a command, and Charles IV. accordingly resolved to depart. The people now looked upon Godoy as a traitor. An insurrection broke out, the palace was surrounded, and the Prince of the Peace was on the point of being massacred in an upper apartment, where he had taken refuge. One of the mob had the presence of mind to invoke in his favour the name of the Prince of the Asturias: this saved his life.*

Charles IV. did not preserve his crown; he was easily intimidated, and advantage was taken of a moment of alarm to demand that abdication, which he had not spirit to refuse. He surrendered up his rights to his son, and thus was overthrown the insolent power of the Prince of the Peace: the favourite was made prisoner, and the Spaniards, who, like all ignorant people, are easily excited, manifested their joy on the occasion with barbarous enthusiasm. Meanwhile the unfortunate king, who had escaped from imaginary rather than real dangers, and who was at first content with having exchanged the right of reigning for the right of living, no sooner found himself in safety, than he changed his mind. He wrote to the emperor, protesting against his abdication, and appealed to him as the arbiter of his future fate.

During these internal dissensions, the French army was continuing its march towards the Pyrenees. Those barriers were

* "The Prince of the Peace himself pretended to be alarmed, and perhaps was really so, when he saw the advance of our troops, of whom part had arrived at Burgos, and part entered Barcelona. He declared that the royal family had no alternative but to retire to Seville, and call the Spanish nation to arms. It was said to have been arranged that he should act this part to induce the king and the royal family to depart for Seville; and that he was to escape from them clandestinely at Seville, to go and enjoy the advantages ensured to him by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Such is the story I have heard; but I saw nothing that warranted me in believing it, at least as to the design entertained by the Prince of the Peace taking possession of the territories he had secured to himself in Portugal. Far from this, the prince knew the decree of Milan, by which Junot was made governor of Portugal, and authorized to exercise his functions in the name of the emperor. The principality of the Algarves was now no longer talked of, and no doubt the prince had ceased to flatter himself with any thought of that dominion. He assembled the king's council at the palace of Aranjuez, and, after describing the misfortunes which threatened the monarchy, he succeeded in prevailing on the council to adopt his advice, and decree the removal of the royal family to Seville. On quitting this council, the Prince of the Asturias said to the guards, as he passed through the hall in which they were stationed, 'The Prince of the Peace is a traitor: he wishes to send away my father. Prevent his departure.'

"This observation of the Prince of the Asturias was rapidly reported through town. The populace repaired to the palace of the Prince of the Peace, ransacked it, and, after vigilant search, found the prince concealed in a garret. He would undoubtedly have fallen a victim to the fury of the mob, had not some of his attendants saved him by carrying him off to prison, pretending that they did so by order of the Prince of the Asturias."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

speedily crossed, and Murat entered Madrid in the beginning of April, 1808. Before I received any despatch from our government, I learned that Murat's presence in Madrid, far from producing a good effect, had only increased the disorder. I obtained this information from a merchant of Lubeck, who came to Hamburg on purpose to show me a letter he had received from his correspondent in Madrid. In this letter Spain was said to be a prey which Murat wished to appropriate to himself; and all that afterwards came to my knowledge, served only to prove the accuracy of the writer's information. It was perfectly true that Murat wished to conquer Spain for himself, and it is not astonishing that the inhabitants of Madrid should have understood his designs, for he carried his indiscretion so far, as openly to express his wish to become King of Spain. The emperor was informed of this, and gave him to understand, in very significant terms, that the throne of Spain was not destined for him, but that he should not be forgotten in the disposal of other crowns.

However, Napoleon's remonstrances were not sufficient to restrain the imprudence of Murat; and if he did not gain the crown of Spain for himself, he powerfully contributed to make Charles IV. lose it. That monarch, whom old habits attached to the Prince of the Peace, solicited the emperor to liberate his favourite, alleging that he and his family would be content to live in any place of security, provided Godoy were with them. The unfortunate Charles seemed to be thoroughly disgusted with greatness.

Both the king and queen so earnestly implored Godoy's liberation, that Murat, whose vanity was flattered by these royal solicitations, took the Prince of the Peace under his protection; but he, at the same time, declared, that in spite of the abdication of Charles IV., he would acknowledge none but that prince as King of Spain, until he should receive contrary orders from the emperor. This declaration placed Murat in formal opposition to the Spanish people, who, through their hatred of Godoy, embraced the cause of the heir of the throne, in whose favour Charles IV. had abdicated.

It has been remarked, that Napoleon stood in a perplexing situation in this conflict between the king and his son. This is not correct. King Charles, though he afterwards said that his abdication had been forced from him by violence and threats, had, nevertheless, tendered it. By this act Ferdinand was king; but Charles declared it was done against his will, and he retracted. The emperor's recognition was wanting, and he could give or withhold it, as he pleased.

In this state of things, Napoleon arrived at Bayonne. Thither Ferdinand was also invited to go, under pretence of arranging with the emperor the differences between his father and himself. It was some time before he could form his determination, but

at length his ill-advised friends prevailed on him to set off, and he was caught in the snare. What happened to him, as well as to his father, who repaired to Bayonne, with his inseparable friend, the Prince of the Peace, is well known. Napoleon, who had undertaken to be arbiter between the father and son, thought the best way of settling the difference was to give the disputed throne to his brother Joseph, thus verifying the fable of the "Two Lawyers and the Oyster." The insurrection in Madrid on the 2d of May, accelerated the fate of Ferdinand, who was accused of being the author of it; at least this suspicion fell on his friends and adherents.

Charles IV., it was said, would not return to Spain, and solicited an asylum in France. He signed a renunciation of his rights to the crown of Spain, which renunciation was also signed by the infantas.

The Prince Royal of Sweden, who was at Hamburg at this time, and the ministers of all the European powers, loudly condemned the conduct of Napoleon with respect to Spain. I cannot say whether or not M. Talleyrand advised the emperor not to attempt the overthrow of a branch of the house of Bourbon: his good sense and elevated views might certainly have suggested that advice. But the general opinion was, that had he retained the portfolio of foreign affairs, the Spanish revolution would have terminated with more decorum and good faith, than was exhibited in the tragi-comedy acted at Madrid and Bayonne.

NOTES ON THE TREACHEROUS SEIZURE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF SPAIN.

The following condensed English account of these astounding transactions may be useful to some readers:

"We now come to another and most important transaction of Napoleon's reign, the invasion of Spain. Spain was the humble and submissive ally of Napoleon; her navy, her army, her treasures were at his disposal. She was at war with Great Britain; she had allowed a free passage to the French troops through her territory to Portugal. Other French divisions had entered Spain as friends in the beginning of 1808, and seized by stratagem the fortresses of St. Sebastian, Pamplona, and Barcelona. At the same time the internal administration of Spain was carried on in a most corrupt and profligate manner. Charles IV., his queen, and the favourite Godoy, had completely disgusted the Spaniards. An insurrectional movement took place at Aranjuez, 20th of March, and Ferdinand, the heir to the crown, who was a favourite with the people, was proclaimed

king, and Charles was induced to abdicate. Napoleon founded upon this a pretence for interfering. He invited father, mother, son, and favourite to Bayonne, where he himself repaired in April. Charles and his queen went readily; Ferdinand hesitated; but Napoleon sent Savary, who with many asseverations of his master's honourable and friendly intentions towards him, gradually decoyed the weak prince from stage to stage until he was fairly out of the Spanish territory. A scene of duplicity and dishonesty, of indecent and unnatural recriminations now took place between Napoleon, the old king, the queen, and her son, which for moral turpitude has no parallel in history.—*Don Pedro Cevallos, and the Canon Escoiquiz's accounts.* Charles resumed his character of king, stigmatized Ferdinand as a rebellious son; the queen joined in reviling and disgracing him at the expense of her own and her husband's honour,* and Ferdinand, overwhelmed by insults and threats, renounced his claim to the crown of Spain on the 6th of May. (Concerning the real sentiments of Ferdinand expressed in his intercepted letters, see Bausset, *Mémoires anecdotiques sur l'Intérieur du Palais.*) Charles likewise resigned all his rights 'in favour of his friend and ally the emperor of the French.' Napoleon now issued a decree, appointing 'his dearly-beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, to the crowns of Spain and the Indies.' By a subsequent decree, 15th of July, he appointed 'his dearly-beloved cousin, Joachim Murat, grand Duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples and Sicily, which remained vacant by the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies.' Both these curious documents are signed Napoleon, and countersigned by the ministers secretary of state, Maret."—*Memoir of Bonaparte. P. C.*

* This shameless royal virago told Ferdinand in the presence of Napoleon and of her husband Charles IV., that the king was not his father—that he was *her* son by an adulterous intercourse.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER VI.

1808.

The Bourbon cause apparently lost—Louis XVIII. after his departure from France—The Count de Provence at Coblentz—He seeks refuge in Turin and Verona—Death of Louis XVII.—Louis XVIII. refused an asylum in Austria, Saxony, and Prussia—His residence at Mittau and Warsaw—Alexander and Louis XVIII.—The king's departure from Milan and arrival at Yarmouth—Determination of the King of England—M. Lemercier's prophecy to Bonaparte—Fouché's inquiries respecting Count Rechteren—Note from Josephine—New demands on the Hanse Towns—Order to raise three thousand sailors in Hamburg—Departure of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo—Prediction and superstition—Stoppage of letters addressed to the Spanish troops—La Romana and Romanillos.

After the treaty of Tilsit, and the bonds of friendship, which seemed likely to produce a permanent union between the emperors of France and Russia, the cause of the Bourbons must have been considered irretrievably lost. Indeed, their only hope consisted in the imprudence and folly of him who had usurped their throne, and that hope they cherished. I will here relate what I had the opportunity of learning respecting the conduct of Louis XVIII., after his departure from France: this will naturally bring me to the end of November 1807, at which time I read in the "Abeille du Nord," published on the 9th of the same month, that the Count de Lille and the Duke d'Angoulême had set off for England.

The Count de Provence, as Louis's title then went, left Paris on the 21st of June, 1791. He constantly expressed his wish of keeping as near as possible to the frontiers of France. He at first took up his abode at Coblentz, and I knew from good authority that all the emigrants did not regard him with a favourable eye. They could not pardon the wise principles he had professed at a period when there was yet time to prevent, by reasonable concession, the misfortunes which imprudent irritation brought upon France. When the emigrants, after the campaign of 1792, passed the Rhine, the Count de Provence resided in the little town of Ham on the Lippe, where he remained until he was persuaded that the people of Toulon had

called him to Provence. As he could not, of course, pass through France, Monsieur repaired to the court of his father-in-law, the King of Sardinia, hoping to embark at Genoa, and from thence to reach the coast of Provence. But the evacuation of Toulon, where the name of Bonaparte was for the first time sounded by the breath of fame, having taken place before he was able to leave Turin, Monsieur remained there four months, at the expiration of which time his father-in-law intimated to him the impossibility of his remaining longer in the Sardinian states. He was afterwards permitted to reside at Verona, where he heard of Louis XVII.'s death. After remaining two years in that city, the senate of Venice forbade his presence in the Venetian states. Thus forced to quit Italy, the count repaired to the army of Condé.

The heartless policy of the Austrian cabinet afforded no asylum to the Count de Provence; and he was obliged to pass through Germany; yet, as Louis XVIII. repeated over and over again, even since the restoration, "He never intended to shed French blood in Germany, for the sake of serving foreign interests." Monsieur had, indeed, too much penetration not to see that his cause was a mere pretext for the powers at war with France. They felt but little for the misfortunes of the prince, and merely wished to veil their ambition and their hatred of France, under the false pretence of zeal for the house of Bourbon.

When the dauphin died, Louis XVIII. took the title of King of France, and went to Prussia, where he obtained an asylum. But the pretender to the crown of France had not yet drained his cup of misfortune. After the 18th Fructidor, the Directory required the King of Prussia to send away Louis XVIII., and the cabinet of Berlin, it must be granted, was not in a situation to oppose the desire of the French government, whose wishes were commands. In vain Louis XVIII. sought an asylum in the King of Saxony's states. There only remained Russia that durst offer a last refuge to the descendant of Louis XIV. Paul I., who was always in extremes, and who at that time entertained a violent feeling of hatred towards France, earnestly offered Louis XVIII. a residence at Mittau. He treated him with the honours of a sovereign, and loaded him with marks of attention and respect. Three years had scarcely passed, when Paul was seized with mad enthusiasm for the man who, twelve years later, ravaged his ancient capital, and Louis XVIII. found himself expelled from that prince's territory, with a harshness equal to the kindness with which he had, at first, been received.

It was during his three years' residence at Mittau, that Louis XVIII., who was then known by the title of Count de Lille, wrote to the first consul those letters which have been inserted in these memoirs. Prussia, being again solicited, at length consented that Louis XVIII. should reside at Warsaw; but on

the accession of Napoleon to the empire, the prince quitted that residence, in order to consult respecting his new situation with the only sovereign who had not deserted him in his misfortune, viz., the King of Sweden. They met at Colmar, and from that city was dated the protest which I have already noticed. Louis XVIII. did not stay long in the states of the King of Sweden. Russia was now on the point of joining her eagles with those of Austria, to oppose the new eagles of imperial France. Alexander offered to the Count de Lille the asylum which Paul had granted to him, and afterwards withdrawn. Louis XVIII. accepted the offer; but after the peace of Tilsit, fearing lest Alexander might imitate the second act of his father, as well as the first, he plainly saw that he must give up all intention of residing on the continent; and it was then that I read in the "Abeille du Nord" the article before alluded to. There is, however, one fact, upon which I must insist, because I know it to be true, viz., that it was of his own free will that Louis XVIII. quitted Mittau; and if he was afraid that Alexander would imitate his father's conduct, that fear was without foundation. The truth is, that Alexander was ignorant even of the king's intention to go away, until he heard from Baron Driesen, governor of Mittau, that he had actually departed. Having now stated the truth on this point, I have to correct another error, if indeed it be only an error, into which some writers have fallen. It has been falsely alleged, that the king left Mittau for the purpose of fomenting fresh troubles in France. The friends of Louis XVIII., who advised him to leave Mittau, had great hopes from the last war. They cherished still greater hopes from the new wars which Bonaparte's ambition could not fail to excite; but they were not so ill-informed respecting the internal condition of France, as to expect that disturbances would arise there, or even to believe in the possibility of fomenting them. *The pear was not yet ripe* for Louis XVIII.

On the 29th of November, the contents of a letter, which had arrived from London by way of Sweden were communicated to me. This letter was dated the 3d of November, and contained some particulars respecting the Count de Lille's arrival in England. That prince had arrived at Yarmouth on the 31st of October; and it was stated that the king was obliged to wait some time in the port, until certain difficulties, respecting his landing, and the continuance of his journey, should be removed. It moreover appeared from this letter, that the King of England thought proper to refuse the Count de Lille permission to go to London, or its neighbourhood. The palace of Holyrood, in Edinburgh, was assigned as his place of residence; and Mr. Ross, secretary to Mr. Canning, conveyed the determination of the King of England to Louis XVIII. at Yarmouth.

The precaution of the English ministry in not permitting the refugee king to go near London, appeared to me remarkable,

considering the relative position of the governments of France and England, and I regarded it as a corroboration of what the Prince of Wittgenstein had told me respecting Mr. Canning's inclination for an amicable arrangement. But the moment was approaching, when the affairs of Spain were to raise an invincible obstacle to peace; to complicate more than ever the interests of the powers of Europe, and open to Napoleon that vast career of ambition which proved his ruin. He did not long allow the hopes of the emigrants to remain chimerical, and the year 1814 witnessed the realization of the prophetic remark made by M. Lemercier, in a conversation with Bonaparte, a few days before the foundation of the empire: "If you make up the bed of the Bourbons, general, you will not lie in it ten years." Napoleon lay in it nine years and nine months.

Fouché, the grand investigator of the secrets of Europe, did not fail, on the first report of the agitations in Spain, to address to me question on question respecting the Count Rechteren, the Spanish minister at Hamburg, who, however, had left that city, with the permission of his court, four months after I had entered on my functions. This was going back very far to seek information respecting the affairs of the day. At the very moment when I transmitted a reply to Fouché which was not calculated to please him, because it afforded no ground for suspicion as to the personal conduct of M. Rechteren, I received from the amiable Josephine a new mark of her remembrance. She sent me the following note:

"M. Milon, who is now in Hamburg, wishes me, my dear Bourrienne, to request that you will use your interest in his favour. I feel the more pleasure in making this request, as it affords me an opportunity of renewing the assurance of my regard for you."

Josephine's letter was dated from Fontainebleau, whither the emperor used to make journeys in imitation of the old court of France. During these excursions he sometimes partook of the pleasures of the chase; but merely for the sake of reviving an old custom, for in that exercise he found as little amusement as Montaigne did in the game of chess. At Fontainebleau, as every where else, his mind was engaged with the means of augmenting his greatness; but, unfortunately, the exactions he imposed on distant countries were calculated to alienate the affections of the people. Thus, for example, I received an order emanating from him, and transmitted to me by M. Daru, the commissary-in-chief of the army, that the pay of all the French troops stationed in the Hanse Towns, should be defrayed by those towns. I lamented the necessity of making such a communication to the senates of Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg; but my duty compelled me to do so, and I had long been accustomed to fulfil duties even more painful than this. I tried every possible means with the three states, not collectively but separately, to induce

them to comply with the measure, in the hope that the assent of one would help me to obtain that of the two others. But, as if they had been all agreed, I only received evasive expressions of regret.

Knowing as I did, and I may say better than any one else, the hopes and designs of Bonaparte respecting the north of Germany, it was not without pain, nor even without alarm, that I saw him doing every thing calculated to convert into enemies the inhabitants of a country, which would always have remained quiet, had it only been permitted to preserve its neutrality. Among the orders I received were often many which could only have been the result of the profoundest ignorance. For example, I was one day directed to press three thousand seamen in the Hanse Towns. Three thousand seamen out of a population of two hundred thousand! What blockhead could have suggested such a project? It was as absurd as to think of raising 500,000 sailors in France. This project being impossible, it was, of course, not executed; but I had some difficulty in persuading the emperor that a sixth of the number demanded was the utmost the Hanse Towns could supply. Five hundred seamen were accordingly furnished, but to make up that number, it was necessary to include many men who were totally unfit for war service.

In the spring of 1808, a circumstance occurred which gave me much uneasiness; it was the departure of Bernadotte, prince of Ponte-Corvo, who received orders to repair to Copenhagen.* He left Hamburg on the 8th of March, as he was to reach his destination on the 14th of the same month. The Danish chargé-d'affaires also received orders to join the prince, and discharge the functions of king's commissary. It was during his government at Hamburg, and his stay in Jutland, that Bernadotte unconsciously paved his way to the throne of Sweden. I recollect that he had also his presages and his predestinations. In short, he believed in astrology, and I shall never forget the serious tone in which he one day said to me, "Would you believe, my dear friend, that it was predicted at Paris that I should be a king, but that I must cross the sea to reach my throne." I could not help smiling at this weakness of mind, from which Bonaparte was not far removed. It certainly was not any supernatural influence which elevated Bernadotte to sovereign rank. That elevation was solely due to his excellent character. He had no other talisman than the wisdom of his government, and the promptitude which he always showed to oppose unjust measures. This it was that united all opinions in his favour.

The bad state of the roads in the north prolonged Bernadotte's

* He was directed to take the command of the French troops whom the emperor sent into Denmark, after the bombardment of Copenhagen by the English. —*Bourrienne.* Whether the English had bombarded Copenhagen or not, Bernadotte would have been sent into Denmark, all the same, and, if we had not secured the fleet he would have seized it for his then master.—*Editor.*

journey one day. He set out on the 8th of March: he was expected to arrive at Copenhagen on the 14th, but did not reach there till the 15th. He arrived precisely two hours before the death of Christian, King of Denmark, an event with which he made me acquainted by a letter written two days after his arrival.

On the 6th of April following I received a second letter from Bernadotte, in which he desired me to order the grand ducal postmaster to keep back all letters addressed to the Spanish troops, who had been placed under his command, and of which the corps of Romana formed part. The postmaster was ordered to keep the letters until he received orders to forward them to their destinations. Bernadotte considered this step indispensable, to prevent the intrigues which he feared might be set on foot, in order to shake the fidelity of the Spaniards he commanded.* I saw from his despatch, that he feared the plotting of Romanillos,† who, however, was not a person to cause much apprehension. Romanillos was as commonplace a man as could well be conceived; and his speeches, as well as his writings, were too innocent to create any influence on public opinion.

CHAPTER VII.

1808.

Illegible notifications—Calumnious attack upon Baron Stein, Prince Wittgenstein, and myself—Baron Stein's love of liberty—His *Testament politique*—Accusation against Prince Wittgenstein—Surreptitious copy of a letter of the Countess Woss—Bernadotte's moderation—Indispensable measure—Gratitude of Prince Wittgenstein—Official note from the Prussian minister in Hamburg—Recent testimony of Prince Wittgenstein—Flattering letter from the King of Prussia.

In addition to the functions with which the emperor at first invested me, I had to discharge the duties of French consul-general at Hamburg, and in that character I was obliged to present to the minister for foreign affairs a very singular request, viz., that the judicial notifications, which as consul-general I had to make known to the people of Hamburg, might be written in a more legible hand. Many of these notifications had been

* It will be remembered that this Spanish corps of Romana, afterwards broke the French leash that held them, and found their way back to the peninsula, where they fought for the independence of their native country.—*Editor.*

† Romanillos was secretary of the Spanish legation at Hamburg, and chargé d'affaires from the cabinet of Madrid, after the departure of M. Rechteren.

disregarded on account of the impossibility of reading them. With respect to one of them, it was declared that it was impossible to discover whether the writing was German, French, or Chinese.

This affair was easily managed; but in the course of 1808, a still more serious matter occurred, in which I took great interest, and which serves to show to what a depth of turpitude those people will descend who found their fortunes on calumny. I here allude to a plot which was formed against Prince Wittgenstein. In a passage in a late publication, under the title of "Souvenirs," &c.,* it is stated, that fabricated despatches, purporting to be from Baron Stein, had been sent to the prince, with the view of making it appear that the baron was engaged in a plot for exciting an insurrection in Westphalia. It is added, that the minister, Bourrienne, had compelled the prince to write a letter, complaining of the conduct of Baron Stein. I shall here give a precise statement of the facts. Baron Stein has been too little known. As minister of the King of Prussia, he distinguished himself among the other members of the cabinet of Berlin, who supported, with all their influence, the regeneration of the people, and the creation of that public spirit which is the life and safety of nations. He wished to diffuse in all minds that conservative principle which declares, that subjects and governments must be united by bonds of mutual interest! This

* The writer makes his charge in the following terms: "The rights of man and the law of nations were violated in an extraordinary way in December, 1808, in the person of Prince Wittgenstein, the Prussian minister at Hamburg, and as this affair led to M. Stein's proscription by Bonaparte, it will not be out of place to notice it here. Prince Wittgenstein was in the habit of receiving despatches from M. Stein, the Prussian minister, who was at Koningsberg with the king; and Bonaparte was curious to know the contents of these despatches. For this purpose, having caused one of the couriers to be arrested and detained, he examined his despatches, and afterwards forwarded them to Prince Wittgenstein, at Hamburg. The despatches contained severe reflections on Bonaparte's conduct in Spain and Westphalia. He afterwards sent several forged letters, in which the handwriting of M. Stein had been imitated, to the prince, calling upon him to transmit a plan for revolutionizing Westphalia. Prince Wittgenstein, not knowing what to think of these letters, wrote to Count Goltz, and to the minister of the King of Prussia at Koningsberg, respecting the extraordinary communications he had received from M. Stein. The French agents intercepted these letters, and, fearful lest the truth might be discovered, recourse was had to new experiments.

"Prince Wittgenstein was arrested at Hamburg, and lodged in the house of Bonaparte's minister, Bourrienne. He was there compelled to write to Count Goltz respecting the conduct of M. Stein, who was stated to be endeavouring to revolutionize Westphalia, and other things equally false. These letters were sent directly to the Moniteur, and were inserted in that paper on the 7th of December, 1808. Bonaparte, notwithstanding all his cunning, could not keep his own secret. It is evident from the letters themselves, that Prince Wittgenstein was forced to write them, for he certainly did not send them to the Moniteur. As for Count Goltz, he never received them, the originals having been sent to Paris, where they remained. It was subsequently to this scandalous affair that M. Stein was outlawed."

was enough to make Bonaparte hate Baron Stein. He who could not endure in France those patriotic sentiments which, nevertheless, had opened to him the way to the throne, would not, of course, tolerate them among a people with whom he was at war; especially when he saw that a national effervescence, manifested in Prussia, might oppose a barrier to his ambition. Bonaparte attributed to Baron Stein, and to his system, the murmurs of patriotism which were at first heard faintly in the states of Frederick William, and which afterwards burst out so loudly. The animosity which Bonaparte from that moment conceived towards Baron Stein, was a proof of his shrewdness. He clearly saw into the future; and there can be little doubt, that to this first impulse given to the public mind in Prussia, must be attributed the generous feeling that was manifested when General York separated from the French troops, without waiting for the King of Prussia's consent.

In November, Baron Stein published at Koningsberg, where he then resided, a circular letter to the principal officers of the kingdom of Prussia. This document was known by the name of Baron Stein's Political Testament. This is all I know respecting Baron Stein, and, consequently, all I can say of him; but I could not allow such a calumny as had been broached to pass unnoticed.

Now, for the truth:—The Countess Woss, first lady of the court of the Queen of Prussia, wrote to her friend Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein at Hamburg, a certain letter without date of time or place. This letter, it is said, reached Hamburg on the 16th of November. Prince Wittgenstein was at Hamburg, not as a minister, but merely as a private resident. Baron Grote was then minister from Prussia to the Hanse Towns. About the time when the letter of the Countess Woss reached Hamburg, Marshal Bernadotte received one from M. Daru, dated the 14th of November, containing a copy of Madame de Woss's letter, which had been opened in the Berlin cabinet.* This copy was translated from German into French; and, in transmitting it, M. Daru desired Bernadotte to arrest Prince Sayn-Wittgenstein. From some terms used in the *translated* copy of Madame Woss's letter, it was pretended that the prince was at the head of a conspiracy, the object of which was to revolutionize Westphalia, and afterwards to assassinate the emperor.

Bernadotte immediately called on me to communicate this incomprehensible despatch. As soon as I saw it, I suspected some odious machination, and I observed to the marshal, that having resided with the prince, and knowing him well, I considered him incapable of entering into the designs attributed to him. I added, that he had often spoken to me of the Countess

* The reader must remember that the Berlin cabinet was then *French*.—*Editor*.

Woss as being a most respectable lady, and I advised him not to arrest the prince, or, at least, to delay that disagreeable measure. "Let us go and call on him," said I; "he will not expect us, and we shall see what effect our visit will produce on him; at all events, we will require him to give his word of honour not to quit Hamburg before the affair be settled." Bernadotte, who was always disposed to act kindly, complied with my request. It was ten o'clock at night when we went to call on Prince Wittgenstein, and Bernadotte had received the letter only two hours before. We found the prince in dishabille, quietly taking his tea. Supposing we had come to make him a friendly visit, he made many excuses for the way in which we found him, observing, that it was our own fault for coming so late. He behaved in his usual polite and easy way, so that we could not imagine he had any idea of the business we had come upon. The marshal tried every delicate way of giving him to understand the nature of our visit, but at last we were obliged to tell it plainly. His first idea was that we were joking; but when he saw that we were serious, and when Bernadotte presented to him the translated copy of the letter of the Countess Woss, his surprise and indignation were beyond all expression. Bernadotte required him to give his word that he would not leave Hamburg without permission, which the prince willingly did, declaring that he had not received the original of the letter communicated to us.

Next day, the 17th of November, Prince Wittgenstein called on me at an early hour. I was too well acquainted with his excellent character to require any assurance of his being neither a revolutionist nor a murderer. He seemed much agitated by what had occurred. I said all I could to allay his apprehensions, and advised him to apply for the original letter of the Countess Woss.

In spite of friendship and conviction, the orders we had received made it impossible that we could dispense with examining the prince's papers. I looked them over myself, assisted by General Gerard, and we found nothing upon which the slightest suspicion could be founded. Bernadotte, urged by my solicitations, and personally convinced of the innocence of the prince, persisted in his determination of not arresting him. However, to secure himself against any reproach, he wrote, on the 19th, a letter to the emperor, who was then in Spain, in which he stated what had passed, adding, that he had not thought it necessary to arrest Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had taken measures for securing him should it be necessary, and that he awaited further orders.

I still strongly urged Prince Wittgenstein to demand that the original letter of the Countess Woss should be shown to him. On the 21st of November, Count Daru wrote to inform him, that the original letter had been sent to the King of Prussia at

Koningsberg. On the other hand, Davoust asserted, that the original had actually been sent to Prince Wittgenstein, but that he had destroyed it, and that he now denied the projected conspiracy and poisoning. On the 22d of November, Count Woss, the nephew of the countess, had a conversation at Berlin with Count Daru, who had assured me that the letter had merely been copied, and then forwarded by the post, and that it must be delivered according to its address. But Count Woss had informed the prince, that on the 20th he had been promised to have a sight of the letter on the 23d.

These incomprehensible contradictions proved that the original letter was still in existence, and that some one had an interest in preventing it being compared with the translated copy. But the prince, conscious of his own innocence, and well assured that the Countess Woss could not have written any thing to commit him, insisted that the sense of the original letter must have been perverted in the translation.

On the 26th of November I received a letter on the subject from Baron Grote, the King of Prussia's minister, who was sent from Hamburg when M. Daru's despatch arrived. In his note the baron protested against the calumnious imputation cast on Prince Wittgenstein and the Countess Woss, and claimed my interference to cause the proceedings against the prince to be withdrawn.

In spite of the reiterated requests of Prince Wittgenstein, the original letter was not produced. At length, the day after that on which I received M. Grote's note, and thirteen days after the receipt of the translated copy of Countess Woss's letter, the prince wrote me the following note in German, the autograph of which I have preserved:

Enclosed, my dear friend, you will receive the original letter of the Countess Woss, together with one addressed to the prince,* and another to the minister Woss. If any thing else is necessary I will come immediately to you.

If I have failed in calling on you to-day, you must regard that only as a proof of the value I attach to your friendship.† Those men alone who know how to make allowance for the weakness of their fellow-creatures can inspire me with the high esteem I cherish for you. The idea of losing your friendship, and of being suspected of having been guilty of indiscretion and ingratitude, has bewildered me, and thrown me into a state of feeling I cannot describe.

Ever gratefully yours,
WITTGENSTEIN.

Hamburg, 27th of November, 1808.

* The Prince of Ponte-Corvo, *i. e.* Bernadotte.

† It had been agreed that Prince Wittgenstein should call on me every day to prove his presence in Hamburg; but the pleasure I derived from seeing him was the only reason for my attaching any importance to this condition. I was too well convinced of the integrity of his character to allow his absence ever to cause me the least uneasiness.

P.S.—I have not kept a copy of Count Woss's letter. If the prince wishes for his long letter which I read to you yesterday evening, he shall have a copy of it to-morrow.

Prince Wittgenstein's state of mind was not improved by the reception of the original letter of the Countess Woss. Two days after, on the 29th of November, he wrote to me the following billet:

I have just risen after having slept nine hours. I have now forgotten all my troubles, which before had almost driven me to despair. On awaking, my first prayer was, that God would bless you and your family, and procure me an opportunity of proving to you that I am not unworthy of your friendship.

The original letter of the Countess Woss, the translated copy which had been sent from Berlin, another translation which I made, and a third made by an aide-de-camp of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo (I believe M. Gentil de Saint Alphonse), were all forwarded to the emperor. He easily perceived the difference between the translations, and saw no just ground for the accusation which had been brought against Prince Wittgenstein.

After this statement of facts, supported by uncontradictable proofs, what is to be thought of the attack upon me contained in the publication from which I have given an extract? When that publication came to my knowledge I was already engaged in writing these Memoirs, though I had no idea of the time at which I might publish them. I had already in my possession all the documents to which I have just referred, and which are certainly more than sufficient to refute the unfounded attack. However, with the view of throwing all possible light on this affair, I wrote to Prince Wittgenstein, who was then, and still is, a minister of the Prussian cabinet. And on the 29th of June, 1828, I received from him an answer, in which, among other things, he said—

"If you intend to publish any thing relative to your functions at Hamburg, you can, with justice, state, that you did not induce me to write a letter to Baron Stein of the nature of that mentioned by the author of a publication, entitled, 'Nos Souvenirs, ou les Péchés de Napoléon.' On the contrary, I retain a grateful sense of all the kindness I experienced from you during that difficult period, and I am ready to make this declaration to whomsoever may doubt my sentiments towards you."

I will now lay before the reader a letter from the King of Prussia, which was transmitted to me through the medium of Prince Wittgenstein, previously to the miserable contrivance to which the latter had wellnigh fallen a victim. I insert the letter in this place, because the date to which it refers brings me precisely to that point at which I shall resume the thread of my narrative in the next chapter. I have in my possession the autograph copy of this letter, and without affecting any false

modesty, I will candidly confess that I am proud to take this opportunity of publishing it:

MONSIEUR DE BOURRIENNE,

I am informed of the equitable dispositions and obliging interest which you have manifested for my states and for my subjects, whenever circumstances have given you the opportunity of so doing. I feel great pleasure in thus directly returning you my thanks, and I beg that you will continue to manifest the same sentiments on occasions, which will, no doubt, frequently recur. Be convinced that I shall retain a grateful recollection of your conduct, and that I shall have great satisfaction in proving, by all means in my power, that I render you full justice. I pray God, &c.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Koningsberg, March 18, 1808.

CHAPTER VIII.

1808.

Eagerness of the German princes to join the confederation of the Rhine—Attack upon me on account of Mr. Hue—Bernadotte's successor in Hamburg—Exactions and tyrannical conduct of General Dupas—Disturbance in Hamburg—Plates broken in a fit of rage—My letter to Bernadotte—His reply—Bernadotte's return to Hamburg, and departure of Dupas for Lubeck—Noble conduct of the aide-de-camp Barral—Promulgation of the Code of Commerce—Conquests by senatus consulta—Three events in one day—Recollections—Application of a line of Voltaire—Creation of the imperial nobility—Restoration of the university—Aggrandizement of the kingdom of Italy, at the expense of Rome—Cardinal Caprara's departure from Paris—The interview at Erfurt.

I SHALL not trace a picture of all the acts of turpitude committed by second-rate ambitious aspirants, who hoped to come in for their share in the division of the continent. The emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfthcake, but* none of them ventured to dispute the best bit with Napoleon. Long would be the litany, were I to enregister all the fraud and

* This passage scarcely admits of a literal translation which would be unintelligible to many readers. The point, though trifling, is curious. Bourrienne says,

"The emperor's lieutenants regarded Europe as a twelfthcake (*un gâteau des rois*), but none of them ventured to dispute *the bean* (*la fève*) with Napoleon. In French twelfthcakes there is a bean concealed in the midst, and in the division of the cake the person to whose lot the bean falls, is proclaimed king for the night. This stands in lieu of our custom of *drawing* for king and queen.—*Editor.*

treachery which they committed, either to augment their fortunes or to win the favour of the chief, who wished to have kings for his subjects. The fact is, that all the princes of Germany displayed the greatest eagerness to range themselves under the protection of Napoleon, by joining the Confederation of the Rhine. I received from those princes several letters, which served to prove at once the influence of Napoleon in Germany, and the facility with which men bend beneath the yoke of a new power. I must say, that among the emigrants who remained faithful to their cause, there were some who evinced more firmness of character than the foreign princes. I may mention, for example, M. Hue, the valet-de-chambre of Louis XVI. I do not intend to deny the high regard I entertained for that faithful servant of the martyred king: but the attentions which I congratulate myself on having shown to an excellent man, should not have subjected me to false imputations.

I have read the following statement in a publication: "M. Hue retired to Hamburg, where he passed nine months in perfect obscurity. He afterwards went to Holland, provided with a passport from Bourrienne, who was Napoleon's minister, though in disgrace, and who, foreseeing what was to happen, sought to ingratiate himself in the favour of the Bourbons."

The above passage contains a falsehood in almost every line. M. Hue wished to reside in Hamburg, but he did not wish to conceal himself. I cheerfully permitted him to remain there, in spite of contrary and very strict orders, which I had received, and with which I made M. Hue acquainted. I invited him to visit me, and assured him that he might remain in Hamburg without apprehension, provided he acted prudently. He wished to go to Holland, and I took upon myself to give him a passport. I left M. Hue in the free management of his business, the nature of which I knew very well, and which was very honourable; he was deputed to pay the pensions which Louis XVIII. granted to the emigrants. As for myself, I had tendered my resignation of private secretary to Bonaparte: and even admitting I was in disgrace in that character, I was not so as minister and consul-general at Hamburg. My situation, which was of little consequence at the time I was appointed to it, was rendered exceedingly important by later circumstances. It was, in fact, a sort of watch-tower of the government, whence all the movements of northern Germany were observed: and during my residence in the Hanse Towns, I continually experienced the truth of what Bonaparte said to me at my farewell audience:—"Yours is a place independent and apart."

It is absurd to say that the kindness I showed to M. Hue was an attempt to ingratiate myself with the Bourbons. My attentions to him were dictated solely by humanity, unaccom-

panied by any afterthought. Napoleon had given me his confidence, and by mitigating the severity of his orders, I served him better than they who executed them in a way which could not fail to render the French government odious. If I am accused of extending every possible indulgence to the unfortunate emigrants, I plead guilty; and, far from wishing to defend myself against the charge, I consider it honourable to me. But I defy any one of them to say that I betrayed in their favour the interests with which I was intrusted. They who urged Bonaparte to usurp the crown of France, served, though perhaps unconsciously, the cause of the Bourbons. I, on the contrary, used all my endeavours to dissuade him from that measure, which I clearly saw must, in the end, lead to the restoration, though I do not pretend that I was sufficiently clearsighted to guess that Napoleon's fall was so near at hand. The kindness I showed to M. Hue and his companions in misfortune, was prompted by humanity, and not by mean speculation. As well might it be said that Bernadotte, who, like myself, neglected no opportunity of softening the rigour of the orders he was deputed to execute, was, by this means, working his way to the throne of Sweden.

Bernadotte had proceeded to Denmark, to take the command of the Spanish and French troops who had been removed from the Hanse Towns to occupy that kingdom, which was then threatened by the English. His departure was a great loss to me, for we had always agreed respecting the measures to be adopted, and I felt his absence the more sensibly when I was enabled to make a comparison between him and his successor. It is painful to me to detail the misconduct of those who injured the French name in Germany, but, in fulfilment of the task I have undertaken, I am bound to tell the truth.

In April, 1808, General Dupas came to take the command of Hamburg; but only under the orders of Bernadotte, who retained the supreme command of the French troops in the Hanse Towns. By the appointment of General Dupas, the emperor cruelly thwarted the wishes and hopes of the inhabitants of Lower Saxony. That general said of the people of Hamburg, "As long as I see those .... driving in their carriages, I can have money from them." It is, however, only just to add, that his dreadful exactions were not made on his own account, but for the benefit of another man to whom he owed his all, and to whom he had in some measure devoted his existence. It was for *that* man he became the blood-sucker of the Hanse Towns.

I will state some particulars respecting the way in which the generals who commanded the French troops at Hamburg were maintained. The senate of Hamburg granted to the marshals thirty friederichs per day for the expenses of their table exclusive of the hotel in which they were lodged by the city. The generals of division had only twenty friederichs. General

Dupas wished to be provided for on the same footing as the marshals. The senate having, with reason, rejected this demand, Dupas required that he should be daily served with a breakfast and a dinner of thirty covers. This was an inconceivable burden, and Dupas cost the city more than any of his predecessors.

I saw an account of his expenses, which, during the twenty-one weeks he remained at Hamburg, amounted to 122,000 marks, or about 183,000 francs. None but the most exquisite wines were drunk at the table of Dupas. Even his servants were treated with champagne, and the choicest fruits were brought from the fine hothouses of Berlin. The inhabitants were irritated at this extravagance, and Dupas accordingly experienced the resistance of the senate. Among other vexations there was one to which the people could not readily submit. In Hamburg, which had formerly been a fortified town, the custom was preserved of closing the gates at nightfall. On Sundays they were closed three-quarters of an hour later, to avoid interrupting the amusements of the people. While General Dupas was governor of Hamburg, an event occurred which occasioned considerable irritation in the public mind, and might have been attended by fatal consequences. From some whim or other, the general ordered the gates to be closed at seven in the evening, and consequently while it was broad daylight, for it was in the middle of spring; no exception was made in favour of Sunday; and on that day a great number of the inhabitants, who had been walking in the outskirts of the city, presented themselves at the gate of Altona for admittance. To their surprise they found the gate closed, though it was a greater thoroughfare than any other gate in Hamburg. The number of persons requiring admittance increased, and a considerable crowd soon collected. After useless entreaties had been addressed to the chief officer of the post, the people were determined to send to the commandant for the keys. The commandant arrived, accompanied by the general. When they appeared, it was supposed they had come for the purpose of opening the gates, and they were accordingly saluted with a general *hurrah!* which throughout almost all the north is the usual cry for expressing popular satisfaction. General Dupas not understanding the meaning of this *hurrah!* supposed it to be a signal for sedition; and instead of ordering the gates to be opened, he commanded the military to fire upon the peaceful citizens, who only wanted to return to their homes. Several persons were killed, and others more or less seriously wounded. Fortunately, after this first discharge the fury of Dupas was appeased; but still he persisted in keeping the gates closed at night. Next day, an order was posted about the city, prohibiting the cry of *hurrah!* under pain of a severe punishment. It was also forbidden, that more than three persons should collect

together in the streets. Thus it was, that certain persons imposed the French yoke upon towns and provinces which were previously happy. Dupas was as much execrated in the Hanse Towns as Clarke had been in Berlin, when he was governor of that capital during the campaign of 1807. Clarke had burdened the people of Berlin with every kind of oppression and exaction. He, as well as many others, manifested a ready obedience in executing the imperial orders, however tyrannical they might be; and Heaven knows what epithets invariably accompanied the name of Clarke, when pronounced by the lips of a Prussian!

Dupas seemed to have taken Clarke as his model. An artillery officer, who was in Hamburg at the time of the disturbance I have just mentioned, told me that it was he who was directed to place two pieces of light artillery before the gate of Altona. Having executed this order, he went to General Dupas, whom he found in a furious fit of passion, breaking and destroying every thing within his reach. In the presence of the officer he broke more than two dozen plates which were on the table before him: these plates, of course, had cost him very little.

On the day after the disturbance which had so fatal a termination, I wrote to inform the Prince of Ponte-Corvo of what had taken place; and in my letter I solicited the suppression of an extraordinary tribunal which had been created by General Dupas. He returned me an immediate answer, complying with my request. His letter was as follows:

I have received your letter, my dear minister: it forcibly conveys the expression of your right feeling, which revolts against oppression, severity, and the abuse of power. I entirely concur in your view of the subject, and I am distressed whenever I see such acts of injustice committed. On an examination of the events which took place on the 9th, it is impossible to deny that the officer who ordered the gates to be closed so soon was in the wrong; and next, it may be asked, why were not the gates opened instead of the military being ordered to fire on the people? But, on the other hand, did not the people evince decided obstinacy and insubordination? Were they not to blame in throwing stones at the guard, forcing the palisades, and even refusing to listen to the voice of the magistrates? It is melancholy that they should have fallen into these excesses, from which, doubtless, they would have refrained, had they listened to the civil chiefs, who ought to be their first sentinels. Finally, my dear minister, the senator who distributed money at the gate of Altona to appease the multitude, would have done better had he advised them to wait patiently until the gates were opened; and he might, I think, have gone to the commandant or the general, to solicit that concession.

Whenever an irritated mob resorts to violence, there is no safety for any one. The protecting power must then exert its utmost authority to stop mischief. The senate of ancient Rome, so jealous of its prerogatives, assigned to a dictator, in times of trouble, the power of

life and death, and that magistrate knew no other code than his own will and the axe of his lictors. The ordinary laws did not resume their course until the people returned to submission.

The event which took place in Hamburg produced a feeling of agitation, of which evil-disposed persons might take advantage to stir up open insurrection. That feeling could only be repressed by a severe tribunal, which, however, is no longer necessary. General Dupas has, accordingly, received orders to dissolve it, and justice will resume her usual course

J. Bernadotte.

Densel, May 4, 1808.

When Bernadotte returned to Hamburg he sent Dupas to Lubeck. That city, which was poorer than Hamburg, suffered cruelly from the visitation of such a guest. Dupas levied all his exactions in kind, and indignantly spurned every offer of accepting money, the very idea of which, he said, shocked his delicacy of feeling. But his demands became so extravagant, that the city of Lubeck was utterly unable to satisfy them. Besides his table, which was provided in the same style of profusion as at Hamburg, he required to be furnished with plate, linen, wood, and candles; in short, with the most trivial articles of household consumption.

The senate deputed to the incorruptible General Dupas M. Nolting, a venerable old man, who mildly represented to him the abuses which were every where committed in his name, and entreated that he would vouchsafe to accept twenty louis per day to defray the expenses of his table alone. At this proposition General Dupas flew into a rage. To offer him money was an insult not to be endured!—He furiously drove the terrified senator out of the house, and the next minute ordered his aide-de-camp Barral to imprison him. M. de Barral, startled at this extraordinary order, ventured to remonstrate with the general, but in vain; and, though against his heart, he was obliged to obey. The aide-de-camp accordingly waited upon the senator, Nolting, and, overcome by that feeling of respect which gray hairs involuntarily inspire in youth, instead of arresting him, he besought the old man not to leave his house until he should prevail on the general to retract his orders. It was not till the following day that M. de Barral succeeded in getting these orders revoked—that is to say, he obtained M. Nolting's release from prison; for Dupas would not be satisfied until he heard that the senator had suffered at least the commencement of the punishment to which his capricious fury had doomed him.

In spite of his parade of disinterestedness, General Dupas yielded so far as to accept the twenty louis a day for the expense of his table, which M. Nolting had offered him, on the part of the senate of Lubeck; but it was not without murmurings, complaints, and menaces, that he made this generous con-

cession; and he exclaimed more than once, "These *fellows* have portioned out my allowance for me."* Lubeck was not released from the presence of General Dupas until the month of March, 1809, when he was summoned to command a division in the emperor's new campaign against Austria. Strange as it may appear, it is, nevertheless, the fact, that oppressive as had been his presence at Lubeck, the Hanse Towns soon had reason to regret him.

The year 1808 was fertile in remarkable events. Occupied as I was with my own duties, I yet amused my leisure hours in observing the course of those great acts by which Bonaparte seemed determined to mark every day of his life. At the commencement of 1808, I received one of the first copies of the Code of Commerce, promulgated on the 1st of January by the emperor's order. This code appeared to me an act of derision; at least it was extraordinary to publish a code respecting a subject which it was the effect of all the imperial decrees to destroy. What trade could possibly exist under the continental system, and the ruinous severity of the customs? The line was already extended widely enough, when, by a senatus consultum, it was still further widened. The emperor, to whom all the continent submitted, had recourse to no other formality for the purpose of annexing to the empire the towns of Kehl, Cassel near Mentz, Wessel, and Flushing, with the territories depending on them. These conquests, gained by decrees and senatorial decisions, had at least the advantage of being effected without bloodshed. All these things were carefully communicated to me by the ministers, with whom I corresponded; for my situation at Hamburg had acquired such importance, that it was necessary I should know every thing.

At this period, I observed among the news which I received from different places, a singular coincidence of dates, worthy of being noted by the authors of Ephemerides. On the same day, namely, the 1st of February, Paris, Lisbon, and Rome, were the scenes of events of different kinds, but, as they all happened on one day, afford a striking example of the rapidity of movement which marked the reign of Bonaparte. At Paris, the niece of Josephine, Mademoiselle de Tascher,† whom Napoleon

* This is another of the many coarse passages that cannot be literally translated. Verily we may say, what manner of men were those capable of such language?—*Editor.*

† Mademoiselle d'Avrillion, when she first entered the service of Josephine, was placed about the person of Mademoiselle Tascher; and in her Memoirs she draws rather an interesting character of the young and handsome creole, who was singularly attached to her aunt, then only Madame Bonaparte, wife of the first consul. "Every body," says the sensible femme-de-chambre, "was satisfied with this marriage except the bride herself, whose taste was the first that ought to have been consulted. Mademoiselle de Tascher assented to the union

had lately exalted to the rank of princess, was married to the reigning Prince of Ahremberg, while, at the same time, Junot declared to Portugal that the house of Braganza had *ceased to reign*,* and French troops were, under the command of General Miollis, occupying Rome. This occupation was the commencement of prolonged struggles, during which Pius VII. expiated the condescension he had shown in going to Paris to crown Napoleon.

My correspondence, relative to what passed in the south of France and of Europe, presented to me, if I may so express myself, merely an anecdotal interest. Not so the news which came from the north. At Hamburg I was like the sentinel of an advanced post, always on the alert. I frequently informed the government of what would take place before the event actually happened; I was one of the first to hear of the plans of Russia relative to Sweden. The courier whom I sent to Paris arrived there at the very moment when Russia made the declaration of war. About the end of February, the Russian troops entered Swedish Finland, and occupied also the capital of that province, which had, at all times, been coveted by the Russian government. It has been said, that at the interview at Erfurth, Bonaparte consented to the usurpation of that province by Alexander, in return for the complaisance of the latter in acknowledging Joseph as King of Spain and the Indies.

The removal of Joseph from the throne of Naples to the throne of Madrid, belongs, indeed, to that period respecting which I am now throwing together a few recollections. Murat had succeeded Joseph at Naples, and that accession of the brother-in-law of Napoleon to one of the thrones of the house of Bourbon, gave Bonaparte another junior in the college of kings, of which he would have infallibly become the senior, if he had gone on as he began.

I will relate a little circumstance which now occurs to me respecting the kings manufactured by Napoleon. I recollect that during the King of Etruria's stay in Paris, the first consul went with that prince to the Comédie Française, where Voltaire's Œdipus was performed. This piece, I may observe, Bonaparte liked better than any thing Voltaire ever wrote. I was in the theatre, but not in the first consul's box, and I observed, as all present must have done, the eagerness with which the audience

with the greatest repugnance: she had a thorough antipathy for the Prince d'Ahremberg, and she never could overcome it, *but she never could have dared to resist the will and command of Napoleon.*" The marriage was a wretched one: it ended in a divorce, after which Madame d'Ahremberg married the Count de Guitry.—*Editor.*

* This was a pet expression of Bonaparte's. In the same way he said, in 1806, when he made his brother Joseph King of Naples, "the Bourbons of Naples have ceased to reign."—*Editor.*

applied to Napoleon and the King of Etruria the line in which Philoctetes says—

J'ai fait des souverains et n'ai pas voulu l'être.*

The application was so marked, that it could not fail to become the subject of conversation between the first consul and me. "You remarked it, Bourrienne?" . . . . "Yes, general." . . . . "The fools! . . . . They shall see! They shall see!" . . . . —We did indeed see; not content with making kings, Bonaparte, when his brow was encircled by a double crown, after creating princes, at length realized the object he had long contemplated; namely, to found a new nobility, endowed with hereditary rights. It was at the commencement of March, 1808, that he accomplished this project: and I saw in the Moniteur a long list of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights, of the empire: there were wanting only viscounts and marquises.

At the same time that Bonaparte was founding a new nobility, he determined to raise up the old edifice of the university, but on a new foundation. The education of youth had always been one of his ruling ideas, and I had an opportunity of observing how he was changed by the exercise of sovereign power, when I received at Hamburg the statutes of the new elder daughter of the Emperor of the French, and compared them with the ideas which Bonaparte, when general and first consul, had often expressed to me respecting the education which ought to be given youth. Though the sworn enemy of every thing like liberty, Bonaparte had at first conceived a vast system of education, comprising above all the study of history, and those positive sciences, such as geology and astronomy, which give the utmost degree of development to the human mind. The sovereign, however, shrunk from the first ideas of the man of genius, and his university, confided to the elegant subserviency of M. de Fontaines, was merely a school, capable of producing educated subjects, but not enlightened men.

Before taking complete possession of Rome, and making it the second city of the empire, the vaunted moderation of Bonaparte was confined to dismembering from it the legations of Ancona, Urbino, Macerata, and Camerino, which were divided into three departments, and added to the kingdom of Italy. The patience of the holy see could no longer hold out against this act of violence, and Cardinal Caprara, who had remained in Paris since the coronation, at last left that capital. Shortly afterwards, the grand duchies of Parma and Piacenza were united to the French empire, and annexed to the government of the departments beyond the Alps. These transactions were coincident with the events in Spain and Bayonne before mentioned.

* I have made sovereigns, but have never wished to be one myself.—*Editor.*

After the snare laid at Bayonne, the emperor entered Paris on the 14th of August, the eve of his birthday. Scarcely had he arrived in the capital, when he experienced fresh anxiety in consequence of the conduct of Russia, which, as I have stated, had declared open war with Sweden, and did not conceal the intention of seizing Finland. But Bonaparte, desirous of actively carrying on the war in Spain, felt the necessity of removing his troops from Prussia to the Pyrenees. He then hastened the interview at Erfurt, where the two emperors of France and Russia had agreed to meet. He hoped that this interview would ensure the tranquillity of the continent, while he should complete the subjection of Spain to the sceptre of Joseph. That prince had been proclaimed on the 8th of June; and on the 21st of the same month, he made his entry into Madrid, but having received, ten days after, information of the disaster at Baylen, he was obliged to leave the Spanish capital.*

Bonaparte's wishes must at this time have been limited to the tranquillity of the continent; for the struggle between him and England was more desperate than ever. England had just sent troops to Portugal, under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. There was no longer any hope of a reconciliation with Great Britain. The interview at Erfurt, having been determined on, the emperor, who had returned from Bayonne to Paris, again left the capital about the end of September, and arrived at Metz without stopping, except for the purpose of reviewing the regiments which were echelonned on his route, and which were on their march from the grand army to Spain.

I had heard some time previously of the interview which was about to take place, and which was so memorable in the life of Napoleon. It excited so much interest in Germany, that the roads were covered with the equipages of the princes, who were going to Erfurt to witness the meeting. The French emperor arrived there before Alexander, and went forward three leagues to meet him. Napoleon was on horseback, Alexander in a carriage. They embraced, it is said, in a manner expressive of the most cordial friendship.† This interview was witnessed by most of the sovereign princes of Germany. However, neither the King of Prussia nor the Emperor of Austria were present. The latter sovereign sent a letter to Napoleon, of which I obtained a copy. It was as follows:

SIRE MY BROTHER,

My ambassador in Paris informs me, that your majesty is about to proceed to Erfurt to meet the Emperor Alexander. I eagerly seize

* The decisive battle of Baylen, where the French, under General Dupont, were thoroughly beaten by the Spaniards, was fought on the 20th of July, 1808. —*Editor.*

† Savary, who accompanied Napoleon to Erfurt, gives an account of the imperial interview. The reader will find it subjoined to the present chapter.

the opportunity of your approach to my frontier, to renew those testimonials of friendship and esteem which I have pledged to you; and I send my lieutenant-general, Baron Vincent,* to convey to you the assurance of my unalterable sentiments. If the false accounts that have been circulated respecting the internal institutions which I have established in my monarchy should for a moment have excited your majesty's doubts as to my intentions, I flatter myself, that the explanations given on that subject by Count Metternich to your minister will have entirely removed them. Baron Vincent is enabled to confirm to your majesty all that has been said by Count Metternich on the subject, and to add any further explanations you may wish for. I beg that your majesty will grant him the same gracious reception he experienced at Paris and at Warsaw. The renewed marks of favour you may bestow on him will be an unequivocal pledge of the reciprocity of your sentiments, and will seal that confidence which will render our satisfaction mutual.

Deign to accept the assurance of the unalterable affection and respect, with which I am, Sire, my brother,

Your imperial and royal majesty's
faithful brother and friend,

FRANCIS.

Presburg, Sept. 18, 1808

This letter appears to be a model of ambiguity, by which it is impossible Napoleon could have been imposed upon. However, as yet he had no suspicion of the hostility of Austria, which speedily became manifest; his grand object then was the Spanish business, and as I have before observed, one of the secrets of Napoleon's genius was, that he did not apply himself to more than one thing at a time.

At Erfurt Bonaparte attained the principal object he had promised himself by the meeting. Alexander recognised Joseph in his new character of King of Spain and the Indies. It has been said, that as the price of this recognition, Napoleon consented that Alexander should have Swedish Finland: but for the truth of this I cannot vouch. However, I remember that when, after the interview at Erfurt, Alexander had given orders to his ambassador to Charles IV. to continue his functions under King Joseph, the Swedish chargé-d'affaires at Hamburg told me, that confidential letters received by him from Erfurt led him to fear that the emperor Alexander had communicated to Napoleon his designs on Finland, and that Napoleon had given his consent to the occupation. Be this as it may, as soon as the interview was over, Napoleon returned to Paris, where he presided, with much splendour, at the opening of the legislative body, and set out, in the month of November, for Spain.

* According to Carlo Botta, the Emperor of Austria sent his general St. Vincent to the meeting of Erfurt, to caress Bonaparte (*per accarezzarlo*).—*Storia d'Italia.* (*Editor.*)

THE INTERVIEW AT ERFURT.

"The whole of the month of September, 1808, was spent in settling the day for the departure of the respective sovereigns from St. Petersburg and Paris, so that each might regulate his journey, so as to arrive neither too soon nor too late.

"The Emperor Napoleon appointed the guards, provided the quarters, and defrayed the expenses of the tables, &c., not only for the Emperor of Russia, but also for the other sovereigns who attended the interview. Accordingly, a troop of cooks, stewards, and lackeys, were sent from the department of the grand marshal.

"The company of the Théâtre Française also proceeded to Erfurt, for the purpose of performing our best tragedies and comedies. Finally, nothing, however trifling, was neglected that could contribute to the amusement of the sovereigns during their stay at Erfurt.

"The emperor left Paris at the end of September or beginning of October. He went straight to Metz, and on his way he inspected all the corps which were returning from the grand army to proceed to Spain. He stopped them on the road, and after examining them man by man, ordered them to continue their march. In this manner he proceeded to Frankfort.

"The force which he had ordered to Spain was very considerable; for of all the vast army which was in Germany, he left behind only four divisions of infantry, with the cuirassiers, and a few regiments of light troops, that is to say, one-fourth of what there had previously been.

"The news of the interview at Erfurt excited great interest in Germany, and people thronged into the town from all parts. At the residence of the prince primate at Frankfort, a vast number of German princes had assembled to pay their respects to the emperor as he passed through the city. He slept at the residence of the prince primate; and among the company present were the Princes and Princesses of Baden, Darmstadt, and Nassau. They treated the emperor with all the honour due to the protector of the confederation of the Rhine; and they seemed to vie with each other in showing testimonials of their respect and submission.

"The emperor left Frankfort next day, and proceeded straight to Erfurt. On his way he met the King of Westphalia, who had come from Cassel to the frontiers of his states to receive him. M. de Caulaincourt, the French ambassador in Russia, also came to meet the emperor, and he joined us between Erfurt and Gotha. He informed us that the Emperor of Russia was waiting at Weimar for the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon at Erfurt. We accordingly proceeded onward speedily, and arrived at Erfurt very early in the morning. Some troops had been brought into the town, and the first regiment of hussars was stationed in several detachments between Erfurt and Weimar, to render military honours to the Emperor Alexander.

"In conformity with arrangements which had no doubt been made beforehand, the emperor mounted on horseback, together with all who accompanied him. His retinue was followed by a horse for the

Emperor of Russia; and the saddle which he was in the habit of using was even sent for from Weimar. It had been brought from St. Petersburg expressly for this occasion.

"The emperor had advanced about three leagues from Erfurt when we descried the retinue of the Emperor Alexander, whose carriage was followed by twelve or fifteen calashes. The Emperor Napoleon set off at full gallop, and alighted to embrace the Emperor of Russia when he got out of his carriage. The meeting was as amicable and cordial as the sentiments which the sovereigns mutually cherished towards each other. They both mounted their horses, and proceeded conversing together to Erfurt. The road was lined with the whole population of the surrounding country. The weather was delicious, and seemed to smile auspiciously on the event. The sovereigns were saluted by the artillery from the ramparts; the troops formed a double line, and all the persons of distinction who had come to Erfurt on this occasion, were assembled at the residence which had been prepared for the Emperor Alexander, at the moment when he alighted from his horse accompanied by the Emperor Napoleon.

"The two sovereigns dined together that day, in company with the Grand Duke Constantine, who was with his brother. The grand marshal had stationed a man in the street to watch and give information when the Emperor of Russia's carriage appeared in sight; and whenever Alexander visited the Emperor Napoleon, the latter always stood at the foot of the staircase to receive his guest. The same ceremony was observed when the Emperor Napoleon visited the Emperor of Russia. While they remained at Erfurt they always dined together, except on those days when they had private business to transact at their respective residences. Soon after the arrival of the two emperors at Erfurt, they were followed by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Westphalia, the Prince Primate, the Princes of Anhalt, Coburg, Saxe-Weimar, Darmstadt, Baden, Nassau, and all who conceived it to be their duty to render homage to such an assemblage of power.

"The King of Prussia did not come. He was represented by his brother, Prince William, who, during a whole winter in Paris, had endured the most painful situation in which a prince of his rank can possibly be placed, and whose conduct, under these trying circumstances, excited public interest and respect. He represented Prussia during the winter which followed the treaty of Tilsit.

"The Emperor of Austria was not present at the interview. The measures which he had taken, the levies and requisitions of every kind which he imposed on his states, had excited the remonstrances of France. His preparations were not finished. Protestations cost him little, and he resolved to make another attempt to deceive Napoleon. He sent General Vincent, who he knew was agreeable to the emperor, to deliver to him a letter in which he sought to remove the doubts which had arisen respecting the constancy of his sentiments.

"The hereditary princes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Strelitz, were also at Erfurt.

"The Emperor Napoleon had brought with him M. de Champagny, the minister for foreign affairs. He had, besides, M. de Talleyrand, and, as usual, M. Maret, and the Prince de Neufchatel.

"General Oudinot had been sent as governor to Erfurt, and Marshal Soult, whose corps was proceeding to Spain, remained at Erfurt all the time the emperor staid there. His troops marched on before him, and he rejoined them at Bayonne.

"Several German princesses were also at Erfurt. Among them the Princess of Baden, together with some from the different surrounding countries, the Princess of Tour and Taxis, and the Princess of Wirtemberg, born Coburg, &c. The mornings were invariably spent in visiting. Large dinner-parties were formed, and dramatic representations were given in the evening. As the Emperor of Russia was known to be rather deaf, the company was arranged so that all the sovereigns sat near the orchestra. I recollect that, during the performance of Œdipus, when the following passage occurred: 'The friendship of a great man is a blessing of Heaven,' Alexander turned towards the Emperor Napoleon with the intention of applying the line to him. A murmur of approbation, which ran through the company, showed that the force and justice of the application was felt. In this agreeable manner time slipped away almost imperceptibly at Erfurt."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

CHAPTER IX.

1808.

The Spanish troops in Hamburg—Romana's siesta—His departure for Funen—Celebration of Napoleon's birthday—Romana's defection—English agents and the Dutch troops—Facility of communication between England and the continent—Delay of couriers from Russia—Alarm and complaints—The people of Hamburg—Montesquieu and the minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany—Invitations at six months—Napoleon's journey to Italy—Adoption of Eugène—Lucien's daughter and the Prince of the Asturias—M. Auguste de Staël's interview with Napoleon.

Previous to the interview at Erfurt, an event took place which created a strong interest in Hamburg, and throughout Europe; an event which was planned and executed with inconceivable secrecy. I allude to the defection of the Marquis de la Romana, which I have not hitherto noticed, in order that I might not separate the different facts which came to my knowledge respecting that defection, and the circumstances which accompanied it.

The Marquis de la Romana had come to the Hanse Towns at the head of an army corps of eighteen thousand men, which the emperor, in the preceding campaign, claimed in virtue of treaties previously concluded with the Spanish government. The Spanish troops at first met with a good reception in the Hanse Towns. The difference of language, indeed, occasionally caused

discord; but, when better acquainted, the inhabitants and their visiters became good friends. The Marquis de la Romana was a little swarthy man, of unprepossessing, and rather common appearance; but he had a considerable share of talent and information. He had travelled in almost every part of Europe, and as he had been a close observer of all he saw, his conversation was exceedingly agreeable and instructive.

During his stay at Hamburg, General Romana spent almost every evening at my house, and invariably fell asleep over a game at whist. Madame de Bourrienne was usually his partner, and I recollect he perpetually offered apologies for his involuntary breach of good manners. This, however, did not hinder him from being guilty of the same offence next evening. I will presently explain the cause of this regular siesta.

On the King of Spain's birthday, the Marquis de la Romana gave a magnificent entertainment. The decorations of the ball-room consisted of military attributes. The marquis did the honours with infinite grace, and paid particular attention to the French generals. He always spoke of the emperor in very respectful terms, without any appearance of affectation, so that it was impossible to suspect him of harbouring a bad design. He played his part to the last with the utmost address. At Hamburg we had already received intelligence of the fatal result of the battle of the Sierra Morena, and of the capitulation of Dupont, which disgraced him at the very moment when the whole army marked him out as the man most likely to receive the baton of Marshal of France.

Meanwhile, the Marquis de la Romana departed for the Danish island of Funen, in compliance with the order which Marshal Bernadotte had transmitted to him. There, as at Hamburg, the Spaniards were well liked, for their general obliged them to observe the strictest discipline. Great preparations were made in Hamburg on the approach of Saint Napoleon's day, which was then celebrated with much solemnity in every town in which France had representatives. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo was at Travemunde, a small seaport near Lubeck; but that did not prevent him from giving directions for the festival of the 15th of August. The Marquis de la Romana, the better to deceive the marshal, despatched a courier, requesting permission to visit Hamburg on the day of the fête, in order to join his prayers to those of the French, and to receive, on the day of the fête, from the hands of the prince, the grand order of the Legion of Honour, which he had solicited, and which Napoleon had granted him. Three days after, Bernadotte received intelligence of the defection of de la Romana.—The marquis had contrived to assemble a great number of English vessels on the coast, and to escape with all his troops, except a depot of six hundred men left at Altona. We afterwards heard that he experienced no interruption on his passage, and

that he landed with his troops at Corunna. I now knew to what to attribute the drowsiness which always overcame the Marquis de la Romana when he sat down to take a hand at whist. The fact was, he sat up all night making preparations for the escape which he had long meditated; while, to lull suspicion, he showed himself every where during the day, as usual.*

On the defection of the Spanish troops, I received letters from government requiring me to augment my vigilance, and to seek out those persons who might be supposed to have been in the confidence of the Marquis de la Romana. I was informed that English agents, dispersed through the Hanse Towns, were endeavouring to foment discord and dissatisfaction among the King of Holland's troops. These manœuvres were connected with the treason of the Spaniards, and the arrival of Danican in Denmark. Insubordination had already broken out, but it was promptly repressed. Two Dutch soldiers were shot for striking their officers, but notwithstanding this severity, desertion among the troops increased to an alarming degree. Indefatigable agents, in the pay of the English government, laboured incessantly to seduce the soldiers of King Louis from their duty. Some of these agents being denounced to me, were taken almost in the fact, and positive proof being adduced of their guilt, they were condemned to death.

These indispensable examples of severity did not check the

* The Marquis of Londonderry's "Narrative of the Peninsular War," contains the following particulars relative to Romana's defection:

"Whilst the naval and military commanders in the Mediterranean were exerting themselves, an effort was made in the north, and made with the most complete success, to restore to the service of his country one of the ablest officers of which Spain could at that time boast. One of Bonaparte's first measures, when meditating the subjugation of the Peninsula, was to demand from Spain a corps of sixteen thousand veteran troops, whom, under the Marquis de la Romana, he employed for a time upon the banks of the Vistula, and afterwards removed to the shores of the Great Belt. They were distributed at different points in that district, when the standard of independence was raised; and one of the earliest measures of the supreme junta was to issue a proclamation, calling upon them, in the name of their country, to return to its defence. This was necessarily consigned to the care of the British cruisers; and it was not given to them in vain. A scheme for its delivery, as well as for the removal of the soldiers, should they, as it was believed they would, desire to comply with its terms, was immediately devised at London; and the execution of it was committed to Vice-Admiral Keats, an officer well worthy of the trust. It succeeded to admiration; and seven thousand men, with Romana at their head, were transferred from the ranks of the enemy, at a moment of peculiar interest, to those of the patriotic army."—Shut up at Funen in the Baltic, the Spaniards for some time could obtain no information from their own distant country. The first offices of Europe were in the hands of Napoleon—his spies were in the camp of Romana; but nevertheless a bold and skilful agent, a catholic priest, of Scotch extraction, named Robertson, succeeded in getting ashore at Funen in disguise, and in opening communications between the Spanish general and the British Admiral Keats. The combinations then resorted to by Romana to extricate his troops, are entitled to our high admiration.—*Editor*

manœuvres of England, though they served to cool the zeal of her agents. I used every endeavour to second the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in tracing out the persons employed by England. It was chiefly from the small island of Heligoland that they found their way to the continent. This communication was facilitated by the numerous vessels scattered about the small islands which lie along that coast. Five or six pieces of gold defrayed the expense of the passage to or from Heligoland. Thus the Spanish news, which was printed and often fabricated at London, was profusely circulated in the north of Germany. Packets of papers, addressed to merchants and well-known persons in the German towns, were put into the post-offices of Embden, Knipphausen, Varel, Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, and Bremen. Generally speaking, this part of the coast was not sufficiently well watched to prevent espionage and smuggling; with regard to smuggling, indeed, no power could have entirely prevented it. The continental system had made it a necessity, so that a great part of the population depended on it for subsistence.

In the beginning of December, 1808, we remarked that the Russian courier, who passed through Koningsberg and Berlin, was regularly detained four, five, and even six hours, on his way to Hamburg. The trading portion of the population, always suspicious, became alarmed at this change in the courier's hours, into which they inquired, and soon discovered the cause. It was ascertained that two agents had been stationed, by the postmaster of the grand duchy of Berg at Hamburg, in a village called Eschburg, belonging to the province of Lauenburg. There the courier from Berlin was stopped, and his packets and letters opened. As soon as these facts were known in Hamburg, there was a general consternation among the trading class—that is to say, the whole population of the city. The intelligence soon reached the ears of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, and was confirmed by the official report of the commissioner for the imperial and royal post-office, who complained of the delay of the courier, of the confusion of the packets, and of want of confidence in the imperial post-office. This examination of the letters, sometimes, perhaps, necessary, but often dangerous, and always extremely delicate, created additional alarm, on account of the persons to whom the business was intrusted. If the emperor wished to be made acquainted with the correspondence of certain persons in the north, it would have been natural to intrust the business to his agents and his commissioner at Hamburg, and not to two unknown individuals—another inconvenience attending *black cabinets*. At my suggestion, the Prince of Ponte-Corvo gave orders for putting a stop to the clandestine business at Eschburg.

But for the pain of witnessing vexations of this sort, which I had not always power to prevent, especially after Bernadotte's

removal, my residence at Hamburg would have been delightful. Those who have visited that town know the advantages it possesses from its charming situation on the Elbe, and above all, the delightful country which surrounds it like a garden, and extends to the distance of more than a league along the banks of the Eyder. The manners and customs of the inhabitants bear the stamp of peculiarity; they are fond of pursuing their occupations in the open air. The old men are often seen sitting round tables placed before their doors sipping tea, while the children play before them, and the young people are at their work. These groups have a very picturesque effect, and convey a gratifying idea of the happiness of the people. On seeing the worthy citizens of Hamburg assembled round their doors, I could not help thinking of a beautiful remark of Montesquieu. When he went to Florence with a letter of recommendation to the prime minister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he found him sitting at the threshold of his door, inhaling the fresh air, and conversing with some friends.—"I see," said Montesquieu, "that I am arrived among a happy people, since their prime minister can enjoy his leisure moments thus."—A sort of patriarchal simplicity characterizes the manners of the inhabitants of Hamburg: they do not visit each other much, and only by invitation; but on such occasions they display great luxury beneath their simple exterior. They are methodical and punctual to an extraordinary degree. Of this I recollect a curious instance: I was very intimate with Baron Woght, a man of talent and information, and exceedingly amiable manners. One day he called to make us a farewell visit, as he intended to set out on the following day for Paris. On Madame de Bourrienne expressing a hope that he would not protract his absence beyond six months, the period he had fixed upon, he replied, "Be assured, madame, nothing shall prevent me getting home on the day I have appointed, for I have invited a party of friends to dine with me on the day after my return." The baron returned at the appointed time, and none of his guests required to be reminded of his invitation at six months' date.*

Napoleon so well knew the effect which his presence pro-

* Among the peculiarities of the late Lord Guildford, was this: he would invite friends to dine with him at London six or eight months after the date of the invitation; he would then start for the Ionian islands, where he was organizing a university for the Greeks—stay there for months, and then, getting over to Otranto or Brindisi, he would travel back through Italy, Switzerland, and France, to meet his dinner party in London. He generally so *timed* matters as to reach his home only a few hours before the dinner was to be on table. In all this, no doubt there was considerable calculation, and some affectation, but it amused his lordship, and did no harm to any one. He refused an invitation to prolong his stay for a day or two in the city of Lecce, at the extremity of the Italian peninsula, because he had a party fixed for such a day in London, and must travel on, in order to be punctual to the hour! This oddity certainly made the Italian gentry stare with astonishment.—*Editor.*

duced, that after a conquest, he loved to show himself to the people whose territories he added to the empire. Duroc, who always accompanied him when he was not engaged on missions, gave me a curious account of Napoleon's journey in 1807 to Venice, and the other Italian provinces, which, conformably with the treaty of Presburg, were annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

In this journey to the kingdom of Italy, Napoleon had several important objects in view. He was planning great alliances; and he loaded Eugène with favours for the purpose of sounding him, and preparing him for his mother's divorce.

There can be no doubt that Bonaparte now seriously contemplated his divorce from Josephine. Had there been no other proof of this, I, who had learned to read Bonaparte's thoughts in his acts, saw a decided one in the decree of Milan, by which, in default of lawful male heirs, he adopted Eugène as his son and successor to the crown of Italy. Lucien proceeded to Mantua, on the invitation of his brother, and that interview was the last they had before the hundred days. In spite of his republican stoicism, Lucien did not very seriously object to have a Bourbon king for his son-in-law. He consented to give his daughter to the Prince of the Asturias; but the marriage did not take place. It was during this journey that Napoleon united Tuscany to the empire.

Bonaparte returned to Paris on the 1st of January, 1808. On his way, he stopped for a short time at Chambéry, where a young man had been waiting for him several days. This was Madame de Staël's son, who was then not more than seventeen years of age. M. Auguste de Staël lodged at the house of the postmaster of Chambéry, and as the emperor was expected in the course of the night, he gave orders that he should be called up on the arrival of the first courier. The couriers, who had been delayed on the road, did not arrive until six in the morning, and were almost immediately followed by the emperor himself, so that M. de Staël was awakened by the cries of *Vive l'empereur!* He had just time to dress himself hastily, and fly to meet Napoleon, to whom he delivered a letter, which he had prepared beforehand, for the purpose of soliciting an audience. Lauriston, the aide-de-camp on duty, took the letter, it being his business to receive all the letters and petitions which were presented to Napoleon on his way. Before breakfast, the emperor opened the letters which Lauriston had laid on the table; he merely looked at the signatures, and then laid them aside. On opening M. de Staël's letter, he said, "Ah! ah! what have we here? a letter from M. de Staël! .... He wishes to see me. .... What can he want? .... Can there be any thing in common between me and the refugees of Geneva?"—"Sire," observed Lauriston, "he is a very young man; and, as well as I could judge from the little I saw of him, there is something

very prepossessing in his appearance."—"A very young man, say you? . . . . Oh, then I will see him. . . . Rustan, tell him to come in." M. de Staël presented himself to Napoleon with modesty, but without any unbecoming timidity. When he had respectfully saluted the emperor, a conversation ensued between them, which Duroc described to me in nearly the following manner:

As M. de Staël advanced towards the emperor, the latter said, "Whence do you come?"—"From Geneva, Sire."—"Where is your mother?"—"She is either in Vienna, or will soon be there."—"At Vienna!" . . . . Well, that is where she ought to be; and I suppose she is happy. . . . . She will now have a good opportunity of learning German."—"Sire, how can you imagine my mother is happy when she is absent from her country and her friends? If I were permitted to lay before your majesty my mother's confidential letter, you would see how unhappy she is in her exile."—"Ah, bah! your mother unhappy, indeed! . . . . However, I do not mean to say she is altogether bad. . . . She has talent—perhaps too much; and hers is an unbridled talent. She was educated amidst the chaos of the subverted monarchy and the revolution; and out of these events she makes an amalgamation of her own! All this is very dangerous. Her enthusiasm is likely to make proselytes. I must keep watch upon her. She does not like me; and for the interests of those whom she would endanger, I must prohibit her coming to Paris."

Young de Staël stated, that his object in seeking the interview with the emperor, was to petition for his mother's return to Paris. Napoleon having listened without impatience to the reasons he urged in support of his request, said, "But supposing I were to permit your mother to return to Paris, six months would not elapse before I should be obliged to send her to the Bicêtre, or to the Temple.* This I should be sorry to do; because the affair would make a noise, and injure me in public opinion. Tell your mother that my determination is formed, that my decision is irrevocable. She shall never set foot in Paris as long as I live."—"Sire, I cannot believe that you would arbitrarily imprison my mother, if she gave you no reason for such severity."—"She would give me fifty! . . . . I know her well."—"Sire, permit me to say, that I am certain my mother would live in Paris in a way that would afford no ground of reproach; she would live retired, and would see only a very few friends. In spite of your majesty's refusal, I venture to entreat that you will give her a trial, were it only for six weeks, or a month. Permit her, Sire, to pass that time in Paris, and I conjure you to come to no final decision beforehand."—"Do

* The reader cannot have got thus far in the Memoirs of Bonaparte, without knowing that these are the names of two of his state prisons at Paris.—*Editor.*

you think I am to be deceived by these fair promises? . . I tell you it cannot be. She would enrol herself under the banner of the Faubourg St. Germain. She see nobody, indeed! Could she make that sacrifice? She would visit and receive company. She would be guilty of a thousand follies. She would be saying things which she may consider as very good jokes, but which I should take seriously.* My government is no joke: I wish this to be well known by every body."—"Sire, will your majesty permit me to repeat, that my mother has no wish whatever to mingle in society. She would confine herself to the circle of a few friends, a list of whom she would give to your majesty. You, Sire, who love France so well, may form some idea of the misery my mother suffers in her banishment. I conjure your majesty to yield to my entreaties, and let us be included in the number of your faithful subjects."—"You!"—"Yes, Sire; or if your majesty persist in your refusal, permit a son to inquire what can have raised your displeasure against his mother. Some say, that it was my grandfather's last work; but I can assure your majesty, that my mother had nothing to do with that."—"Yes, certainly," added Napoleon, with more ill-humour than he had hitherto manifested. "Yes, certainly, that work is very objectionable. Your grandfather was an ideologist, a fool, an old maniac. At sixty years of age, to think of forming plans to overthrow my constitution! States would be well governed, truly, under such theorists, who judge of men from books, and the world from the map."—"Sire, since my grandfather's plans are, in your majesty's eyes, nothing but vain theories, I cannot conceive why they should so highly excite your displeasure. There is no political economist, who has not traced out plans of constitutions."—"Oh! as to political economists, they are mere visionaries, who are dreaming of plans of finance while they are unfit to fulfil the duties of a schoolmaster in the most insignificant village in the empire. Your grandfather's work is that of an obstinate old man, who died abusing all governments."—"Sire, may I presume to suppose, from the way in which you speak of it, that your majesty judges from the report of malignant persons, and that you have not yourself read it?"—"That is a mistake. I have read it myself, from beginning to end."—"Then your majesty must have seen how my grandfather renders justice to your genius."—"Fine justice, truly! . . . . He calls me the indispensable man, but, judging from his arguments, the best thing that could be done would be to cut my throat! Yes, I was, indeed, indispensable to repair the follies of your grandfather, and the mischief he did to France. It was he who overturned the monarchy, and led Louis XVI. to the scaffold."—"Sire, you seem to forget that

* For exampie, Madame's joke of calling him a Robespierre on horseback, —*Editor*

my grandfather's property was confiscated because he defended the king."—"Defended the king! A fine defence, truly! You might as well say, that if I give a man poison, and present him with an antidote when he is in the agonies of death, I wish to save him! Yet, that is the way your grandfather defended Louis XVI. . . . As to the confiscation you speak of, what does that prove? Nothing. Why, the property of Robespierre was confiscated! And let me tell you, that Robespierre himself, Marat, and Danton, did much less mischief to France than M. Necker. It was he who brought about the revolution. You, Monsieur de Staël, did not see this; but I did. I witnessed all that passed in those days of terror and public calamity. But, as long as I live, those days shall never return. Your speculators trace their Utopian schemes upon paper; fools read, and believe them. All are babbling about general happiness, and presently the people have not bread to eat: then comes a revolution. Such is usually the fruit of all these fine theories! Your grandfather was the cause of the saturnalia which desolated France."*

Duroc informed me that the emperor uttered these last words in a tone of fury which made all present tremble for young de Staël. Fortunately, the young man did not lose his self-possession in the conflict, while the agitated expression of his countenance evidently showed what was passing in his mind. He was sufficiently master of himself to reply to the emperor in a calm, though rather faltering, voice:—"Sire, permit me to hope that posterity will judge of my grandfather more favourably than your majesty does. During his administration he was ranked by the side of Sully and Colbert; and let me repeat again, that I trust posterity will render him justice."—"Posterity will, probably, say little about him."—"I venture to hope the contrary, Sire."

Then, added Duroc, the emperor turning to us said, with a smile, "After all, gentlemen, it is not for me to say too much against the revolution, since I have caught a throne by it." Then again turning to M. de Staël, he said, "The reign of anarchy is at end. I must have subordination. *Respect the sovereign authority, since it comes from God.* You are young, and well educated; therefore, follow a better course, and avoid those bad principles which commit the welfare of society."—"Sire, since your majesty does me the honour to think me well educated, you ought not to condemn the principles of my grandfather and my mother; for it is in those principles that I have been brought up."—"Well, I advise you to keep right in politics; for I will not pardon any offences of the Necker kind. Every one should keep right in politics."

* For the defence of M. Necker, the reader may consult Madame de Staël's work on the French revolution.—*Editor.*

This conversation, Duroc informed me, had continued the whole time of breakfast, and the emperor rose just as he pronounced these last words: "Every one should keep right in politics." At that moment young de Staël again renewed his solicitations for his mother's recal from exile. Bonaparte then stepped up to him, and pinched his ear with that air of familiarity which was customary to him when he was in good humour, or wished to appear so. "You are young," said he; "if you had my age and experience, you would judge of things more correctly. I am far from being displeased with your frankness. I like to see a son plead his mother's cause. Your mother has given you a difficult commission, and you have executed it cleverly. I am glad I have had this opportunity of conversing with you. I love to talk with young people, when they are unassuming, and not too fond of arguing. But in spite of that, I will not hold out false hopes to you. Murat has already spoken to me on the subject, and I have told him, as I now tell you, that my will is irrevocable. If your mother were in prison, I should not hesitate to liberate her; but nothing shall induce me to recal her from exile."—"But, Sire, is she not as unhappy in being banished from her country and her friends as if she were in prison?"—"Oh! those are your mother's romantic ideas. She is exceedingly unhappy, and much to be pitied, no doubt! . . . With the exception of Paris, she has all Europe for her prison." —"But, Sire, her friends are in Paris."—"With her talents, she may make friends any where. After all, I cannot understand why she should be so anxious to come to Paris. Why should she wish to place herself immediately within the reach of my tyranny? Can she not go to Rome, to Berlin, to Vienna, to Milan, or to London? Yes, let her go to London; that is the place for her. There she may libel me as much as she pleases. In short, she has my full liberty to be any where but in Paris. You see, Monsieur de Staël, *that* is the place of my residence, and *there* I will have only those who are attached to me. I know, from experience, that if I were to allow your mother to come to Paris, she would spoil every body about me. She would finish the spoiling of Garat. It was she who ruined the tribunate. I know she would promise wonders; but she cannot refrain from meddling with politics."—"I can assure your majesty, that my mother does not now concern herself about politics. She devotes herself exclusively to the society of her friends and to literature."—"Ah, there it is! . . . Literature! Do you think I am to be imposed upon by that word? While discoursing on literature, morals, the fine arts, and such matters, it is easy to dabble in politics. Let women mind their knitting. If your mother were in Paris, I should hear all sorts of reports about her. Things, might, indeed, be falsely attributed to her; but, be that as it may, I will have nothing of the kind going on

in the capital in which I reside. All things considered, advise your mother to go to London. That is the best place for her. As for your grandfather, I have not spoken too severely of him. M. Necker knew nothing of the art of government. I have learned something of the matter during the last twenty years." —"All the world, Sire, renders justice to your majesty's genius, and there is no one but acknowledges that the finances of France are now more prosperous than ever they were before your reign. But, permit me to observe, that your majesty must, doubtless, have seen some merit in the financial regulations of my grandfather, since you have adopted some of them in the admirable system you have established."—"That proves nothing ; for two or three good ideas do not constitute a good system. Be that as it may, I say again, I will never allow your mother to return to Paris."—"But, Sire, if sacred interests should absolutely require her presence there for a few days, would not . . . ."—"How ! Sacred interests ! What do you mean ?"—"Yes, Sire, if you do not allow her to return, I shall be obliged to go there, unaided by her advice, in order to recover from your majesty's government the payment of a sacred debt."—"Ah ! bah ! Sacred ! Are not all the debts of the state sacred ?"—"Doubtless, Sire; but ours is attended with circumstances which give it a peculiar character."—"A peculiar character ! Nonsense ! Does not every state creditor say the same of his debt? Besides, I know nothing of your claim. It does not concern me, and I will not meddle with it. If you have the law on your side, so much the better; but if you want favour I tell you I will not interfere. If I did, I should be rather against you than otherwise."—"Sire, my brother and myself had intended to settle in France; but how can we live in a country where our mother cannot visit us?" —"I do not care for that. I do not advise you to come here. Go to England. The English like wrangling politicians. Go there, for in France, I tell you candidly, that I should be rather against you than for you."

"After this conversation," added Duroc, "the emperor got into the carriage with me, without stopping to look to the other petitions which had been presented to him. He preserved unbroken silence until he got nearly opposite the cascade, on the left of the road, a few leagues from Chambéry. He appeared to be absorbed in reflection. At length he said, 'I fear I have been somewhat too harsh with this young man . . . . But no matter, it will prevent others from troubling me. These people calumniate everything I do. They do not understand me, Duroc; their place is not in France. How can Necker's family be for the Bourbons, whose first duty, if ever they returned to France, would be to hang them all?' "

This conversation, related to me by Duroc, interested me so much that I noted it down on paper immediately after my interview.*

* For a brief, but good notice of M. the Baron Auguste de Staël, who, as a mere stripling, figures so advantageously in this remarkable scene, we may refer the reader to "Mélanges Historiques et Littéraires, par M. de Baron de Barante, Pair de France, &c. &c." vol. ii. p. 359. Paris Edition of 1835.

After the fall of Bonaparte, Auguste de Staël became an orator and a political writer of high reputation. See his "Œuvres diverses," Paris, 1829.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER X.

1808.

The republic of Batavia—The crown of Holland offered to Louis—Offer and refusal of the crown of Spain—Napoleon's attempt to get possession of Brabant—Napoleon before and after Erfurt—A remarkable letter to Louis—Louis summoned to Paris—His honesty and courage—His bold language—Louis's return to Holland, and his letter to Napoleon—Harsh letter from Napoleon to Louis—Affray at Amsterdam—Napoleon's displeasure and last letter to his brother—Louis's abdication in favour of his son—Union of Holland to the French empire—Protest of Louis against that measure—Letter from M. Otto to Louis.

While Bonaparte was the chief of the French republic, he had no objection to the existence of a Batavian republic in the north of France, and he equally tolerated the Cisalpine republic in the south. But after the coronation all the republics, which were grouped like satellites round the grand republic, were converted into kingdoms, subject to the empire, if not avowedly, at least in fact. In this respect there was no difference between the Batavian and Cisalpine republic. The latter having been metamorphosed into the kingdom of Italy, it was necessary to find some pretext for transforming the former into the kingdom of Holland. The government of the republic of Batavia had been for some time past merely the shadow of a government; but still it preserved, even in its submission to France, those internal forms of freedom which console a nation for the loss of independence. The emperor kept up such an extensive agency in Holland, that he easily got up a deputation, soliciting him to choose a king for the Batavian republic. This submissive deputation came to Paris in 1806, to solicit the emperor, as a favour, to place Prince Louis on the throne of Holland. The address of the deputation, the answer of Napoleon, and the speech of Louis on being raised to the sovereign dignity, have all been published.

Louis became King of Holland much against his inclination, for he opposed the proposition as much as he dared, alleging as an objection the state of his health, to which certainly the climate of Holland was not favourable; but Bonaparte sternly replied to his remonstrance, "It is better to die a king than live a prince." He was then obliged to accept the crown. He went to Holland accompanied by Hortense, who, however, did not stay long there. The new king wanted to make himself beloved by his subjects, and as they were an entirely commercial people, the best way to win their affections was not to adopt Napoleon's rigid laws against commercial intercourse with England. Hence the first coolness between the two brothers, which ended in the abdication of Louis.

I know not whether Napoleon recollected the motive assigned by Louis for at first refusing the crown of Holland, namely, the climate of the country, or whether he calculated upon greater submission in another of his brothers; but this is certain, that Joseph was not called from the throne of Naples to the throne of Spain, until after the refusal of Louis. I have in my possession a copy of a letter written to him by Napoleon on the subject. It is without date of time or place; but its contents prove it to have been written in March or April, 1808. It is as follows:

BROTHER,

The King of Spain, Charles IV., has just abdicated. The Spanish people loudly appeal to me. Certain of obtaining no solid peace with England, unless I cause a great movement on the continent, I have determined to place a French king on the throne of Spain. The climate of Holland does not agree with you; besides, Holland cannot rise from her ruins. In the whirlwind of events, whether we have peace or not, there is no possibility of maintainng it. In this state of things, I have thought of the throne of Spain for you. Give me your opinions categorically on this measure. If I were to name you King of Spain, would you accept the offer? May I count on you? Answer me these two questions. Say, "I have received your letter of such a day, I answer, *yes*;" and then I shall count on your doing what I wish; or say "*No*," if you decline my proposal. Let no one enter into your confidence, and mention to no one the object of this letter. The thing must be done before we confess having thought about it.

NAPOLEON.

Before finally seizing Holland, Napoleon formed the project of separating Babant and Zealand from it, in exchange for other provinces, the possession of which was doubtful; but Louis successfully resisted this first act of usurpation. Bonaparte was too intent on the great business in Spain to risk any commotion in the north, where the declaration of Russia against Sweden already sufficiently occupied him. He therefore did not

insist upon, and even affected indifference to the proposed augmentation of the territory of the empire. This, at least, may be collected from another letter, dated Saint-Cloud, August 17, written upon hearing from M. Alexander de la Rochefoucauld, his ambassador in Holland, and from his brother himself, the opposition of Louis to his project.

The letter was as follows:

BROTHER,

I have received your letter relating to that of the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld. He was only authorized to make the proposals indirectly. Since the exchange does not please you, let us think no more about it. It was useless to make a parade of principles, though I never said that you ought not to consult the nation. The well-informed part of the Dutch people had already acknowledged their indifference to the loss of Brabant, which is connected with France rather than with Holland, and interspersed with expensive fortresses; it might have been advantageously exchanged for such northern provinces. But once for all, since you do not like this arrangement, let no more be said about it. It was useless even to mention it to me; for the Sieur de la Rochefoucauld was instructed merely to hint the matter.

Though ill-humour here evidently peeps out beneath affected condescension, yet the tone of this letter is singularly moderate. I may even say, kind, in comparison with other letters which Napoleon addressed to Louis. This letter, it is true, was written previously to the interview at Erfurt, when Napoleon, to avoid alarming Russia, made his ambition appear to slumber. But when he got his brother Joseph recognised, and when he had himself struck an important blow in the peninsula, he began to change his tone to Louis. On the 20th of December he wrote a very remarkable letter, which exhibits the unreserved expression of that tyranny which he wished to exercise over all his family, in order to make them the instruments of his despotism. He reproached Louis for not following his system of policy, telling him that he had forgotten he was a Frenchman, and that he wished to become a Dutchman. Among other things he said—

Your Majesty has done more; you took advantage of the moment when I was involved in the affairs of the continent, to renew the relations between Holland and England—to violate the laws of the blockade, which are the only means of effectually destroying the latter power. I expressed my dissatisfaction by forbidding you to come to France, and I have made you feel, that even without the assistance of my armies, by merely closing the Rhine, the Weser, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, against Holland, I should have placed her in a situation more critical than if I had declared war against her. Your Majesty implored my generosity, appealed to my feelings as a brother, and promised to alter your conduct. I thought this warning would be sufficient. I raised my custom-house prohibitions; but

your Majesty has returned to your old system.....Your Majesty received all the American ships that presented themselves in the ports of Holland, after having been expelled from those of France. I have been obliged a second time to prohibit trade with Holland. In this state of things we may consider ourselves really at war. In my speech to the legislative body I manifested my displeasure; for I will not conceal from you, that my intention is to unite Holland with France. This will be the most severe blow I can aim against England, and will deliver me from the perpetual insults which the plotters of your cabinet are constantly directing against me. The mouths of the Rhine and of the Meuse, ought, indeed, to belong to me. The principle that the *Thalweg* (towing path) of the Rhine, is the boundary of France, is a fundamental principle. Your Majesty writes to me on the 17th, that you are sure of being able to prevent all trade between Holland and England. I am of opinion that your Majesty promises more than you can fulfil. I shall, however, raise my custom-house prohibitions, whenever the existing treaties may be executed. The following are my conditions:—First. The interdiction of all trade and communication with England. Second. The supply of a fleet of fourteen sail of the line, seven frigates and seven brigs or corvettes, armed and manned. Third. An army of twenty-five thousand men. Fourth. The suppression of the rank of marshals. Fifth. The abolition of all the privileges of nobility, which are contrary to the constitution. Your Majesty may negotiate on these bases with the Duke de Cadore, through the medium of your minister; but be assured, that on the entrance of the first packet-boat into Holland, I will restore my prohibitions, and that *the first Dutch officer who may presume to insult my flag, shall be seized and hanged at the mainyard.* Your Majesty will find in me a brother if you prove yourself a Frenchman; but if you forget the sentiments which attach you to our common country, you cannot think it extraordinary that I should lose sight of those which nature created between us. In short, the union of Holland and France will be, of all things, most useful to France, to Holland, and the whole continent, because it will be most injurious to England. This union must be effected willingly, or by force. Holland has given me sufficient reason to declare war against her. However, I shall not scruple to consent to an arrangement which will secure to me the limit of the Rhine, and by which Holland will pledge herself to fulfil the conditions stipulated above.

Here the correspondence between the two brothers was suspended for a time; but Louis still continued exposed to new vexations on the part of Napoleon. About the end of 1809, the emperor summoned all the sovereigns who might be called his vassals to Paris. Among the number was Louis, who, however, did not show himself very willing to quit his states. He called a council of his ministers, who were of opinion that for the interest of Holland he ought to make this new sacrifice. He did so with resignation. Indeed, every day passed on the throne was a sacrifice made by Louis.

He lived very retired in Paris, and was closely watched by the police; for it was supposed that as he had come against his will, he would not protract his stay as long as Napoleon wished. The system of spying under which he found himself placed, added to the other circumstances of his situation, inspired him with a degree of energy of which he was not believed to be capable; and amidst the general silence of the servants of the empire, and even of the kings and princes assembled in the capital, he ventured to say, "I have been deceived by promises which were never intended to be kept. Holland is tired of being the sport of France." The emperor, who was unused to such language as this, was highly incensed at it. Louis had now no alternative, but to yield to the incessant exactions of Napoleon, or to see Holland united to France. He chose the latter, though not before he had exerted all his feeble power in behalf of the subjects whom Napoleon had consigned to him; but he would not be the accomplice of the man who had resolved to make those subjects the victims of his hatred against England. Who, indeed, could be so blind as not to see, that the ruin of the continent would be the triumph of British commerce?

Louis was, however, permitted to return to his states, to contemplate the stagnating effect of the continental blockade on every branch of trade and industry, formerly so active in Holland. Distressed at witnessing evils to which he could apply no remedy, he endeavoured by some prudent remonstrances to avert the utter ruin with which Holland was threatened. On the 23d of March, 1810, he wrote the following letter to Napoleon:

If you wish to consolidate the present state of France, to obtain maritime peace, or to attack England with advantage, those objects are not to be obtained by measures like the blockading system, the destruction of a kingdom raised by yourself, or the enfeebling of your allies, and setting at defiance their most sacred rights and the first principles of the law of nations. You should, on the contrary, win their affections for France, and consolidate and reinforce your allies, making them like your brothers, in whom you may place confidence. The destruction of Holland, far from being the means of assailing England, will serve only to increase her strength, by all the industry and wealth, which will fly to her for refuge. There are, in reality, only three ways of assailing England, namely, by detaching Ireland, getting possession of the East Indies, or by invasion. These two latter modes, which would be the most effectual, cannot be executed without naval force. But I am astonished that the first should have been so easily relinquished. That is a more secure mode of obtaining peace on good conditions than the system of injuring ourselves for the sake of committing a greater injury upon the enemy.

LOUIS.

Written remonstrances were no more to Napoleon's taste than verbal ones, at a time when, as I was informed by my friends,

whom fortune chained to his destiny, no one presumed to address a word to him, except in answer to his questions. Cambacérès, who alone had retained that privilege in public as his old colleague in the consulate, lost it after Napoleon's marriage with the daughter of Imperial Austria. His brother's letter highly roused his displeasure. Two months after he received it, being on a journey in the north, he replied from Ostend by a letter, which cannot be read without a feeling of pain, since it serves to show how weak are the most sacred ties of blood in comparison with the interests of an insatiable policy. This letter was as follows:

BROTHER,

In the situation in which we are placed, it is best to speak candidly. I know your secret sentiments, and all that you can say to the contrary can avail nothing. Holland is certainly in a melancholy situation. I believe you are anxious to extricate her from her difficulties: it is you, and you alone, who can do this. When you conduct yourself in such a way as to induce the people of Holland to believe that you act under my influence, that all your measures and all your sentiments are conformable with mine, then you will be loved, you will be esteemed, and you will acquire the power requisite for re-establishing Holland: when to be my friend, and the friend of France, shall become a title of favour at your court, Holland will be in her natural situation. Since your return from Paris, you have done nothing to effect this object. What will be the result of your conduct? Your subjects bandied about between France and England, will throw themselves into the arms of France, and will demand to be united to her. You know my character, which is to pursue my object unimpeded by any consideration. What, therefore, do you expect me to do? I can dispense with Holland: but Holland cannot dispense with my protection. If, under the dominion of one of my brothers, but looking to me alone for her welfare, she does not find in her sovereign my image, all confidence in your government is at an end; your sceptre is broken. Love France, love my glory—that is the only way to serve Holland, if you had acted as you ought to have done, that country, having become a part of my empire, would have been the more dear to me, since I had given her a sovereign whom I almost regarded as my son. In placing you on the throne of Holland, I thought I had placed a French citizen there. You have followed a course diametrically opposite to what I expected. I have been forced to prohibit you from coming to France, and to take possession of a part of your territory. In proving yourself a bad Frenchman, you are less to the Dutch than a Prince of Orange, to whose family they owe their rank as a nation, and a long succession of prosperity and glory. By your banishment from France, the Dutch are convinced that they have lost what they would not have lost under a Schimmelpenninck, or a Prince of Orange. Prove yourself a Frenchman, and the brother of the emperor, and be assured that, thereby, you will serve the interests of Holland. But you seem to be incorrigible, for you would drive away the few Frenchmen who remain with you. You must be dealt with, not by affectionate advice, but by threats and compulsion. What mean the prayers, and mysterious

fasts you have ordered? Louis, you will not reign long. Your actions disclose better than your confidential letters, the sentiments of your mind. Return to the right course. Be a Frenchman in heart, or your people will banish you, and you will leave Holland an object of ridicule.* States must be governed by reason and policy, and not by the weakness produced by acrid and vitiated humours.

NAPOLEON.

A few days after this letter was despatched to Louis, Napoleon heard of a paltry affray which had taken place at Amsterdam, and to which Count de la Rochefoucauld gave a sort of diplomatic importance, being aware that he could not better please his master than by affording him an excuse for being angry. It appeared that the honour of the count's coachman had been put in jeopardy by the insult of a citizen of Amsterdam, and a quarrel had ensued, which, but for the interference of the guard of the palace, might have terminated seriously, since it assumed the character of a party affair between the French and Dutch. M. de la Rochfoucauld immediately despatched to the emperor, who was then at Lille, a full report of his coachman's quarrel, in which he expressed himself with as much earnestness as the illustrious author of the "Maxims" evinced when he waged war against kings. The consequence was, that Napoleon instantly fulminated the following letter against his brother Louis:

BROTHER,

At the very moment when you were making the fairest protestations, I learn that the servants of my ambassador have been ill-treated at Amsterdam. I insist that those who were guilty of this outrage be delivered up to me, in order that their punishment may serve as an example to others. The Sieur Serrurier has informed me how you conducted yourself at the diplomatic audiences. I have, consequently, determined that the Dutch ambassador shall not remain in Paris; and Admiral Verhuell has received orders to depart within twenty-four hours. I want no more phrases and protestations. It is time I should know whether you intend to ruin Holland by your follies. I do not choose that you should again send a minister to Austria, or that you should dismiss the French who are in your service. I have recalled my ambassador as I intend only to have a chargé d'affaires in Holland. The Sieur Serrurier, who remains there in that capacity, will communicate my intentions. My ambassador shall no longer be exposed to your insults. Write to me no more of those set phrases which you have been repeating for the last three years, and the falsehood of which is proved every day.

This is the last letter I will ever write to you as long as I live.

NAPOLEON.

* It was on the contrary, because Louis made himself a Dutchman, that his people *did not* banish him, and that he carried away with him the regret of all that portion of his subjects who could appreciate his excellent qualities, and possessed good sense enough to perceive that he was not to blame for the evils that weighed upon Holland.—*Bourrienne.* The conduct of Bonaparte to Murat was almost a counterpart to this. When Murat attempted to consult the interests of Naples he was called a traitor to France.—*Editor.*

Thus reduced to the cruel alternative of crushing Holland with his own hands, or leaving that task to the emperor, Louis did not hesitate to lay down his sceptre. Having formed this resolution, he addressed a message to the legislative body of the kingdom of Holland, explaining the motives of his abdication. What, indeed, could be more reasonable than that measure, when he found an armed force occupying his dominions, which had been united to the empire by what was formerly called a family alliance? But at that time no consideration could restrain the arbitrary will of Napoleon. The French troops entered Holland, under the command of the Duke of Reggio; and that marshal, who was more a king than the king himself, threatened to occupy Amsterdam. Louis then descended from his throne, and four years after Napoleon was hurled from his.

In his act of abdication, Louis declared that he had been driven to that step by the unhappy state of his kingdom, which he attributed to his brother's unfavourable feelings towards him. He added, that he had made every effort and sacrifice to put an end to that painful state of things, and that, finally, he regarded himself as the cause of the continual misunderstanding between the French empire and Holland. It is curious that Louis thought he could abdicate the crown of Holland in favour of his son, as Napoleon only four years after wished to abdicate his crown in favour of the King of Rome, How often do these similarities occur in the history of Napoleon! In the depth of his adversities, how often was he assailed with precisely the same blows he had aimed at others in the height of his fortune!

Louis bade farewell to the people of Holland in a proclamation, after the publication of which he repaired to the waters at Tœplitz. There he was living in tranquil retirement, when he learned that his brother had united Holland to the empire. He then published a protest, of which I obtained a copy, though its circulation was strictly prohibited by the police. In this protest, Louis said—

The constitution of the state, guaranteed by the emperor, my brother, gave me the right of abdicating in favour of my children. That abdication was made in the form and terms prescribed by the constitution. The emperor had no right to declare war against Holland, and he has not done so.

There is no act, no assent, no demand of the Dutch nation that can authorize the pretended union.

My abdication does not leave the throne vacant. I have abdicated only in favour of my children.

As that abdication left Holland for twelve years under a regency, that is to say, under the direct influence of the emperor, according to the terms of the constitution, there was no need of that union for executing every measure he might have in view against trade and against England, since his will was supreme in Holland.

But I ascended the throne without any other conditions except

those imposed upon me by my conscience, my duty, and the interest and welfare of my subjects. I therefore declare, before God and the independent sovereigns to whom I address myself—

First. That the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, which occasioned the separation of the province of Zealand and Brabant from Holland, was accepted by compulsion, and ratified, conditionally, by me in Paris, where I was detained against my will; and that, moreover, the treaty was never executed by the emperor, my brother. Instead of six thousand French troops, which I was to maintain, according to the terms of the treaty, that number has been more than doubled: instead of occupying only the mouths of the rivers and the coasts, the French custom-houses have encroached into the interior of the country; instead of the interference of France being confined to the measures connected with the blockade of England, Dutch magazines have been seized and Dutch subjects arbitrarily imprisoned; finally, none of the verbal promises have been kept which were made in the emperor's name, by the Duke de Cadore, to grant indemnities for the countries ceded by the said treaty, and to mitigate its execution, if the king would refer entirely to the emperor, &c. I declare, in my name, in the name of the nation, and my son, the treaty of the 16th of March, 1810, to be null and void.

Second. I declare, that my abdication was forced by the emperor, my brother, that it was made only as the last extremity, and on this one condition—that I should maintain the rights of Holland and my children. My abdication could only be made in their favour.

Third. In my name, in the name of the king, my son,* who is as yet a minor, and in the name of the Dutch nation, I declare the pretended union of Holland to France, mentioned in the decree of the emperor, my brother, dated the 9th of July last, to be null, void, illegal, unjust, and arbitrary in the eyes of God and man; and that the nation and the minor king will assert their just rights, when circumstances permit them.

LOUIS.

August 1, 1810.

Thus there seemed to be an end of all intercourse between these two brothers, who were so opposite in character and disposition. But Napoleon, who was enraged that Louis should have presumed to protest, and that in energetic terms, against the union of his kingdom with the empire, ordered him to return

* The eldest son of Louis, one of the fruits of his unhappy marriage with Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of Josephine, the wife of his brother Napoleon, was little more than six years of age when his father abdicated the crown of Holland in his favour. In 1830-31, this imprudent young man joined the ill-combined, mad insurrection in the states of the Pope. He was present in one or two petty skirmishes, and was, we believe, wounded; but it was a *malaria* fever, caught in the unhealthy Campagna of Rome, that carried him to the grave in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He thought that his name—NAPOLEON LOUIS BONAPARTE, would be enough to revolutionize all Italy, and drive out of it not merely the poor old Pope, but the Austrians, the King of Naples, and all the other princes that reign there. He was sadly disappointed!—*Editor*

to France, whither he was summoned in his character of constable and French prince. Louis, however, did not think proper to obey this summons, and Napoleon, faithful to his promise of never writing to him again, ordered the following letter to be addressed to him by M. Otto, who had been ambassador from France to Vienna, since the yet recent marriage of the emperor with Maria Louisa.

SIRE,

The emperor directs me to write to your Majesty as follows:

"It is the duty of every French prince, and every member of the imperial family, to reside in France, whence they cannot absent themselves without the permission of the emperor. Before the union of Holland to the empire, the emperor permitted the king to reside at Tœplitz, in Bohemia. His health appeared to require the use of the waters; but now the emperor requires that Prince Louis shall return, at the latest by the 1st of December next, under pain of being considered as disobeying the constitution of the empire and the head of his family, and being treated accordingly."

I fulfil, Sire, word for word, the mission with which I have been intrusted, and I send the chief secretary of the embassy, to be assured that this letter is rightly delivered. I beg your Majesty to accept the homage of my respect, &c.

OTTO.

What a letter was this to be addressed by a subject to a prince and a sovereign! When I afterwards saw M. Otto in Paris, and conversed with him on the subject, he assured me how much he had been distressed at the necessity of writing such a letter to the brother of the emperor. He had employed the expressions dictated by Napoleon, in that irritation which he could never command when his will was opposed.*

* With regard to Louis and his conduct in Holland, Napoleon thus spoke at St. Helena:

"Louis is not devoid of intelligence, and has a good heart; but even with these qualifications a man may commit many errors, and do a great deal of mischief. Louis is naturally inclined to be capricious and fantastical, and the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau have contributed to increase this disposition. Seeking to obtain a reputation for sensibility and beneficence, incapable by himself of enlarged views, and, at most, competent to local details, Louis acted like a prefect rather than a king.

"No sooner had he arrived in Holland, than fancying that nothing could be finer than to have it said that he was thenceforth a true Dutchman, he attached himself entirely to the party favourable to the English, promoted smuggling, and thus connived with our enemies. It became necessary from that moment to watch over him, and even threaten to wage war against him. Louis then seeking a refuge against the weakness of his disposition in the most stubborn obstinacy, and mistaking a public scandal for an act of glory, fled from his throne, declaiming against me and against my insatiable ambition, my intolerable tyranny, &c. What then remained for me to do? Was I to abandon Holland to our enemies? Ought I to have given it another king? But in that case could I have expected more from him than from my own brother? Did not all the

kings that I created act nearly in the same manner? I therefore united Holland to the empire; and this act produced a most unfavourable impression in Europe and contributed not a little to lay the foundation of our misfortunes."—*Mémorial de Sainte Hélène.*

We will leave it to the good sense of the reader to compare this statement with the full and affecting narrative of Bourrienne. But in weighty affairs like these it may be useful, as it certainly is fair, to give both sides of the question.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XI.

1809.

Demands for contingents from some of the small states of Germany—M. Metternich—Position of Russia with respect to France—Union of Austria and Russia—Return of the English to Spain—Soult King of Portugal, and Murat successor to the emperor—First levy of the Landwehre in Austria—Agents of the Hamburg Correspondent—Letter from Napoleon to the Emperor of Austria—Declaration of Prince Charles—Napoleon's march to Germany—His proclamation—Bernadotte's departure for the army—Napoleon's dislike of Bernadotte—Prince Charles's plan of campaign—The English at Cuxhaven—Fruitlessness of the plots of England—Napoleon wounded—Napoleon's prediction realized—Major Schill—Hamburg threatened and saved—Schill in Lubeck—His death, and destruction of his band—Schill imitated by the Duke of Brunswick-Œls—Departure of the English from Cuxhaven.

Bonaparte, the bases of whose empire were his sword and his victories, and who was anxiously looking forward to the time when the sovereigns of continental Europe should be his *juniors*, applied for contingents of troops from the states to which I was accredited. The Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin was to furnish a regiment of eighteen hundred men, and the other little states, such as Oldenburg and Mecklenburg-Strelitz, were to furnish regiments of less amount. All Europe was required to rise in arms to second the gigantic projects of the new sovereign. This demand for contingents, and the positive way in which the emperor insisted upon them, gave rise to an immense correspondence, which, however, was unattended by any result. The notes and orders remained in the portfolios, and the contingents stayed at home.

M. Metternich, whose talent has since been so conspicuously displayed, had been for upwards of a year ambassador from Austria to Paris. Even then he excelled in the art of insinuation, and of turning to the advantage of his policy his external graces, and the favour he acquired in the drawing-room. His father, a clever man, brought up in the old diplomatic school

of Thugut and Kaunitz, had early accustomed him to the task of making other governments believe, by means of agents, what might lead them into error, and tend to the advantage of his own government. His manœuvres tended to make Austria assume a discontented and haughty tone; and wishing, as she said, to secure her independence, she publicly declared her intention of protecting herself against any enterprise similar to those of which she had so often been the victim. This language, encouraged by the complete evacuation of Germany, and the war in Spain, the unfortunate issue of which was generally foreseen, was used in time of peace between the two empires, and when France was not threatening war to Austria.

M. de Metternich, who had instructions from his court, gave no satisfactory explanation of those circumstances to Napoleon, who instantly raised a conscription, and brought soldiers from Spain into Germany.

It was necessary, also, to come to an understanding with Russia, who, being engaged with her wars in Finland and Turkey, appeared desirous neither to enter into alliance with Austria, nor to afford her support. What, in fact, was the Emperor Alexander's situation with respect to France? He had signed a treaty of peace at Tilsit, which he felt had been forced upon him; and he knew that time alone would render it possible for him to take part in a contest which, it was evident, would again be renewed, either with Prussia or Austria.

Every person of common sense must have perceived that Austria, in taking up arms, reckoned, if not on the assistance, at least on the neutrality of Russia. Russia was then engaged with two enemies, the Swedes and the Turks, over whom she hoped to triumph. She, therefore, rejoiced to see France again engage in a struggle with Austria, and there was no doubt that she would take advantage of any chances favourable to the latter power, to join her in opposing the encroachments of France. I never could conceive how, under those circumstances, Napoleon could be so blind as to expect assistance from Russia in his quarrel with Austria. He must, indeed, have been greatly deceived as to the footing on which the two courts stood with reference to each other—their friendly footing, and their mutual agreement to oppose the overgrowing ambition of their common enemy.

The English, who had been compelled to quit Spain, now returned there. They landed in Portugal, which might be regarded as their own colony, and marched against Marshal Soult, who left Spain to meet them. Any other man than Soult would, perhaps, have been embarrassed by the obstacles which he had to surmount. A great deal has been said about his wish to make himself king of Portugal. Bernadotte told me, when he passed through Hamburg, that the matter had been the subject of much conversation at head-quarters, after the battle of

Wagram. Bernadotte placed no faith in the report, and I am pretty sure that Napoleon also disbelieved it. However, this matter is still involved in the obscurity from which it will only be drawn, when some person, acquainted with the intrigue, shall give a full explanation of it.*

Since I have, with reference to Soult, touched upon the subject of supposed ambition, I will mention here what I know of Murat's expectation of succeeding the emperor. When Romanzow returned from his useless mission of mediation to London, the emperor proceeded to Bayonne. Bernadotte, who had an agent in Paris, whom he paid highly, told me one day that he had received a despatch, informing him that Murat entertained the idea of one day succeeding the emperor. Sycophants, expecting to derive advantage from it, encouraged Murat in this chimerical hope. I know not whether Napoleon was acquainted with this circumstance, nor what he said of it; but Bernadotte spoke of it to me as a certain fact? It would, however, have been very wrong to attach great importance to an expression which, perhaps, escaped Murat in a moment of ardour, for his natural temperament sometimes betrayed him into acts of imprudence, the result of which, with a man like Napoleon, was always to be dreaded.

It was in the midst of the operations of the Spanish war, which Napoleon directed in person, that he learned Austria had, for the first time, raised the landwehre. I obtained some very

* "Certain rumours reached Schonbrunn, which led to the belief that some extraordinary circumstances had taken place in Portugal, where, it was imagined, Marshal Soult aimed at the sovereignty: many versions of such a story have undoubtedly been reported. A few appeared to merit attention, because the emperor's cause was generally supposed to be desperate after the battle of Essling, and because the Grand Duke of Berg having become King of Naples, as a reward for glorious feats of arms, it might be supposed that the officers of the same rank were of a no less ambitious character. The emperor treated the whole matter as mere folly; the rumour appeared to him quite absurd, and he laughed heartily at it. Nevertheless, he wrote to Marshal Soult, *that he only retained a recollection of Austerlitz*, because his name had been too often mentioned in the emperor's hearing for the marshal to suppose that his sovereign had been wholly ignorant of the rumours; and he would therefore have felt uneasy at the emperor's silence.

"The emperor never harboured a feeling of resentment against any one on the occasion to which I allude; though he certainly had the reports inquired into, the origin of which was never accurately known; he alone could have grounds for his opinion; but I never heard him advert to the subject. I have ever since had an impression upon my mind that he really bestowed more attention to those rumours than we had at first imagined, and that they were mainly instrumental in making him determine to bring the war to a close with the least possible delay.

"The inquiries into this business were followed by proceedings against an officer of dragoons, who was convicted of having frequently repaired to the English army in a clandestine manner. He alleged in his defence that he had been sent there; but as he could not exhibit any proof of the allegation, he was treated as a deserter, and underwent the punishment decreed against persons guilty of that crime."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

curious documents respecting the armaments of Austria, from the editor of the Hamburg Correspondent. This paper, the circulation of which amounted to not less than sixty thousand, paid considerable sums to persons in different parts of Europe, who were able and willing to furnish the current news. The Correspondent paid sixty thousand francs a year to a clerk in the war department at Vienna, and it was this clerk who supplied the intelligence that Austria was preparing for war, and that orders had been issued, in all directions, to collect and put in motion, all the resources of that powerful monarchy. I communicated these particulars to the French government, and suggested the necessity of increased vigilance and measures of defence. Preceding aggressions, especially that of 1805, were not to be forgotten. Similar information probably reached the French government from many quarters. Be that as it may, the emperor consigned the military operations in Spain to his generals, and departed for Paris, where he arrived at the end of January, 1809. He had been in Spain only since the beginning of November, 1808,* and his presence there had again rendered

* It was on the 8th of August, exactly three months before Bonaparte's entrance into Spain, that Sir Arthur Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) effected his landing in the bay of Mondego, and began his march upon Lisbon. On the 17th, the French under General Laborde, had the first taste of the Wellington bayonets at Roriça, from which strong position they were driven with great loss. On the 21st, the British beat the whole French army at Vimiero, and shut up Junot, the Duke of Abrantes, in Lisbon. On the next day a man of sadly inferior capacity, Sir Harry Burrard, took the command out of Wellington's hands. Sir Harry had just time to commit *a few* capital mistakes, for the next day he was superseded in his turn by Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, on the 30th of the same month, notwithstanding that the Portuguese were arming on all sides, and that Sir John Moore had arrived off the coast with a reinforcement of 10,000, concluded the so called "Convention of Cintra," by which Junot and his army were allowed quietly to depart for France, and to carry all their plunder with them. As if every thing connected with this absurd transaction was doomed to be a blunder, we called it the Convention *of Cintra*, though it was concluded at another place, nearly thirty miles form Cintra!

The successes obtained by Napoleon during his stay of about three months in Spain, were certainly very great, and mainly resulted from his own masterly genius and lightning-like rapidity. The Spanish armies, as yet unsupported by British troops, were defeated at Gomenal, Espinosa, Reynosa, Tudela, and at the pass of the Somosierra mountains; and at an early hour of the morning of the 4th of December, Madrid surrendered. On the 20th of December, Bonaparte marched with far superior forces against the unfortunate Sir John Moore, who had been sent to advance into Spain both by the wrong route, *and at a wrong time*. On the 29th, from the heights of Benevento, his eyes were delighted by seeing the English in full retreat. But a blow struck him from another quarter, and leaving Soult to follow up Moore, he took the road to Paris.

On January 16th, 1809, was fought the battle of Corunna, the results of which were the defeat, or complete checking of Soult, the death of the gallant Moore, and the safe embarkment of the British troops. "It excited universal surprise," says Mr. Lockhart, "that the emperor did not immediately return from Benevento to Madrid, to complete and consolidate his Spanish conquest. He, however, proceeded, not towards Madrid, but Paris, and this with his utmost speed, riding on post-horses on one occasion, not less than seventy-five

LIEUTENANT GENERAL SIR JOHN MOORE, K.B.

our banners victorious. But though the insurgent troops were beaten, the inhabitants showed themselves more and more unfavourable to Joseph's cause; and it did not appear very probable, that he could ever seat himself tranquilly on the throne of Madrid.

Before I relate what I know respecting the German campaign, which was about to commence, I must refer back to one of the most important events preceding it. When I spoke of the interview at Erfurt, I quoted a rather ambiguous letter, transmitted from the Emperor Francis to Napoleon, by Baron Vincent. The answer to this letter seemed to be dictated by a sort of foresight of the events of 1809 It was in the following terms:

SIRE, MY BROTHER,

I thank your Royal and Imperial Majesty for the letter you have been so good as to write me, and which Baron Vincent delivered, I never doubted the upright intentions of your Majesty, but I nevertheless feared for a moment that hostilities would be renewed between us. There is, at Vienna, a faction which affects alarm in order to drive your cabinet to violent measures, which would entail misfortunes greater than those that are past. I had it in my power to dismember your Majesty's monarchy, or at least to diminish its power. I did not do so. It exists as it is by my consent. This is a plain proof that our accounts are settled; that I have no desire to injure you. I am always ready to guarantee the integrity of your monarchy: I will never do any thing adverse to the important interests of states. But your Majesty ought not to bring again under discussion what has been settled by a fifteen years' war. You ought to avoid every proclamation or act calculated to excite dissension. The last levy, in mass, might have provoked war if I had apprehended that the levy and preparations were made in conjunction with Russia. I have just disbanded the camp of the Confederation. I have sent a hundred thousand men to Boulogne to renew my projects against England. I had reason to believe when I had the happiness of seeing your Majesty, and had concluded the treaty of Presburg, that our disputes were terminated for ever, and that I might undertake the maritime war without interruption. I heseech your Majesty to distrust those who, by speaking of the dangers of the monarchy, disturb your happiness, and that of your family and people. Those persons alone are dangerous: they create the dangers they pretend to fear. By a straightforward, plain, and ingenuous line of conduct, your Majesty will render your people happy, will secure to yourself that tranquillity of which you must stand in need after so many troubles, and will be sure of finding me determined to do nothing hostile to your important interests. Let your conduct bespeak confidence, and you will inspire it. The best policy at the present time is, simplicity and truth. Confide your troubles to me when you have any, and I will

English miles in five hours and a half. The cause of this sudden change of purpose and extraordinary haste, was a sufficient one, and it ere long transpired." The cause was this: Austria had armed, and was on the point of declaring that war which broke out three months later —*Editor.*

instantly banish them. Allow me to make one observation more — listen to your own judgment—your own feelings—they are much more correct than those of your advisers, I beseech your Majesty to read my letter in the spirit in which it is written, and to see nothing in it inconsistent with the welfare and tranquillity of Europe and your Majesty.

As soon as I read Napoleon's letter, I had no doubt that a new war would soon ensue between France and Austria. The love of superiority assumed by Napoleon, as if he had been writing to one of the princes subject to his Confederation of the Rhine, was, indeed, of a nature to irritate the wounded pride of the heir of the Cæsars. The cabinet of Vienna was also attacked in a manner calculated to irritate all its members against Napoleon; and then illusion, that last resource of misfortune, appeared in a seducing form to the eyes of Austria. Because she had been conquered once, it did not follow that she should be conquered again. She might recover what she had lost; and the war which Napoleon was obliged to maintain, at a great expenditure of men and money, in the Spanish Peninsula, gave her chances of success which she had not possessed on the former occasion, when England alone was at war with France, and when, above all, England had not, as she had at that moment, a part of Europe where she could employ her land-forces against the power of Napoleon.

Francis, notwithstanding the instigations of his counsellors, hesitated about taking the first step; but at length, yielding to the open solicitations of England, and the secret insinuations of Russia, and, above all, seduced by the subsidies of Great Britain, he declared hostilities, not at first against France, but against her allies of the Confederation of the Rhine. On the 9th of April, Prince Charles, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the Austrian troops, addressed a note to the commander-in-chief of the French army in Bavaria. It was in the following terms:

In conformity with a declaration made by his Majesty the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Napoleon, I hereby apprize the general-in-chief of the French army that I have orders to advance with my troops and to treat as enemies all who oppose me.

A courier carried a copy of this declaration to Strasburg with the utmost expedition, from whence it was transmitted by telegraph to Paris. The emperor surprised but not disconcerted by this intelligence, received it at Saint-Cloud on the 11th of April, and two hours after he was on the road to Germany. The complexity of affairs in which he was then involved seemed to give a new impulse to his activity. When he reached the army, neither his troops nor his guard had been able to come up; and under those circumstances, he placed himself at the head of the Bavarian troops, and as it were, adopted the soldiers

of Maximilian. Six days after his departure from Paris, the army of Prince Charles, which had passed the Inn, was threatened. The emperor's head-quarters were at Donawerth; and from thence he addressed to his soldiers one of those energetic and concise proclamations which made them perform so many prodigies, and which was soon circulated in every language by the public journals. This complication of events could not but be fatal to Europe and France, whatever might be its result; but it presented an opportunity favourable to the development af the emperor's genius. Like his favourite poet Ossian, who loved best to touch his lyre midst the howlings of the tempest, Napoleon required political tempests for the display of his abilities.

During the campaign of 1809, and particularly at its commencement, Napoleon's course was even more rapid than it had been in the campaign of 1805.* Every courier who arrived at

* The exertions made by Austria for the campaign of 1809, were prodigious. In spite of all her recent reverses, she put under arms a larger force than she had ever done before. This army, including the reserve, amounted to 550,000 men. The Archduke Charles was generalissimo, and commanded in Germany; the Archduke Ferdinand was stationed in Galicia to oppose the Russians in case they should move in favour of Bonaparte, to whom the Emperor Alexander was bound by treaties, and the Archduke John marched with 60,000 men by the passes of Carinthia and Carniola into Upper Italy, which, at one moment he was near reconquering from the French. It was during this campaign of the Archduke John—a campaign which began most brilliantly, that the Tyrol, which had been detached from Austria, and given to Bavaria by Bonaparte, made a glorious effort for the recovery of its independence. In the words of Carlo Botta,

"The Archduke John had scarcely approached when the Tyrolese, animated with one soul, and a universal ardour, suddenly rose up in arms and fell upon the French and Bavarian troops that garrisoned their country. They chose for their leader one Andrew Hofer, an inn-keeper at Sand, in the valley of Passeira. Andrew had none of those eminent qualities that dazzle the world, but he was a man of upright mind and incorruptible integrity. Having always lived in the solitudes of the Tyrolean mountains, he was ignorant of vice and its temptations. While people of the highest quality in Italy as well as in France, were deluded by the flattering promises of Napoleon, this poor mountain inn-keeper persevered in his innocent mode of life, and saw things more correctly. In men of this stamp there are generally two sentiments deeply enrooted,—the love of God, and the love of their country. Both these qualities shone conspicuously in Andrew Hofer, and for these the Tyrolese had a singular love and veneration for him .... Attached to their old master, the Emperor of Austria, and detesting the new government imposed upon them, at a signal from Hofer, men and women, children and aged people rose up in a mass, and issuing from the deepest valleys, or descending from the loftiest mountains, threw themselves suddenly upon the French and Bavarians. Assaulted nearly at the same moment, at Sterching, Inspruck, Hall, and the convent of Saint Charles, the Bavarians could not maintain themselves, and after suffering a great loss in killed and wounded, they laid down their arms. They were about 10,000 soldiers that thus surrendered to the peasants of the Tyrol. Nor did another corps of 3000 soldiers meet with better fortune, and all the squadrons and battalions that followed these were beaten in succession by the insurgents. In no place, and at no hour were the troops safe from attack, because from every side, and by night as well as by day, the Tyrolese

Hamburg brought us news, or rather prodigies. As soon as the emperor was informed of the attack made by the Austrians upon Bavaria, orders were despatched to all the generals having troops under their command, to proceed with all speed to the theatre of the war. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo was summoned to join the grand army with the Saxon troops under his command, and for the time he resigned the government of the Hanse Towns. Colonel Damas succeeded him at Hamburg during that period, but merely as commandant of the fortress, and he never gave rise to any murmur or complaint. Bernadotte was not satisfied with his situation, and indeed the emperor, who was never much disposed to bring him forward, because he could not forgive him for his opposition on the 18th Brumaire, always appointed him to posts in which but little glory was to be acquired, and placed as few troops as possible under his command.

I shall not enter into any longer details respecting the second campaign of Vienna, than I did respecting the first, and the campaign of Tilsit. I will confine myself, as before, to repeating from recollection, the information which I obtained at Hamburg, where my functions always became more delicate whenever any new event occurred in Germany. I can declare, that in 1809 it required all the promptitude of the emperor's march upon Vienna to defeat the plots which were brewing against his government; for in the event of his arms being unsuccessful, the blow was ready to be struck. The English force in the north of Germany amounted to about ten thousand men. The Archduke Charles had formed the project of concentrating in the middle of Germany a large body of troops, consisting of the corps of Generals Am Eude, of General Radizwowitz, and of the English, with whom were to be joined the people who were expected to

sallying out from their hiding-places, and travelling by strange mountain-paths, like men perfectly well acquainted with the country, they chose their time, and unexpectedly crushed the incautious soldiery. This was a singular and a terrible warfare. To the rumour of arms were added the continual tolling of all the church bells, and the shouting of the peasants, who exclaimed incessantly, 'In the name of God! In the name of the most Holy Trinity!' All these noises united, and repeated by the echoes of the Alps, produced a confusion, full of horror, terror, and religion."—*Storia d'Italia.*

In consequence of the sad disasters of the Austrians in Germany, the Tyrolese peasants, who had never been properly supported, were eventually obliged to submit, and their great leader, Andrew Hofer, after a disgraceful court martial, was shot by the French. But Napoleon lost many thousands of his best troops in this war.

The Archduke John gave a sound beating to Eugene Beauharnais, then Viceroy of Italy, and took possession of Padua, Vicenza, and other cities; but, in consequence of Bonaparte's victories in Germany, he was obliged to retrace his steps, and being followed up by the reinforced Beauharnais into Hungary, he was defeated in a great battle near the town of Raab.

The spirit of the Austrian army at the opening of the campaign of 1809, was excellent, but great reverses followed great mistakes, and both officers and men became despondent.—*Editor.*

Napoleon wounded at Ratisbonne.

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revolt. The English would have wished the Austrian troops to advance a little further. The English agent made some representations on this subject to M. Stadion, the Austrian minister; but the archduke preferred making a diversion to committing the safety of the monarchy, by departing from his present inactivity, and risking the passage of the Danube, in the face of an enemy who never suffered himself to be surprised, and who had calculated every possible event. In concerting his plan, the archduke expected that the Emperor of Austria would either detach a strong force to assist his allies, or that he would abandon them to their own defence. In the first case, the archduke would have had a great superiority, and in the second, all was prepared in Hesse and in Hanover, to rise on the approach of the Austrian and English armies.

At the commencement of July, the English advanced upon Cuxhaven, with a dozen small ships of war. They landed four or five hundred sailors, and about fifty marines, and planted a standard on one of the outworks. The day after this landing at Cuxhaven, the English, who were in Denmark, evacuated Copenhagen, after destroying a battery which they had erected there. On quitting Cuxhaven, they arrested M. Desarts, who was an agent of the consulate of Hamburg. All the plots of England were fruitless on the continent; for with the emperor's new system of war, which consisted in making a push on the capitals, he soon obtained negotiations for peace. He was master of Vienna before England had even organized the expedition to which I have just alluded. He left Paris on the 11th of April, was at Donawerth on the 17th, and on the 23d he was master of Ratisbon. In the engagement, which preceded his entrance into that town, Napoleon received a slight wound in the heel. He, nevertheless, remained on the field of battle. It was also between Donawerth and Ratisbon, that Davoust, by a bold manœuvre, gained and merited the title of Prince of Eckmuhl.*

At this period, fortune was not only bent on favouring Napoleon's arms, but she seemed to take pleasure in realizing even his boasting predictions; for the French troops entered Vienna within a month after a proclamation issued by Napoleon at Ratisbon, in which he said he would be master of the Austrian capital in that time.†

But while he was thus marching from triumph to triumph, the people of Hamburg and the neighbouring countries, had a

* The great battle of Eckmuhl, where 100,000 Austrians were driven from all their positions, was fought on the 22d of April.—*Editor.*

† The reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter for a brief description of the battle of Essling or Esslingen, which preceded Napoleon's second occupation of Vienna, and at which Marshal Lannes received the wound of which he shortly afterwards died. Savary's account of the death of Lannes is also subjoined.—*Editor.*

neighbour who did not leave them altogether without inquietude. The famous Prussian partisan, Major Schill, after pursuing his system of plunder in Westphalia, came and threw himself upon Mecklenburg, whence, I understood, it was his intention to surprise Hamburg. At the head of six hundred well-mounted hussars, and between fifteen hundred and two thousand infantry badly armed, he took possession of the little fort of Domitz, in Mecklenburg, on the 15th of May, from whence he despatched parties, who levied contributions on both banks of the Elbe. Schill inspired terror wherever he went. On the 19th of May, a detachment of thirty men belonging to Schill's corps entered Wismar. It was commanded by Count Moleke, who had formerly been in the Prussian service, and who had retired to his estate in Mecklenburg, where the duke had kindly given him an appointment. Forgetting his duty to his benefactor, he sent to summon the duke to surrender Stralsund. Alarmed at the progress of the partisan Schill, the Duke of Mecklenburg and his court quitted Ludwigsburg, their regular residence, and retired to Doberan, on the sea-coast. On quitting Mecklenburg, Schill advanced to Bergdorf, four leagues from Hamburg. The alarm then increased in that city. A few of the inhabitants talked of making a compromise with Schill, and sending him money to get him away. But the firmness of the majority imposed silence on this timid council. I consulted with the commandant of the town, and we determined to adopt measures of precaution. The custom-house chest, in which there was more than a million of gold, was sent to Holstein under a strong escort. At the same time I sent to Schill a clever spy, who gave him a most alarming account of the means of defence which Hamburg possessed. Schill accordingly gave up his designs on that city, and leaving it on his left, entered Lubeck, which was undefended.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant-General Gratien, who had left Berlin by order of the Prince de Neufchatel, with two thousand five hundred Dutch, and three thousand Swedish troops, actively pursued Schill, and tranquillity was soon restored throughout all the neighbouring country, which had been greatly agitated by his bold enterprise. Schill, after wandering for some days on the shores of the Baltic, was overtaken by General Gratien, at Stralsund, whence he was about to embark for Sweden. He made a desperate defence, and was killed, after a conflict of two hours. His band was destroyed. Three hundred of his hussars, and two hundred infantry, who had effected their escape, asked leave to return to Prussia, and they were conducted to the Prussian general commanding a neighbouring town. A war of plunder, like that carried on by Schill, could not be honourably acknowledged by a power having any claim to respect. Yet, the English government sent Schill a colonel's commission, and the full uniform of his new rank, with the assurance that all his troops should thenceforth be paid by England.

Schill soon had an imitator of exalted rank; in 1809, the Duke of Brunswick-Œls sought the dangerous honour of succeeding that famous partisan. At the head of two thousand men at most, he for some days disturbed the left bank of the Elbe, and on the 5th entered Bremen. On his approach, the French vice-consul retired to Osterhulz. One of the duke's officers presented himself at the house of the vice-consul, and demanded two hundred louis. The agent of the vice-consul, alarmed at the threat of the place being given up to pillage, capitulated with the officer, and with considerable difficulty got rid of him at the sacrifice of eighty louis, for which a receipt was presented to him in the name of the duke. The duke, who now went by the name of the new Schill, did not remain long in Bremen. Wishing to repair with all possible speed to Holland, he left Bremen on the evening of the 6th, and proceeded to Delmenhorst, where his advanced guard had already arrived. The Westphalian troops, commanded by Reubell, entered Bremen on the 7th, and not finding the Duke of Brunswick, immediately marched in pursuit of him. The Danish troops, who occupied Cuxhaven, received orders to proceed to Bremerlehe, to favour the operations of the Westphalians and the Dutch. Meanwhile, the English approached Cuxhaven, where they landed three or four thousand men. The persons in charge of the custom-house establishment, and the few sailors who were in Cuxhaven, fell back upon Hamburg. The Duke of Brunswick, still pursued, crossed Germany from the frontiers of Bohemia to Elsfleth, a little port on the left bank of the Weser, where he arrived on the 7th, being one day in advance of his pursuers. He immediately took possession of all the transports at Elsfleth, and embarked for Heligoland.

The landing, which the English effected at Cuxhaven, while the Danes, who garrisoned that port, were occupied in pursuing the Duke of Brunswick, was attended by no result. After the escape of the duke, the Danes returned to their post, which the English immediately evacuated.

THE BATTLE OF ESSLINGEN.

"Prince Berthier sent me orders to rejoin the army. The emperor was already with it; I found him at Landshut, just after he had gained the battle of Ratisbon.

"We marched on Vienna. The emperor became more good-humoured, and treated me more kindly. The battle of Esslingen took place. Thousands of brave men lost their lives; Marshal Lannes received his mortal wound; the cavalry and artillery were destroyed; and the village of Esslingen, the most important point that remained

for us to defend, was inundated by twenty battalions of Hungarian grenadiers. We could no longer maintain our station: the enemy had already penetrated into the square-work which Napoleon had directed to be fortified the day before. Count Lobau advanced to meet them, and checked their progress; but they immediately received reinforcements. The emperor perceived this, and I was directed to take two battalions of the young guard, and to hasten to the assistance of our troops: I was to disengage them, to effect a retreat with them, and to take a position between the village and the remainder of the guard, on the banks of the Danube, near the bridge which had been broken. The Austrian columns advanced from all quarters on this point: our position became most hazardous. On our left, Masséna still occupied Gros Aspern; he had lost great numbers of his force, but he still maintained his ground. I placed myself at the head of my two battalions, and entered the village. I drew up my troops in the rear of General Mouton, and went to deliver to him the emperor's orders; but the whole of the enemy's reserve, under the command of the Archduke Charles, deployed at some distance. 'You have,' said I to Count Lobau, 'astonished those masses by your resistance; let us charge them with the bayonet, and drive them back upon the columns that are advancing: if we succeed, the emperor and the army will give us credit for our success; if we fail, the responsibility will rest with me.'—'With both of us,' replied the general. Our five battalions moved forward, charged, repulsed, and dispersed the enemy at the point of the bayonet. We were masters of the village. The archduke endeavoured in vain to recover it; five times he led his troops to the charge, and five times he was defeated. He experienced immense loss: ours was also considerable. Generals Mouton and Grosse were wounded; several other officers were killed. Napoleon was delighted with this affair; he complimented me very highly, and added, 'If ever you did well in not executing my orders, you have done so to-day; for the safety of the army depended on the taking of Esslingen.'"—*Rapp's Memoirs.*

DEATH OF MARSHAL LANNES.

"Marshal Lannes having returned to the position he had quitted in the morning for the purpose of attacking the enemy, used his utmost endeavours to preserve it, and dismounted, owing to the proximity of the fire of the enemy's artillery, which made it hazardous to remain on horseback; the cavalry had crossed over long before, and was stationed in the island of Lobau. The emperor himself had quitted the field of battle, after issuing his final orders in respect to recrossing the bridge; and he was engaged in pointing some artillery in the island of Lobau, for the purpose of protecting the retreat of our columns, when intelligence was brought to him that Marshal Lannes had just had his legs carried off by a cannon-shot. He was affected to tears at the news; and at the moment he was listening to the particulars of that sad event, he perceived a litter coming from the field of battle with Marshal Lannes stretched upon it. He ordered him to be carried to a retired spot, where they might be alone and

Death of Marshal Lannes.

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uninterrupted. With his face bathed in tears, he approached and embraced his dying friend. Exhausted by the great loss of blood, Marshal Lannes said to him, in broken accents, 'Farewell, Sire; spare a life dear to all; and bestow a passing thought upon the memory of one of your best friends, who in two hours will be no more!' This deeply affecting scene created in the emperor a powerful emotion. General Saint-Hilaire had a short time before been brought back wounded in the foot by a cannon-ball; he died of the wound a fortnight afterwards. The loss of Marshal Lannes was felt by the whole army, and completed the disasters of that fatal day." * * *

During the emperor's stay at Ebersdorf he went every day at noon to visit Marshal Lannes, who could not be removed to a greater distance than one of the houses of the village. Having received one day a message that the marshal was desirous to see him, he hastened to the spot. A delirious fever had come upon that unfortunate general, whose spirits, however, revived when he beheld the emperor. He had dreamed that an attempt was made upon his life; and said to him, that being unable to walk, he had sent to request he would come to defend him. The emperor was deeply afflicted at seeing the marshal in this state. The medical men requested him to withdraw, because the patient's case was desperate; and he returned home in great distress of mind. Two hours afterwards, he was again told that Marshal Lannes wished to bid him farewell; he immediately went to see him; but on his arrival, M. Yvan, the doctor in attendance, came up to inform him that the patient had expired a few minutes before. In Marshal Lannes we lost one of the most gallant men our armies could at any time boast of. His life was too short for his friends; but his career of honour and glory was without a parallel."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

The wife of Lannes was a beautiful and accomplished woman, and devotedly attached to her husband. Mademoiselle d'Avrillion, who knew her well, relates the following affecting incidents:

"It was during this journey we learnt that Marshal Lannes had both his legs shot off. When this fatal news reached Paris, his wife instantly set off, with the fond hope of still seeing her husband alive. On passing through Strasburg, where I was with the Empress Josephine, Madame Lannes was so eager to arrive at the place of her destination, that she would not come to the palace, on which the empress went to pay her a visit at the inn where she had put up for a few hours. Alas! in spite of all the haste she made, she arrived too late, or, rather, she did not arrive at all: a courier, who met her on the road, gave the fatal news that *he was no more;* and she returned slowly back to Paris."—*Mémoires,* tome ii.

According to Mademoiselle, on starting for the campaign, Lannes, who had never known what fear was, had a strong presentiment that he should die in it.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XII.

1809.

The castle of Diernstein—Richard Cœur de Lion and Marshal Lannes—The emperor at the gates of Vienna—The Archduchess Maria Louisa—Proclamations and bulletins—Facility of correspondence with England—Smuggling in Hamburg—Brown sugar and sand—Hearses filled with sugar and coffee—Embargo on the publication of news—Supervision of the Hamburg Correspondent—Festival of St. Napoleon—Ecclesiastical adulation—The King of Westphalia's journey through his states—Attempt to raise a loan—Jerome's present to me—The present returned—Bonaparte's unfounded suspicions.

Rapp, who, during the campaign of Vienna had resumed his duties as aide-de-camp, related to me one of those observations of Napoleon, which, when his words are compared with the events that followed them, seem to indicate a foresight into his future destiny. When within some days' march of Vienna, the emperor procured a guide to explain to him every village and ruin which he observed on the road. The guide pointed to an eminence on which were a few decayed vestiges of an old fortified castle: "Those," said the guide, "are the ruins of the castle of Diernstein." Napoleon suddenly stopped, and stood for some time silently contemplating the ruins, then turning to Lannes, who was with him, he said, "See! yonder is the prison of Richard Cœur de Lion. He, like us, went to Syria and Palestine. But, my brave Lannes, the Cœur de Lion was not braver than you. He was more fortunate than I at Saint-Jean d'Acre. A duke of Austria sold him to an emperor of Germany, who imprisoned him in that castle. Those were the days of barbarism. How different from the civilization of modern times! Europe has seen how I treated the Emperor of Austria, whom I might have made prisoner—and I would treat him so again. I claim no credit for this. In the present age crowned heads must be respected. A conqueror imprisoned!"—A few days after, the emperor was at the gates of Vienna; but on this occasion his access to the Austrian capital was not so easy as it had been rendered in 1805, by the ingenuity and courage of Lannes and Murat. The Archduke Maximilian, who was shut

up in the capital, wished to defend it, although the French army already occupied the principal suburbs. In vain were flags of truce sent one after the other to the archduke. They were not only dismissed unheard, but were even ill-treated, and one of them was almost killed by the populace. The city was then bombarded, and would speedily have been destroyed, but that the emperor being informed that one of the archduchesses remained in Vienna on account of ill-health, ordered the firing to cease. By a singular caprice of Napoleon's destiny, this archduchess was no other than Maria Louisa. Vienna at length opened her gates to Napoleon, who, for some days took up his residence at Schœnbrunn. He immediately addressed a proclamation to his troops, in which he said,

One month after the enemy passed the Inn, on the same day of the month, and at the same hour, we have entered Vienna. Her landwehres, her levies in mass, her ramparts created by the impotent fury of the princes of the house of Lorrain, have scarcely claimed your attention. The princes of that house have abandoned their capital, not like soldiers of honour yielding to the circumstances of war, but like perjurers, pursued by their own remorse. In flying from Vienna they bade farewell to the inhabitants by murder and conflagration. Like Medea, they have, with their own hands, slain their children.

Who would have believed, after the manner in which Napoleon alluded to the Emperor of Austria in this proclamation, that he would have closed the campaign with a proposal to marry his daughter? If it be said that I notice Napoleon's proclamations rather than his bulletins, the reason is this—his proclamations were founded on truth, with the exception of the prophecies, which were not always realized, like that of his entrance into Vienna. Their groundwork was the great historical events which had taken place before the eyes of the army to whom they were addressed; while his bulletins, which were destined to impose on the people of the interior of France and on foreign countries, too fully justified the proverb—"To lie like a bulletin."

The emperor was engaged in so many projects at once, that they could not all succeed. Thus, while he was triumphant in the hereditary states, his beloved continental system was experiencing severe checks. The trade with England on the coast of Oldenburg was carried on as uninterruptedly as if in time of peace. English letters and newspapers arrived on the continent, and those of the continent found their way into Great Britain, as if France and England had been united by ties of the firmest friendship. In short, things were just in the same state as if the decree for the blockade of the British isles had not existed. When the custom-house officers succeeded in seizing contraband goods, they were again taken from them by main force. On the 2d of July, a serious contest took place at Brinskham between the custom-house officers and a party of

peasantry, in which the latter made themselves masters of eighteen waggons laden with English goods: many were wounded on both sides.

If, however, trade with England was carried on freely along a vast extent of coast, it was different in the city of Hamburg, where English goods were introduced only by fraud; and I verily believe that the art of smuggling, and the schemes of smugglers, were never before carried to such perfection. Above six thousand smugglers went backwards and forwards, about twenty times a day, from Altona to Hamburg, and they carried on their contraband trade by many ingenious stratagems, two of which were so curious that they are worth mentioning here.

On the left of the road leading from Hamburg to Altona, there was a piece of ground where pits were dug, for the purpose of procuring sand, used for building and for laying down in the streets. At this time it was proposed to repair the great street of Hamburg, leading to the gate of Altona. The smugglers overnight filled the sand-pit with brown sugar, and the little carts which usually conveyed the sand into Hamburg were filled with the sugar, care being taken to cover it with a layer of sand, about an inch thick. This trick was carried on for a length of time, but no progress was made in repairing the street; I complained greatly of the delay, even before I was aware of its cause; for the street led to a country-house I had near Altona, whither I went daily. The officers of the customs at length perceived that the work did not proceed, and one fine morning the sugar-carts were stopped and seized. Another expedient was then to be devised.

Between Hamburg and Altona there is a little suburb situated on the right bank of the Elbe. This suburb is inhabited by sailors, labourers of the port, and landowners. The inhabitants are interred in the cemetery of Hamburg. It was observed that funeral processions passed this way more frequently than usual. The custom-house officers amazed at the sudden mortality of the worthy inhabitants of the little suburb, insisted on searching one of the vehicles; and on opening the hearse, it was found to be filled with sugar, coffee, vanilla, indigo, &c. It was necessary to abandon this expedient, but others were soon discovered.

Bonaparte was sensitive, in an extraordinary degree, to all that was said and thought of him, and Heaven knows how many despatches I received from head-quarters during the campaign of Vienna, directing me not only to watch the vigilant execution of the custom-house laws, but to lay an embargo on a thing which alarmed him more than the introduction of British merchandise, viz., the publication of news. In conformity with these reiterated instructions, I directed especial attention to the management of the Correspondent. The importance of this journal, with its sixty thousand readers, may easily be perceived. I procured the insertion of every thing I thought desirable: all

the bulletins, proclamations, acts of the French government, notes of the Moniteur, and the semi-official articles of the French journals: these were all given *in extenso*. On the other hand, I often suppressed adverse news, which, though well known, would have received additional weight from its insertion in so widely circulated a paper. If by chance there crept in some Austrian bulletin, extracted from the other German papers, published in the states of the Confederation of the Rhine, there was always given with it a suitable antidote, to destroy, or at least to mitigate, its ill effect. But this was not all. The King of Wirtemberg having reproached the Correspondent in a letter to the minister for foreign affairs, with publishing whatever Austria wished should be made known, and being conducted in a spirit hostile to the *good cause*, I answered these unjust reproaches, by making the syndic censor prohibit the Hamburg papers from inserting *any* Austrian order of the day, *any* archduke's bulletins, *any* letter from Prague; in short, any thing which should be copied from the other German journals, unless those articles had been inserted in the French journals.

My recollections of the year 1809 at Hamburg, carry me back to the celebration of Napoleon's fête, which was on the 15th of August; for he had interpolated his patron saint in the imperial calendar, at the date of his birth. The coincidence of this festival with the Assumption, gave rise to adulatory rodomontades, of the most absurd description. Certainly the episcopal circulars under the empire would form a curious collection.* Could any thing be more revolting than the sycophancy of those churchmen who declared that "God chose Napoleon for his representative upon earth, and that God created Bonaparte, and then rested; that he was more fortunate than Augustus, more virtuous than Trajan; that he deserved altars and temples to be raised to him! &c. &c."

Sometime after the festival of St. Napoleon, the King of Westphalia made a journey through his states. Of all Napoleon's brothers, the King of Westphalia was the one with whom I was least acquainted, and he, it is pretty well known, was the most worthless of the family. His correspondence with me is limited to two letters, one of which he wrote while he commanded the Epervier, and another seven years after, dated 6th September, 1809. In this latter he said, "I shall be in Hanover on the 10th. If you can make it convenient to come there and spend a day with me, it will give me great pleasure. I shall

* It will perhaps scarcely be believed that the following words were actually delivered from the pulpit: "God in his mercy has chosen Napoleon to be his representative on earth. The Queen of Heaven has marked, by the most magnificent of presents, the anniversary of the day which witnessed her glorious entrance into her domains. Heavenly Virgin! as a special testimony of your love for the French, and your all-powerful influence with your son, you have connected the first of your solemnities with the birth of the great Napoleon. Heaven ordained that the hero should spring from your sepulchre."

then be able to smooth all obstacles to the loan I wish to contract in the Hanse Towns. I flatter myself you will do all in your power to forward that object, which, at the present crisis, is very important to my states. *More than ample security* is offered, but the money will be of no use to me if I cannot have it at *least for two years.*" Jerome wanted to contract at Hamburg, a loan of three millions of francs. However, the people did not seem to think like his Westphalian majesty, that the contract presented *more than ample security.* No one was found willing to draw his purse-strings, and the loan was never raised.

Though I would not, without the emperor's authority, exert the influence of my situation to further the success of Jerome's negotiation, yet I did my best to assist him. I succeeded in prevailing on the senate to advance one loan of a hundred thousand francs, to pay a portion of the arrears due to his troops, and a second of two hundred thousand francs, to provide clothing for his army, &c. This scanty supply will cease to be wondered at, when it is considered to what a state of desolation the whole of Germany was reduced at the time.

As for Jerome, he returned to Cassel quite disheartened at the unsuccessful issue of his loan. Some days after his return to his capital, I received from him a snuff-box, with his portrait set in diamonds, accompanied by a letter of thanks for the service I had rendered him. I never imagined that a token of remembrance from a crowned head could possibly be declined. Napoleon, however, thought otherwise. I had not, it is true, written to acquaint our government with the King of Westphalia's loan, but in a letter, which I addressed to the minister for foreign affairs on the 22d of September, I mentioned the present Jerome had sent me. Why Napoleon should have been offended at this I know not, but I received orders to return Jerome's present immediately, and these orders were accompanied with bitter reproaches for my having accepted it without the emperor's authority. Knowing Bonaparte's distrustful disposition, I thought he must have suspected that Jerome had employed threats, or at any rate, that he had used some illegal influence to facilitate the success of his loan. At last, after much correspondence, Napoleon saw clearly that every thing was perfectly regular; in a word, that the business had been transacted as between two private persons. As to the three hundred thousand francs, which the senate had lent to Jerome, the fact is, that but little scruple was made about it, for this simple reason, that it was the means of removing from Hamburg the Westphalian division, whose presence occasioned a much greater expense than the loan.

Battle of Wagram.

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CHAPTER XIII.

1809.

Visit to the field of Wagram—Union of the Papal states with the empire—The battle of Talaveira—Sir Arthur Wellesley—English expedition to Holland—Attempt to assassinate the emperor at Schœnbrunn—Staps interrogated by Napoleon—Pardon offered and rejected—Fanaticism and patriotism—Corvisart's examination of Staps — Second interrogatory — Tirade against the illuminati—Accusation of the courts of Berlin and Weimar—Firmness and resignation of Staps — Particulars respecting his death — Influence of the attempt of Staps on the conclusion of peace—M. de Champagny.

Napoleon went to inspect all the corps of his army, and the field of Wagram, which, a short time before, had been the scene of one of those great battles, in which victory was the more glorious in proportion as it had been valiantly contested.* Five days after the bombardment of Vienna, namely, on the 17th of May, the emperor had published a decree, by virtue of which the pope's states were united to the French empire, and Rome was declared an imperial city. I will not stop to inquire whether this was good or bad in point of policy, but it was a mean usurpation on the part of Napoleon, for the time was passed when a Julius II. laid down the keys of St. Peter, and took up the sword of St. Paul. It was, besides, an injustice; and considering the pope's condescension to Napoleon, an act of black ingratitude. The decree of union did not deprive the pope of his residence; but he was only the first bishop of Christendom, with a revenue of two millions.

Napoleon, while at Vienna, heard of the affair of Talaveira de la Reyna. I was informed, by a letter from head-quarters, that he was much affected at the news, and did not conceal his vexation. I verily believe that he was bent on the conquest of Spain,

* The great battle of Wagram was fought on the 6th of July, 1809. The Austrians, who committed one of their usual mistakes in over-extending their lines, lost 20,000 men as prisoners, besides a fearful amount in killed and wounded. There was no day, perhaps, on which Napoleon showed more military genius or more personal courage. He was in the hottest of the fight, and for a long time exposed to showers of grape-shot.—*Editor.*

precisely on account of the difficulties he had to surmount. At Talaveira commenced the celebrity of a man, who, perhaps, would not have been without some glory, even if pains had not been taken to build him up a great reputation. That battle commenced the career of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose after-success, however, has been attended by such important consequences.* Whilst we experienced this check in Spain, the English were attempting an expedition to Holland, where they had already made themselves masters of Walcheren. It is true they were obliged to evacuate it shortly after; but as, at that time, the French and Austrian armies were in a state of inaction, in consequence of the armistice concluded at Znaim, in Moravia, the news unfavourable to Napoleon had the effect of raising the hopes of the Austrian negotiators, who paused in the expectation that fresh defeats would afford them better chances. It was during these negotiations, the termination of which seemed every day to be further distant, that Napoleon was exposed to a more real danger than the wound he had received at Ratisbon. Germany was suffering under a degree of distress difficult to be described. Illuminism was making great progress, and had filled some youthful minds with an enthusiasm not less violent than the religious fanaticism to which Henry IV. fell a victim.

A young man formed the design of assassinating Napoleon, in order to rid Germany of one whom he considered her scourge. Rapp and Berthier were with the emperor when the assassin was arrested, and in relating what I heard from them, I feel assured that I am giving the most faithful account of all the circumstances connected with the event.

"We were at Schœnbrunn," said Rapp, "when the emperor had just reviewed the troops. I observed a young man at the extremity of one of the columns, just as the troops were about to defile. He advanced towards the emperor, who was then between Berthier and me. The Prince de Neufchâtel, thinking he wanted to present a petition, went forward to tell him that I was the person to receive it, as I was the aide-de-camp for the day. The young man replied, that he wished to speak with Napoleon himself, and Berthier again told him he must apply to me. He withdrew a little, still repeating that he wanted to speak with Napoleon. He again advanced and came very near the emperor; I desired him to fall back, telling him, in German, to wait till after the parade, when, if he had any thing to say, it would be attended to. I surveyed him attentively, for I began to think his conduct suspicious. I observed that he kept his right hand in the breast pocket of his coat; out of which a piece of paper appeared. I know not how it was, but at that moment my eyes met his, and I was struck with his peculiar look and air

* The battle of Talaveira took place on the 28th of July, twenty-two days after the fatal defeat of the Austrians at Wagram.—*Editor.*

of fixed determination. Seeing an officer of gendarmerie on the spot, I desired him to seize the young man, but without treating him with any severity, and to convey him to the castle until the parade was ended. All this passed in less time than I have taken to tell it; and as every one's attention was fixed on the parade, the scene passed unnoticed. I was shortly afterwards told that a large carving-knife had been found on the young man, whose name was Staps. I immediately went to find Duroc, and we proceeded together to the apartment to which Staps had been taken. We found him sitting on a bed, apparently in deep thought, but betraying no symptoms of fear. He had beside him the portrait of a young female, his pocket-book, and purse, containing only two pieces of gold. I asked him his name, but he replied, that he would tell it to no one but Napoleon. I then asked him what he intended to do with the knife which had been found upon him? But he answered again, 'I shall tell only Napoleon.'—'Did you mean to attempt his life?'—'Yes.'—'Why?'—'I can tell none but Napoleon.' This appeared to me so strange, that I thought right to inform the emperor of it. When I told him what had passed, he appeared a little agitated, for you know how he was haunted with the idea of assassination. He desired that the young man should be taken into his cabinet, whither he was accordingly conducted by two gendarmes. Notwithstanding his criminal intention, there was something exceedingly prepossessing in his countenance. I wished that he would deny the attempt; but how was it possible to save a man who was determined to sacrifice himself? The emperor asked Staps whether he could speak French, and he answered, that he could speak it very imperfectly, and as you know (continued Rapp) that next to you I am the best German scholar in Napoleon's court, I was appointed interpreter on this occasion. The emperor put the following questions to Staps, which I translated, together with the answers:

"'Where do you come from?'—'From Narremburgh.'—'What is your father?'—'A protestant minister.'—'How old are you?'—'Eighteen.'—'What did you intend to do with your knife?'—'To kill you.'—'You are mad, young man; you are one of the illuminati?'—'I am not mad: I know not what is meant by the illuminati!'—'You are ill, then?'—'I am not: I am very well.'—'Why did you wish to kill me?'—'Because you have ruined my country.'—'Have I done you any harm?'—'Yes, you have harmed me as well as all Germans.'—'By whom were you sent? Who urged you to this crime?'—'No one; I was urged to it by the sincere conviction, that by killing you, I should render the greatest service to my country.'—'Is this the first time you have seen me?'—'I saw you at Erfurt, at the time of your interview with the Emperor of Russia.'—'Did you intend to kill me then?'—'No; I thought you would not

again wage war against Germany. I was one of your greatest admirers.'—'How long have you been in Vienna?'—'Ten days.'—'Why did you wait so long before you attempted the execution of your project?'—'I came to Schœnbrunn a week ago, with the intention of killing you; but when I arrived, the parade was just over; I therefore deferred the execution of my design till to-day.'—'I tell you, young man, you are either mad or in bad health.'

"The emperor here ordered Corvisart to be sent for. Staps asked who Corvisart was? I told him that he was a physician. He then said, 'I have no need of him.' Nothing further was said until the arrival of the doctor, and during this interval Staps evinced the utmost indifference. When Corvisart arrived, Napoleon directed him to feel the young man's pulse, which he immediately did; and Staps then very coolly said, 'Am I not well, sir?' Corvisart told the emperor that nothing ailed him. 'I told you so,' said Staps, pronouncing the words with an air of triumph.

"I was really astonished at the coolness and apathy of Staps, and the emperor seemed for a moment confounded by the young man's behaviour. After a few moments' pause, the emperor resumed the interrogatory as follows:

"'Your brain is disordered. You will be the ruin of your family. I will grant you your life, if you ask pardon for the crime you meditated, and for which you ought to be sorry.'—'I want no pardon. I only regret having failed in my attempt.'—'Indeed! then a crime is nothing to you?'—'To kill you is no crime: it is a duty.'—'Whose portrait is that which was found on you?'—'It is the portrait of a young lady to whom I am attached.'—'She will doubtless be much distressed at your adventure?'—'She will only be sorry that I have not succeeded. She abhors you as much as I do.'—'But if I were to pardon you, would you be grateful for my mercy?'—'I would, nevertheless, kill you, if I could.'

"I never," continued Rapp, "saw Napoleon look so confounded. The replies of Staps, and his immovable resolution, perfectly astonished him. He ordered the prisoner to be removed: and when he was gone Napoleon said, 'This is the result of the secret societies which infest Germany. This is the effect of fine principles, and the light of reason. They make young men assassins. But what can be done against illuminism? A sect cannot be destroyed by cannon-balls.'

"This event, though pains were taken to keep it secret, became the subject of conversation in the castle of Schœnbrunn. In the evening the emperor sent for me, and said, 'Rapp, the affair of this morning is very extraordinary. I cannot believe that this young man of himself conceived the design of assassinating me. There is something under it. I shall never be persuaded that the intriguers of Berlin and Weimar are strangers

The seizure of Staps.

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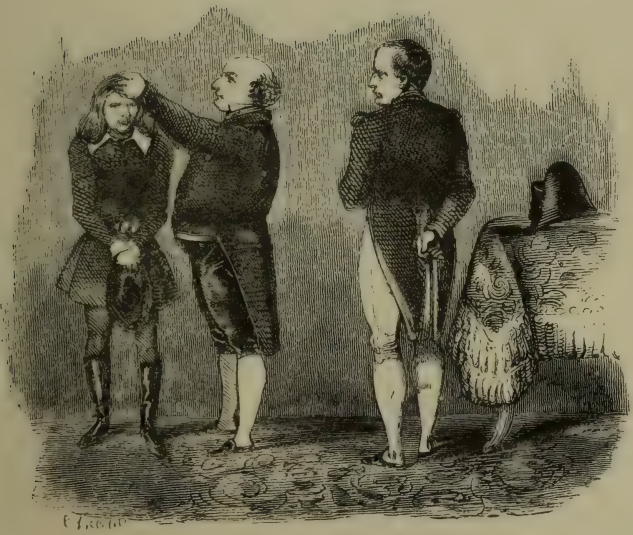

Staps examined by Corvisart.

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to the affair.'—'Sire, allow me to say that your suspicions appear unfounded. Staps has had no accomplice; his placid countenance and even his fanaticism are evident proofs of that.'—'I tell you that he has been instigated by women: furies thirsting for revenge. If I could only obtain proof of it, I would have them seized in the midst of their court.'—'Ah, sire, it is impossible that either man or woman in the courts of Berlin or Weimar could have conceived so atrocious a design.'—'I am not sure of that. Did not those women excite Schill against us, while we were at peace with Prussia; but stay a little; we shall see.'—'Schill's enterprise, sire, bears no resemblance to this attempt.' You know how the emperor likes every one to yield to his opinion, when he has adopted one, which he does not choose to give up; so he said, rather changing his tone of good-humoured familiarity, 'All you say is in vain, Monsieur le Général: I am not liked either at Berlin or Weimar.'—'There is no doubt of that, sire; but because you are not liked in those two courts, is it to be inferred that they would assassinate you?'—'I know the fury of those women; but patience. Write to General Lauer: direct him to interrogate Staps. Tell him to bring him to a confession.'

"I wrote, conformably with the emperor's orders, but no confession was obtained from Staps. In his examination by General Lauer, he repeated nearly what he had said in the presence of Napoleon. His resignation and firmness never forsook him for a moment; and he persisted in saying that he was the sole author of the attempt, and that no one else was aware of it. Staps's enterprise made a deep impression on the emperor. On the day when we left Schœnbrunn, we happened to be alone, and he said to me, 'I cannot get this unfortunate Staps out of my mind. The more I think on the subject, the more I am perplexed. I never can believe that a young man of his age, a German, one who has received a good education, a Protestant too, could have conceived and attempted such a crime. The Italians are said to be a nation of assassins, but no Italian ever attempted my life. This affair is beyond my comprehension. Inquire how Staps died, and let me know.'

"I obtained from General Lauer the information which the emperor desired. I learned that Staps, whose attempt on the emperor's life was made on the 23d of October, was executed at seven o'clock in the morning on the 27th, having refused to take any sustenance since the 24th. When any food was brought to him, he rejected it, saying, 'I shall be strong enough to walk to the scaffold.' When he was told that peace was concluded, he evinced extreme sorrow, and was seized with trembling. On reaching the place of execution, he exclaimed, loudly, 'Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!'"*

* "I wrote to General Lauer, requesting that he would give us an account of the conduct of Staps in his last moments. He informed me that the prisoner

Such are the notes which I committed to paper, after conversing with Rapp, as we were walking together in the garden of the old hotel of Montmorin, in which Rapp resided. I recollect his showing me the knife taken from Staps, which the emperor had given him: it was merely a common carving-knife, such as is used in kitchens. To these details may be added a very remarkable circumstance, which I received from another, but not less authentic source. I have been assured, that the attempt of the German Mutius Scævola, had a marked influence on the concessions which the emperor made, because he feared that Staps, like him who attempted the life of Porsenna, might have imitators among the illuminati of Germany.

It is well known that, after the battle of Wagram, conferences were opened at Raab. Although peace was almost absolutely necessary for both powers, and the two emperors appeared to desire it equally, it was not, however, concluded. It is worthy of remark, that the delay was occasioned by Bonaparte. Negotiations were therefore suspended; and M. de Champagny had ceased, for several days, to see the Prince of Lichtenstein, when the affair of Staps took place. Immediately after Napoleon's examination of the young fanatic, he sent for M. de Champagny. "How are the negotiations going on?" he inquired. The minister having informed him, the emperor added, "I wish them to be resumed immediately: I wish for peace; do not hesitate about a few millions, more or less, in the indemnity demanded from Austria. Yield on that point. I wish to come to a conclusion: I refer it all to you." The minister lost no time in writing to the Prince de Lichtenstein: on the same night the two negotiators met at Raab, and the clauses of the treaty, which had been suspended, were discussed, agreed upon, and signed that very night. Next morning, M. de Champagny attended the emperor's levee, with the treaty of peace, as it had been agreed on. Napoleon, after hastily examining it, expressed his approbation of every particular, and highly complimented his minister on the speed with which the treaty had been brought to a conclusion.

had been executed at seven in the morning of the 27th; that he had taken no sustenance since the 24th; that food had been offered to him, but that he had constantly refused it, because, as he said, he had sufficient strength to walk to the place of execution. He was informed that peace was concluded; and this intelligence seemed to agitate him. His last words were, '*Liberty for ever! Germany for ever! Death to the tyrant!*' I delivered the report to Napoleon. He desired me to keep the knife that had been found upon the criminal: it is still in my possession."— *Memoirs of General Rapp*, (*Editor.*)

[This definitive treaty of peace, which is sometimes called the treaty of Presburg, and at others the treaty of Raab, contained the following articles:

1. Austria ceded in favour of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, Saltzburg, Berchtolsgaden, and a part of Upper Austria.

2. To France directly, Austria ceded her only seaport, Trieste, and all the countries of Carniola, Friuli, the circle of Villach, with parts of Croatia and Dalmatia. (By these cessions Austria was excluded from the Adriatic sea, and cut off from all communication with the navy of Great Britain.) A small lordship, *enclavé* in the territories of the Grison league, was also given up.

3. To the constant ally of Napoleon, to the King of Saxony, in that character Austria ceded some territory in Bohemia, and, in his capacity of Grand Duke of Warsaw, she attached to his Polish dominions the ancient city of Cracow, and all Western Galicia.

4. Russia, who had entered with but a lukewarm zeal into the war as an ally of France, had a very moderate share of the spoils of Austria. A bit of Eastern Galicia, with a population of 400,000 souls was allotted to her, but in this allotment, the trading town of Brody (almost the only thing worth having) was specially excepted. This last circumstance gave no small degree of disgust to the Emperor Alexander, whose admiration of Napoleon was not destined to have a long date.—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER XIV.

1809.

Results of the union of the papal states with the empire—Bull of excommunication—Removal of the pope from Rome—Coincidences—Marshal Macdonald—The Princess Royal of Denmark—Destruction of the German empire—Napoleon's visit to the courts of Bavaria and Wirtemberg—His return to France—First mention of the divorce—Intelligence of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa—Refusal of the Hanse Towns to pay the French troops—Napoleon's quarrel with Louis—Journey of the emperor and empress into Holland—Seeds of future war with Russia—Decree for burning English merchandise—Plan for turning an inevitable evil to the best account—Fall on the exchange of St. Petersburg.

I MUST now notice the unfortunate consequences of an event I mentioned in my last chapter, namely, the union of the states of the holy see with the French empire. As I was at Hamburg, I could not of course see what was passing in Rome; but I can place such reliance on the source whence I received the details

of what occurred there, that I do not hesitate to vouch for their correctness.

By a decree of the 17th of May, published by the emperor at the camp of Vienna, the papal states were united to the empire. Napoleon conceived that the court of Rome would humble the old power of the triple crown, to the new power of the crown of France, united to the iron crown; but Pius VII. reckoning, perhaps, without foundation, on his influence over the opinions of the age, thought he could renew those papal extravagances, to which in former times weak sovereigns had bent the knee. To a decree of aggression, Pius VII. opposed a bull of excommunication. I learned this strange resolution of the holy father through a commercial letter; but I still doubted the fact, until one of my agents, who had been directed to keep watch on the emigrants at Altona, brought me a copy of the bull; it had been given him by one of the emigrants, who was so far deceived by his address as to trust him.

I know not whether this important document, of which I kept a copy, has since been published, but as I have never seen it in print, I will subjoin it here:

By the authority of the Almighty God, the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and by our own, we declare that you and all your co-operators, by the act you have just committed, have incurred excommunication, into which (according to the form of our apostolic bulls, which, on such occasions, are posted up in the frequented places in this city), we declare all those have fallen, who, since the last violent invasion of our city, on the 22d of February of the last year, have been guilty, either in Rome, or in the ecclesiastical states, of acts against which we have remonstrated, not only by the numerous protests made by our secretaries of state, who have been successively replaced, but still further in our two consistorial addresses of the 14th of March and the 11th of July, 1808. We also declare as excommunicated all those who were promoters, advisers, and counsellors, of those acts, or whoever has co-operated in their execution.

I learned afterwards that when the emperor, who was at Vienna, received intelligence of this moral opposition of the pope, and heard that the holy father had employed the only arms of which he could avail himself, he showed much anxiety as to the result. But Napoleon would never recede, especially when he had entered upon a wrong course. On the night of the 5th of July, the pope was removed from Rome by General Radet; and the unfortunate pontiff wandered from town to town, but none could receive the illustrious prisoner.* However much this proceeding was to be regretted and censured in all points of view, yet Heaven did not immediately avenge the wrongs committed against the head of the church; for the victory of Wagram took place the very day after the removal of the pope.

* For the true state of the case, see Addenda at the end of the present chapter. (*Editor.*)

Engrav-l by J Cook

POPE PIUS VII,

FROM A PT BARNABAS CHIARAMONTI

Pius PP. VII.

LONDON: GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, BROADWAY, LUDGATE.

During the campaign of Vienna I was struck with another coincidence which, under other circumstances, I should not have noticed. On the anniversary of the 14th of July, a day famous in the calendar of the revolution, for the taking of the Bastile and the Federation, another Federation, if I may so express myself, was formed on the field of battle. On that day, the type of French honour, Macdonald, who, after achieving a succession of prodigies, led the army of Italy into the heart of the Austrian states, was made a marshal on the field: Napoleon said to him, "With us it is, for life and for death." The general opinion was that the elevation of Macdonald added less to the marshal's military reputation than it redounded to the honour of the emperor.

About this time I had the pleasure of again seeing the son of the reigning Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, whose arrival in the Hanse Towns was speedily followed by that of his sister, Princess Frederica Charlotte of Mecklenburg, married to the Prince Royal of Denmark, Christian Frederick. In November the princess arrived at Altona from Copenhagen; the reports circulated respecting her having compelled her husband to separate from her. The history of this princess, who, though perhaps blameable, was, nevertheless, much pitied, was the general subject of conversation in the north of Germany at the time I was at Hamburg. The King of Denmark, grieved at the publicity of the separation, wrote a letter on the subject to the Duke of Mecklenburg. In this letter, which I had an opportunity of seeing, the king expressed his regret at not having been able to prevent the scandal; for, on his return from a journey to Kiel, the affair had become so notorious that all attempts at reconciliation were vain. In the mean time it was settled that the princess was to remain at Altona until something should be decided respecting her future condition.

It was Baron Plessin, the Duke of Mecklenburg's minister of state, who favoured me with a sight of the King of Denmark's letters. M. Plessin told me, likewise, at the time, that the Duke had formed the irrevocable determination of not receiving his daughter. A few days after her arrival, the princess visited Madame de Bourrienne. She invited us to her parties, which were very brilliant, and several times did us the honour of being present at ours. But, unfortunately, the extravagance of her conduct, which was utterly unsuitable to her situation, soon became the subject of general animadversion.

I mentioned, at the close of the last chapter, how the promptitude of M. de Champagny brought about the conclusion of the treaty, known by the name of the treaty of Schœnbrunn. By this treaty the old edifice of the German empire was overthrown, and Francis II. became Francis I., Emperor of Austria. He, however, could not say, like his namesake of France, *tout est perdu fors l'honneur*; for honour was somewhat committed,

even had nothing else been lost. But the sacrifices Austria was compelled to make were great. The territories ceded to France were immediately united into a new general government, under the collective denomination of the Illyrian provinces. Napoleon thus became master of both sides of the Adriatic, by virtue of his twofold title of Emperor of France and King of Italy. Austria, whose external commerce thus received a check, had no longer any direct communication with the sea. The loss of Fiume, Trieste, and the sea-coast, appeared so vast a sacrifice, that it was impossible to look forward to the duration of a peace so dearly purchased.

The affair of Staps, perhaps, made Napoleon anxious to hurry away from Schœnbrunn, for he set off before he had ratified the preliminaries of the peace, announcing that he would ratify them at Munich. He proceeded in great haste, to Nymphenburg, where he was expected on a visit to the court of Bavaria. He next visited the King of Wirtemberg, whom he pronounced to be the cleverest sovereign in Europe, and at the end of October he arrived at Fontainebleau. From thence he proceeded on horseback to Paris, and he rode so rapidly, that only a single chasseur of his escort could keep up with him, and, attended by this one guard, he entered the court of the Tuileries. While Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, before his return to Paris, Josephine, for the first time, heard the divorce mentioned; the idea had occurred to the emperor's mind while he was at Schœnbrunn.* It was also while at Fontainebleau that Napoleon ap-

* This is confirmed by the testimony of Savary, who says —

"Napoleon often reflected on the best mode of making this communication to the empress; still he was reluctant to speak to her. He was apprehensive of the consequences of her susceptibility of feeling: his heart was never proof against the shedding of tears. He thought, however, that a favourable opportunity offered for breaking the subject previously to his quitting Fontainebleau. He hinted at it in a few words which he had addressed to the empress, but did not explain himself until the arrival of the viceroy, whom he had ordered to join him. He was the first person who spoke openly to his mother, and obtained her consent for that bitter sacrifice. He acted on the occasion like a kind son, and a man grateful to his benefactor, and devoted to his service, by sparing him the necessity of unpleasant explanations towards a partner whose removal was a sacrifice as painful to him as it was affecting. The emperor having arranged whatever related to the future condition of the empress, upon whom he made a liberal settlement, urged the moment of the dissolution of the marriage, no doubt because he felt grieved at the condition of the empress herself, who dined every day, and passed her evenings in the presence of persons who were witnessing her descent from the throne. There existed between him and the Empress Josephine no other bond than a civil act, according to the custom which prevailed at the time of this marriage. Now the laws had foreseen the dissolution of such marriage contracts. A particular day having therefore been fixed upon, the emperor brought together into his apartments those persons whose ministry was required in this case: amongst others, the arch-chancellor and M. Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély. The emperor then declared in a loud voice his intention of annulling the marriage he had contracted with Josephine, who was present: the empress also made the same declaration, which was interrupted by her repeated sobs.

Marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa.

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pointed M. de Montalivet to be minister of the interior. The letters which we received from Paris at this period brought intelligence of the brilliant state of the capital during the winter of 1809, and especially of the splendour of the imperial court, where the emperor's levees were attended by the Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg, all eager to evince their gratitude to the hero who had raised them to the sovereign rank.

I was the first person in Hamburg who received intelligence of Napoleon's projected marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. The news was brought to me from Vienna by two estafettes. It is impossible to describe the effect produced by the anticipation of this event throughout the north of Germany. From all parts the merchants received orders to buy Austrian stock, in which an extraordinary rise immediately took place. Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa was hailed with enthusiastic and general joy. The event was regarded as the guarantee of a long peace, and it was hoped there would be a lasting cessation of the disasters created by the rivalry of France and Austria. The correspondence I received showed that these sentiments were general in the interior of France, and in different countries of Europe; and in spite of the presentiments I had always had of the return of the Bourbons to France, I now began to think that event problematic, or at least very remote.*

About the beginning of the year 1810, commenced the differences between Napoleon and his brother Louis, which, as I have already stated, ended in a complete rupture. Napoleon's object was to make himself master of the navigation of the Scheldt, which Louis wished should remain free, and hence ensued the union of Holland with the French empire. Holland was the first province of the grand empire which Napoleon took the new empress to visit. This visit took place almost immediately after the marriage. Napoleon first proceeded to Compiègne, where he remained a week. He next set out for Saint-Quentin, and inspected the canal. The empress Maria Louisa then joined him, and they both proceeded to Belgium. At Antwerp the emperor inspected all the works which he had ordered, and to the execution of which he attached great importance. He returned by way of Ostend, Lille, and Normandy, to Saint-Cloud, where he arrived on the 1st of June, 1810. He then learned from my correspondence, that the Hanse Towns refused to advance money for the pay of the French troops. The men were absolutely destitute. I declared

The prince arch-chancellor having caused the article of the law to be read, he applied it to the case before him, and declared the marriage to be dissolved."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* (*Editor.*)

* As M. de Bourrienne passes over in silence the ceremonies which attended Napoleon's marriage, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter for Savary's concise account of Maria Louisa's arrival in France, and the ceremonies at Saint-Cloud and the Tuileries.—*Editor.*

that it was urgent to put an end to this state of things. The Hanse Towns had been reduced from opulence to misery, by taxation and exactions, and were absolutely unable to maintain the unjust burden now imposed upon them.

Napoleon was still involved in his war against Spain and England. His wish to make peace with the latter power gave rise to several intrigues, by no means of the most dignified kind; but all his efforts failed. The perspective of continued war produced an ill effect every where, but especially in Holland, where the prevailing misery was likely to be augmented by an indefinite prolongation of the restrictions on trade. The question as to what was to become of Holland, was now decided by possession; but it was easy to perceive that the Dutch would seek an opportunity of throwing off the ruinous yoke which France had imposed upon them, and would throw themselves on the protection of the first power that might offer to deliver them. Napoleon had united Holland to the empire, in order to prevent that country from falling under the dominion of the English; but how many interests were violated by that measure. The centre of commercial relations thus attacked in its very foundation, caused a general shock. The union was satisfactory to nobody; but it served to open the eyes of the great powers. It cannot be doubted, that the union of Holland with the empire, was an obstacle to the wished-for peace with England. It was a prelude to the union of the Hanse Towns which disposed Russia to those hostilities necessary to preserve her from ruin.

The summer of 1810 passed away very calmly in the Hanse Towns. However, some apprehensions were entertained for the future, and whenever a new decree, or senatus consultum, announced the union of new provinces to the empire, the most clearsighted persons were not without alarm for the fate which must inevitably await the Hanse Towns. During the same year Napoleon, in a fit of madness, issued a decree which I cannot characterize by any other epithet than infernal. I allude to the decree for burning all the English merchandise in France, Holland, the Grand Duchy of Berg, the Hanse Towns; in short, in all places subject to the disastrous dominion of Napoleon. In the interior of France, no idea could possibly be formed of the desolation caused by this measure in countries which existed by commerce; and what a spectacle was it to the destitute inhabitants of those countries to witness the destruction of property which, had it been distributed, would have assuaged their misery?

One duty with which I was intrusted, and to which great importance was attached, was the application and execution of the disastrous continental system in the north. In my correspondence I did not conceal the dissatisfaction which this ruinous measure excited, and the emperor's eyes were at length opened on the subject by the following circumstance. In spite of the

sincerity with which the Danish government professed to enforce the continental system, Holstein contained a great quantity of colonial produce; and, notwitstanding the measures of severity, it was necessary that that merchandise should find a market somewhere. The smugglers often succeeded in introducing it into Germany, and the whole would probably soon have passed the custom-house limits. All things considered, I thought it advisable to make the best of an evil that could not be avoided. I therefore proposed, that the colonial produce then in Holstein, and which had been imported before the date of the edict for its prohibition, should be allowed to enter Hamburg on the payment of thirty, and on some articles, forty per cent. This duty was to be collected at the custom-house, and was to be confined entirely to articles consumed in Germany. The colonial produce in Altona, Gluckstadt, Husum, and other towns of Holstein, had been estimated at about thirty millions of francs, and the duty would amount to ten or twelve millions. The adoption of the plan I proposed would naturally put a stop to smuggling; for it could not be doubted, that the merchants would give thirty or thirty-three per cent. for the right of carrying on a lawful trade, rather than give forty per cent. to the smugglers, with the chance of seizure.

The emperor immediately adopted my idea; for I transmitted my suggestions to the minister for foreign affairs on the 18th of September, and on the 4th of October, a decree was issued conformable to the plan I proposed. Within six weeks after the decree came into operation, the custom-house director received thirteen hundred declarations from persons holding colonial produce in Holstein. It now appeared that the duties would amount to forty millions of francs, that is to say, twenty-eight or thirty millions more than my estimate.

Bernadotte had just been nominated Prince Royal of Sweden. This nomination, with all the circumstances connected with it, as well as Bernadotte's residence in Hamburg, before he proceeded to Stockholm, will be particularly noticed in the next chapter. I merely mention the circumstance here, to explain some events which took place in the north, and which were, more or less, directly connected with it. For example, in the month of September, the course of exchange on St. Petersburg suddenly fell. All the letters which arrived in Hamburg, from the capital of Russia and from Riga, attributed the fall to the election of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo, as Prince Royal of Sweden. Of thirty letters which I received, there was not one but described the consternation which the event had created in St. Petersburg. This consternation, however, might have been excited less by the choice of Sweden, than by the fear that that choice was influenced by the French government

SEIZURE OF THE POPE.

The account of the rude and forcible seizure of the Pope, given by Carlo Botta, is as true and correct as it is striking. We have known many persons at Rome who were acquainted with all the facts as they occurred.

"Having pronounced his sentence, Pius retired to the innermost chambers of his palace to pray and to wait events. He caused the gates to be carefully locked up, and the private doorways of the Quirinal palace to be all walled up in order that the French should not be able to penetrate to his presence without a manifest violation of his dwelling. The men of Napoleon informed their master of the anger of the Pope, and begged that he would order what steps they ought to take with him. Bonaparte answered that they must make Pius revoke his bull, accept his offered pension of two millions of francs, and in case of an obstinate refusal, to arrest him and carry him off to France. This harsh command found harsh executors. On the night of the 5th of July, thief-takers, thieves, convicts, and with them (a thing almost incredible!) generals and soldiers of Napoleon went to violate and break open the palace of the Pope. The commoner scoundrels,—the thief-catchers, and the rest, climbed over the outer walls of the Quirinal, and opened the gates to the troops. They burst open the interior gates, they forced the doors from their hinges, they cut through walls: this nocturnal rumour spread from apartment to apartment, until it reached the inmost recesses of the assaulted Quirinal; and the darkness of night increased the terror of the scene. Awakened from their sleep, the servants of the Pope trembled: Pius alone preserved a perfect firmness. Cardinal Pacca was with him, and they prayed together, and mutually comforted each other. As they were thus engaged, the adherents of Bonaparte forced open all the doors, rushed into the room of the innocent and persecuted Pontiff. He in haste put on his pontifical robes, in order to show to the world the violation not merely exercised on his person, but on his rank and dignity. Radet, a general of Napoleon's gendarmerie, entered the room by force, and was followed by a certain Diana, who had a very narrow escape from the guillotine at Paris, for being concerned in a plot against Napoleon's life with the sculptor Ceracchi, and who now had not merely entered Napoleon's service, but engaged in serving him in the most iniquitous act that had been committed for a long time. Radet, in obedience to his emperor's orders, immediately announced the conditions to the Pope. Pius rejected them, not haughtily, but mildly and decidedly. He then told Radet that he pardoned *him* as being only the executor of his master's orders, but turning to Diana, he said he wondered

that one of his own born subjects should thus dare to appear before him and insult his dignity;—and then he added that he pardoned even Diana. The Pope next declared to be null and of no avail all that the French government had done and was then doing against himself, the states of the church, and the Roman See. He said he was prepared for all things—that they might do with him what they liked—even lead him to instant execution, seeing that an innocent man had nothing to fear. At this point he took in one hand his crucifix, in the other his breviary (all that remained to him of so much grandeur), and followed the bad men who had broken into his palace. Radet asked him to give the names of such of his faithful friends or attendants as he wished should accompany him: he gave them, but not one of those friends was allowed to accompany him. Even the Cardinal Pacca was forcibly dragged from his arms. He was then with tumultuous hurry, and in the midst of armed men, forced into a carriage that drove off at full speed towards Tuscany. The only person that went in the coach with him was Radet. While these nocturnal and unworthy actions were a doing in the pontifical palace, General Miollis, the French governor of Rome, was abroad in the town to watch the proceedings, and receive regular reports of the progress of the nefarious transaction. The general was not without some fear of a popular rising in favour of the Pope, and for this reason he had chosen the dead of night, had recommended speed, and had called in 2000 Neapolitans of the army of Murat, under pretext that they were marching for Upper Italy.

"Rome was filled with stupor and horror, when, as the day dawned, the news was spread. The gaolers of the Pope drove him on in the utmost rapidity with post-horses, in order to get him out of Italy before the intelligence should get in advance of them among the people. So much did the master of all arms dread a religious opinion. The gendarmes escorted from station to station the captive but still potent Pius VII. On approaching Genoa, fearing his presence might create an insurrection among the peasantry and sailors of the Riviera di Levante, they embarked him in a small boat that had come from Tuscany. The pontiff asked his gaolers if it was the intention of the French government to drown him: they answered that it was not the case. As soon as he set foot on shore at Genoa, they shut him up in a carriage already prepared, and threatened to shoot the postilions if they did not gallop all the way. He was allowed breathing-time in Alessandria, as that was a strong fortress full of French soldiery. They then hurried him across the plain of Piedmont with the rapidity of lightning. At Saint Ambrogio di Susa, they had ordered horses to be put to, with instructions to go on faster than they had come; but worn out with age and grief, and the fatigues of the journey, the Pope asked them whether Napoleon wished to have him

dead or alive. They answered, alive. "If it be so," said the Pope, "we must remain this night where we are." It was deemed necessary to comply with this request. The next day he was carried across Mount Cenis. The Italian people not having been able, on account of the rapidity of his progress, to venerate the pontiff when he was present, venerated him when he was far away, piously visiting the places he had stopped at, the places through which he had passed; and they called these spots sacred from his misfortunes, his dignity, and his sanctity. These were seeds of destruction for Napoleon: already the predictions of Pius were beginning to be verified, and the fulness of time was approaching. The faithful Cardinal Pacca was carried off to the mountain fortress of Pignard, the sad sojourn of so many innocent men who incurred Napoleon's displeasure.

"After his arrival in France, the Pope was allowed to remain for some days in Grenoble, and then forced to set off again on his travels. They made him pass, as if there had been no other road, through Valence in Dauphiny, the place where Pius VI. had died—an act the more rude and cruel because wholly unnecessary. They then conducted him by way of Avignon, Aix, and Nice, to Savona, a town not far from Genoa. This was a strange roundabout journey from Rome through France to Savona! But his departure was concealed, and the way he was to take was a mystery to all except those who saw him here and there."—*Storia d' Italia,* tomo iv.

It will be remembered that Pius VI., the immediate predecessor of the old Pope in question, had been forcibly carried off in 1799, by the French republicans to Valence, where he died not less from persecution than from age.—*Editor.*

MARRIAGE WITH MARIA LOUISA.

Cherishing for General Lauristan, formerly his aide-de-camp, a friendship of very long standing, Napoleon commissioned him to proceed to Vienna, and to accompany the empress to Paris as the captain of his body guard. With the view of honouring the memory of Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, he appointed his widow to be a lady of honour to the new empress, finding it impossible to bestow upon her a more signal proof of his esteem; for she had not at that time any claim to entitle her to a situation which was to place her, all at once, at the head of the highest society.

He sent his sister, the Queen of Naples, as far as Braunaw, with four ladies of honour, to meet the empress. We had then in Braunaw the corps of Marshal Davoust, who was completing the measure of evacuating Austria. This corps was placed under arms upon the arrival of the empress, and gave her as brilliant a reception as the means of so small a town could afford. The Queen of Naples re-

MARIE LOUISE,

ceived the empress at Braunaw, where the ceremony took place of delivering up her majesty by the officers whom her father had appointed to accompany her, as well as of the delivery of her effects; and, as soon as the empress had clothed herself in the garments brought in the wardrobe from Paris, she passed over the frontier with the ladies of the palace who were in attendance, and gave audience of leave to all those who had accompanied her from Vienna, and were about to return. All this was accomplished within an hour from the time of her arrival at Braunaw.

She departed immediately for Munich, Augsburg, Stutgard, Carlsruhe, and Strasburg, and was received with great splendour at all the foreign courts, and at Strasburg with great enthusiasm. So many hopes were interwoven with the marriage, that her arrival was sincerely greeted by all.

The emperor had gone as far as Compiègne to receive her, the court being then at that residence. He wrote to her every day by a page, who went off at full speed with his letters, and as quickly brought back her replies. I recollect that the emperor having dropped the envelope of the first letter, it was instantly picked up, and handed about the saloon as a specimen of the handwriting of the empress: the eagerness to see it was as great as if her portrait had been exhibited. The pages who came from her were tormented with questions. We had, in short, been transformed at once into courtiers as assiduous as our ancestors in the days of Louis XIV., and would scarcely have been taken for the men who had laid so many nations prostrate at their feet.

The emperor was no less impatient than ourselves, and much more interested in knowing what more peculiarly concerned him; he really appeared love-stricken. He had ordered that the route of the empress should be by way of Nancy, Chalons, Rheims, and Soissons, and could almost point out, at any hour of the day, the progress she had then made.

On the day of her arrival he took his departure in a plain carriage, with no other attendant than the grand marshal, after giving his instructions to Marshal Bessières, who remained at Compiègne.

He travelled on the road of Soissons and Rheims, until he met the carriage of the empress, which was suddenly stopped by his courier. The emperor alighted, ran up to the door of the empress's carriage, opened it himself, and stepped in. On perceiving the astonishment of the empress, who knew not the meaning of this abruptness in a stranger, the Queen of Naples said to her, "Madam, this is the emperor." He returned to Compiègne in their company.

Marshal Bessières had ordered out all the cavalry quartered near the palace, and advanced with it and with the general officers and the emperor's aides-de-camp on the road to Soissons, as far as a well-known stone bridge, the name of which I do not recollect; at the same bridge Louis XV. had met the dauphiness, daughter of Maria Theresa, afterwards the unhappy Queen of France.

The people of Compiègne had succeeded in making their way to the porch of the palace, where they ranged themselves in a double line. The empress, on her arrival, was received at the foot of the principal staircase by the mother and family of the emperor, the whole

court, the ministers, and several personages of the highest rank. It is superfluous to name the person who attracted the attention of every one from the moment the carriage-door was opened until the entrance into the apartments. No court was held that night, and all the company withdrew at an early hour.

According to the etiquette observed at foreign courts, the emperor was no doubt married to the Archduchess Maria Louisa: not so, however, with reference to our civil code; nevertheless, it is said that he followed the example of Henry IV. on his marriage with Maria of Medicis. I am only repeating here the illiberal remarks made the next morning, because I am pledged to speak the truth. The world claimed the privilege of seeing and knowing every thing: as to myself, what I actually saw afforded me nothing to cavil at, notwithstanding the prevailing rumours. Had it, however, been my case, I should have followed the precedent of Henry IV. on this occasion. It happened to be my turn to sleep that night in the apartment of the officers in attendance. The emperor had left the palace and retired to the chancellor's residence; and if the report had been brought to me that all Paris was on fire, I should not have attempted to disturb his repose, under the apprehension that he might not be found at that residence.

The next was a very fatiguing day for the young empress, because presentations were made of persons wholly unknown to her, by individuals with whom she was not much more acquainted.

The emperor himself presented to her his aides-de-camp, who felt highly gratified at this condescending mark of his regard; the lady of honour presented the ladies of the palace and others who were to form her retinue.

The emperor proceeded with the empress to St. Cloud on the day after the public presentation, the attendants of both households followed them in separate carriages. They did not pass through Paris, but took the road to St. Denis, the Bois de Boulogne, and St. Cloud: all the authorities of Paris had repaired to the boundary of the department of the Seine, in the direction of Compiègne, and were followed by a great part of the population, who gave themselves up to the joy and enthusiasm which the occasion naturally created.

An immense crowd had collected at St. Cloud to greet her arrival; first, the princesses of the imperial family, amongst whom were the Vice-queen of Italy, who was then making her first appearance in Paris, the Princess of Baden, the dignitaries, the marshals of France, the senators, and the councillors of state. It was broad daylight when the imperial retinue reached St. Cloud.

The ceremony of the civil marriage did not take place till two days afterwards, in the gallery of the palace at St. Cloud. A platform was raised at the extremity of the gallery, with a table and arm-chairs upon it for the imperial couple, as well as chairs and stools for the princes and princesses of his family: none were present at the ceremony except the persons attached to the respective courts. When all the preliminary arrangements had been gone through, the cortège moved forward from the apartments of the empress, and crossing the grand apartments and the saloon of Hercules, entered the gallery, where it was arranged on the platform in the order laid down by the

rules of etiquette. The place of every one had been determined beforehand, so that in an instant the utmost order and silence pervaded the assembly.

The arch-chancellor stood near a table with a rich velvet covering over it, upon which was a register held by Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, the secretary of the imperial family's household. After taking the emperor's orders, the prince arch-chancellor put the following question to him in a loud voice: "Sire, is it your Majesty's intention to take for your lawful wife her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, here present?"—"Yes, sir," was the emperor's answer. The arch-chancellor then addressed the empress: "Madam," he said, "does your Imperial Highness, of your own free consent, take the Emperor Napoleon, here present, for your lawful husband?"—"Yes, sir," she replied. The arch-chancellor proceeded then to declare, in the name of the law, and of the institutions of the empire, that his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon and her Imperial Highness the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria were duly united in marriage. Count Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély presented the act for signature, first to the emperor, afterwards to the empress, and lastly to all the members of the family, as well as to the different personages whose official ranks entitled them to this honourable privilege.

Next morning, the imperial couple left St. Cloud in a carriage drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, preceded by an empty carriage drawn by eight gray horses, which was intended for the empress; thirty other carriages with a ground of gold, and drawn by superb horses, completed the cortège; these were filled with the ladies and officers of the household, and by those whose employments gave them the privilege of being admitted to the imperial presence. The train left St. Cloud between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, and was escorted by the whole of the cavalry; it passed through the Bois de Boulogne, the Gate of Maillot, the Champs Elysées, the Place de la Révolution, to the garden of the Tuileries, where all the carriages passed under the peristyle, and stopped, to enable the company to descend and enter the palace.

From the iron railing of the court of the palace of St. Cloud, both sides of the road were lined with so dense a mass of people, that the population of the adjacent country must have flocked to St. Cloud and Paris on the occasion.

The crowd increased on approaching Paris; from the barrier to the palace of the Tuileries it baffled all calculation. Orchestras were placed at stated distances along the Champs Elysées, and played a variety of airs. France appeared to revel in a delight bordering upon frenzy. Many were the protestations of fidelity and attachment made to the emperor; and whosoever had ventured to predict at that time what has since come to pass, would have been scouted as a madman.

When all the carriages had arrived, the cortège resumed its order of etiquette in the gallery of Diana at the Tuileries, and proceeded through a passage expressly constructed for the occasion, and terminating at the gallery of the Museum, which it entered by the door near the Pavilion of Flora.

Here began a new spectacle: both sides of that immense gallery

were lined from one end to the other with a triple row of Parisian ladies of the middling class: nothing could be compared to the variegated scene presented by that assemblage of ladies, whose youthful bloom shone forth more dazzling than their elegant attire.

A balustrade extended along both sides of the gallery, in order to prevent any one from passing beyond a certain line, and the middle of this fine edifice was thus free and unobstructed, so as to admit of a passage for the cortège which moved along, and afforded a feast to the eyes as far as the very altar. The vast saloon at the end of the gallery, where the exhibition of paintings generally took place, had been converted into a chapel. Its circuit was lined by a triple row of splendidly ornamented boxes, filled with the most elegant and distinguished ladies then in Paris. The grand master of the ceremonies assigned to the persons composing the cortège their proper places as they arrived in the chapel. The strictest order was observed during the whole of this ceremony. Mass was performed by his eminence Cardinal Fesch, after which the marriage ceremony took place.—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.**

DECREE ANNEXING HOLLAND TO FRANCE.

Palace of Rambouillet, July 9, 1810.

We, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, &c., have decreed, and hereby decree as follows:

Title I.—Art. 1. Holland is united to France. 2. The city of Amsterdam shall be the third city of the empire. 3. Holland shall have six senators, six deputies to the Council of State, twenty-five deputies to the Legislative Body, and two judges in the Court of Cassation. 4. The officers by sea and land, of whatever rank, shall be confirmed in their employments. Commissions shall be delivered to them, signed with our hand. The Royal Guard shall be united to our Imperial Guard.

Title II.—Of the Administration for 1810.—5. The Duke of Placentia, Arch-treasurer of the Empire, shall repair to Amsterdam in the capacity of our Lieutenant-general. He shall preside in the Council of Ministers, and attend to the despatch of business. His functions shall cease the 1st of January, 1811, the period when the French Administration shall commence. 6. All the public functionaries, of whatever rank, are confirmed in their employments.

Title III.—Of the Finances.—7. The present contributions shall continue to be levied until the 1st of January, 1811, at which period the country shall be put on the same footing as for the rest of the empire. 8. The budget of receipts and disbursements shall be submitted to our approbation before the 1st of August next. Only one-

* For many interesting details, most admirably written, respecting Bonaparte's divorce from Josephine, and the circumstances that immediately preceded the divorce, see the Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès.—*Editor.*

third of the present amount of interest upon the public debt shall be carried to the account of expenditure for 1810. The interest of the debt for 1808 and 1809, not yet paid, shall be reduced to one-third, and charged on the budget of 1810. 9. The custom-houses on the frontier, other than those of France, shall be organized under the superintendence of our Director general of the Custom-houses. The Dutch custom-houses shall be incorporated therewith. The line of custom-houses now on the French frontier shall be kept up until the 1st of January, 1811, when it shall be removed, and the communication of Holland with the empire become free. 10. The colonial produce actually in Holland, shall remain in the hands of the owners upon paying a duty of 50 per cent. *ad valorem*. A declaration of the amount shall be made before the 1st of September, at furthest. The said merchandise, upon payment of the duties, may be imported into France, and circulated through the whole extent of the empire.

Title IV.—11. There shall be at Amsterdam a special Administration, presided over by one of our Councillors of State, which shall have the superintendence of, and the necessary funds to provide for. the repairs of the dykes, polders, and other public works.

Title V.—12. In the course of the present month there shall be nominated, by the Legislative Body of Holland, a Commission of fifteen members, to proceed to Paris, in order to constitute a council whose business shall be to regulate definitively all that relates to the public and local debts, and to conciliate the principles of the union with the localities and interests of the country. 13. Our ministers are charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed) By the Emperor Napoleon.
(Signed) The Minister Secretary of State,
H. B. Duke of Bassano.

CHAPTER XV.

1809—1810.

Bernadotte elected Prince Royal of Sweden—Count Wrede's overtures to Bernadotte—Bernadotte's three days' visit to Hamburg—Particulars respecting the battle of Wagram—Secret order of the day—Last intercourse of the Prince Royal of Sweden with Napoleon—My advice to Bernadotte respecting the continental system.

I now come to one of the periods of my life to which I look back with most satisfaction:—I allude to the time when Bernadotte was with me in Hamburg. I will briefly relate the series of events which led the opposer of the 18th Brumaire to the throne of Sweden.

On the 13th of March, 1809, Gustavus Adolphus was arrested, and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, provisionally

took the reins of government. A few days afterwards, Gustavus published his act of abdication, which in the state of Sweden it was impossible for him to refuse. In May following, the Swedish Diet having been convoked at Stockholm, the Duke of Sudermania was elected king. Christian Augustus, the only son of that monarch, of course became prince royal on the accession of his father to the throne. He, however, died suddenly at the end of May, 1810, and Count Fersen, the same who at the court of Marie-Antoinette was distinguished by the appellation of *le beau Fersen*, was massacred by the populace, who suspected, perhaps unjustly, that he had been accessory to the prince's death. On the 20th of August following, Bernadotte was elected Prince Royal of Sweden.

After the death of the prince royal, the Duke of Sudermania's son, Count Wrede, a Swede, made the first overtures to Bernadotte, and announced to him, the intention entertained at Stockholm of offering him the throne of Sweden. Bernadotte was at that time in Paris, and immediately after his first interview with Count Wrede, he waited on the emperor at Saint-Cloud; Napoleon coolly replied, that he could be of no service to him; that events must take their course; that he might accept or refuse the offer as he chose; that he (Bonaparte) would place no obstacles in his way, but that he could give him no advice. It was very evident that the choice of Sweden was not very agreeable to Bonaparte, and though he afterwards disavowed any opposition to it, he made overtures to Stockholm, proposing that the crown of Sweden should be added to that of Denmark.

Bernadotte then went to the waters of Plombières, and on his return to Paris he sent me a letter announcing his elevation to the rank of Prince Royal of Sweden.

On the 11th of October he arrived in Hamburg, where he stayed only three days. He passed nearly the whole of that time with me, and he communicated to me many curious facts connected with the secret history of the times, and among other things some particulars respecting the battle of Wagram. I was the first to mention to the new Prince Royal of Sweden the reports of the doubtful manner in which the troops, under his command, behaved. I reminded him of Bonaparte's dissatisfaction at these troops: for there was no doubt of the emperor being the author of the complaints contained in the bulletins, especially as he had withdrawn the troops from Bernadotte's command. Bernadotte assured me that Napoleon's censure was unjust: during the battle he had complained of the little spirit manifested by the soldiers. "He refused to see me," added Bernadotte, "and I was told, as a reason for his refusal, that he was astonished and displeased to find, that notwithstanding his complaints, of which I must have heard, I had boasted of having gained the battle; and had publicly complimented the Saxons, whom I commanded."

Bernadotte then showed me the bulletin he drew up after the battle of Wagram. I remarked that I had never heard of a bulletin being made by any other than the general who was commander-in-chief during a battle, and I asked how the affair ended. He then handed to me a copy of the order of the day, which Napoleon said he had sent only to the marshals commanding the different corps. As this remarkable document is but little known, I may subjoin it here.

"ORDER OF THE DAY.

"Imperial camp of Schœnbrunn, July 9, 1809.

"His majesty expresses his displeasure at the Prince de Ponte-Corvo's order, dated Leopoldstadt, July 7th, and inserted on the same day in nearly all the newspapers, in the following terms: 'Saxons, on the 5th of July, seven or eight thousand of you pierced the enemy's centre, and marched on Deutsch-Wagram in spite of the efforts of 40,000 men, supported by sixty pieces of artillery. You fought till midnight, and bivouacked in the midst of the Austrian lines. On the 6th, at daybreak, you recommenced the battle with the same perseverance, and, in the midst of the ravages of the enemy's artillery, your columns stood firm as iron. The great Napoleon witnessed your courage, and reckons you among his bravest troops. Saxons, the fortune of a soldier consists in fulfilling his duty; you have nobly fulfilled yours. 'BERNADOTTE.

'Bivouac at Leopoldstadt, July 7, 1809.'"

"Independently of his majesty having commanded his army in person, it is for him alone to award the degree of glory each has merited. His majesty owes the success of his arms to the French troops, and to no foreigners. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo's order of the day has a tendency to inspire false pretensions in troops, whose merit does not rise above mediocrity: it is at variance with truth, policy, and national honour. The success of the 5th is due to the Duke de Rivoli and Marshal Oudinot, who penetrated the enemy's centre, at the same time that the Duke of Auerstadt's corps turned his left. The village of Deutsch-Wagram was not taken on the 5th, but on the 6th, by the corps of Marshal Oudinot. The Prince of Ponte-Corvo did not stand as *firm as iron*. He was the first to retreat. His majesty was obliged to order the corps of the viceroy to be covered by the divisions of Broussier and Lamarque, commanded by Marshal Macdonald, by the division of heavy cavalry, commanded by General Nansouty, and by a part of the cavalry of the guard. To Marshal Macdonald and his troops is due the merit which the Prince de Ponte-Corvo takes to himself. His majesty hopes that this expression of his displeasure will henceforth deter any marshal from appropriating to himself the glory which belongs to others. His majesty, however, desires that the present order of the day, which may possibly be mortifying to the Saxon troops, though they must be aware that they are not entitled to the praises bestowed on them, shall remain secret, and be sent only to the marshals commanding the army corps. "NAPOLEON."

Bernadotte's bulletin was printed along with Bonaparte's order of the day, a thing quite unparalleled.*

Though I was much interested in this account of Bonaparte's conduct after the battle of Wagram, yet I was more curious to hear the particulars of Bernadotte's last communication with the emperor. The prince informed me, that on his return from Plombières, he attended the levee, when the emperor asked him, before every one present, whether he had received any recent news from Sweden. He replied in the affirmative. "What is it?" inquired Napoleon.—"Sire, I am informed that your majesty's chargé-d'affaires at Stockholm opposes my election. It is also reported to those who choose to believe it, that your majesty gives the preference to the King of Denmark." "At these words," continued Bernadotte, "the emperor affected surprise, which you know he can do very artfully. He assured me it was impossible, and then turned the conversation to another subject. I know not what to think of his conduct in this affair. I am aware he does not like me; but the interests of his policy may render him favourable to Sweden. Considering the present greatness and power of France, I conceived it to be my duty to make every personal sacrifice. But I swear to Heaven that I will never commit the honour of Sweden. He, however, expressed himself in the best possible terms in speaking of Charles XIII. and me. He at first started no obstacle to my acceptance of the succession to the throne of Sweden, and he ordered the official announcement of my election to be immediately inserted in the Moniteur. Ten days elapsed without the emperor's saying a word to me about my departure. As I was anxious to be off, and all my preparations were made, I determined to go and ask him for the letters patent, to relieve me from my oath of fidelity, which I had certainly kept faithfully in spite of all his ill-treatment of me. He at first appeared somewhat surprised at my request, and, after a little hesitation, he said, "There is a preliminary condition to be fulfilled; a question has been raised by one of the members of the privy council.'—'What condition, sire?'—'You must pledge yourself not to bear arms against me'—'Does your majesty suppose that I can bind myself by such an engagement? My election by the diet of Sweden, which has met with your majesty's assent, has made me a Swedish subject, and that character is incompatible with the pledge proposed by a member of the council. I am sure it could never have emanated from your majesty, and must proceed from the arch-chancellor, or the grand judge, who certainly could not have been aware of the height to which the

* For Savary's version of the difference which arose between Bonaparte and Bernadotte at Wagram, together with some interesting anecdotes connected with the battle, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

proposition would raise me.'—What do you mean?'—'If, sire, you prevent me accepting a crown, unless I pledge myself not to bear arms against you, do you not really place me on a level with you as a general?'

"Whenever I declared positively that my election must make me consider myself a Swedish subject, he frowned, and seemed embarrassed. When I had done speaking, he said, in a low and faltering voice, 'Well, go. Our destinies will soon be accomplished.' These words were uttered so indistinctly, that I was obliged to beg pardon for not having heard what he said, and he repeated, 'Go! our destinies will soon be accomplished." In the subsequent conversations which I had with the emperor, I tried all possible means to remove the unfavourable sentiments he cherished towards me. I revived my recollections of history. I spoke to him of the great men who had excited the admiration of the world, of the difficulties and obstacles which they had to surmount; and, above all, I dwelt upon that solid glory which is founded on the establishment and maintenance of public tranquillity and happiness. The emperor listened to me attentively, and frequently concurred in my opinion as to the principles of the prosperity and stability of states. One day, he took my hand, and pressed it affectionately, as if to assure me of his friendship and protection. Though I knew him to be an adept in the art of dissimulation, yet his affected kindness appeared so natural, that I thought all his unfavourable feeling towards me was at an end. I spoke to persons by whom our two families were allied, requested that they would assure the emperor of the reciprocity of my sentiments, and tell him, that I was ready to assist his great plans in any way not hostile to the interests of Sweden.

"Would you believe, my dear friend, that the persons to whom I made these candid protestations, laughed at my credulity! They told me, that after the conversation, in which the emperor had so cordially pressed my hand, I had scarcely taken leave of him, when he was heard to say, that I had made a great display of my learning to him, and that he had humoured me like a child. He wished to inspire me with full confidence, so as to put me off my guard; and I know for a certainty that he had the design of arresting me.

"But," pursued Bernadotte, "in spite of the feeling of animosity which I know the emperor has cherished against me since the 18th Brumaire, I do not think, when once I shall be in Sweden, that he will wish to have any differences with the Swedish government. I must tell you also, he has given me two millions of francs in exchange for my principality of Ponte-Corvo. Half the sum has been already paid, which will be very useful to me in defraying the expenses of my journey and installation.*

* The other million stipulated in exchange for the principality of Ponte-Corvo was never paid to Bernadotte.

When I was about to step into my carriage to set off, an individual, of whom you must spare me the naming, came to bid me farewell, and related to me a little conversation which had just taken place at the Tuileries. Napoleon said to the individual in question, 'Well, does not the prince regret leaving France?'—'Certainly, Sire.'—'As to me, I should have been very glad if he had not accepted his election. But there is no help for it. . . . He does not like me.'—'Sire, I must take the liberty of saying, that your majesty labours under a mistake. I know the differences which have existed between you and General Bernadotte for the last six years. I know how he opposed the overthrow of the Directory; but I also know that the prince has long been sincerely attached to you.'—'Well, I dare say you are right. But we have not understood each other. It is now too late. He has his interests and his policy, and I have mine.'

"Such," added the prince, "were the emperor's last observations respecting me two hours before my departure. The individual to whom I have just alluded, spoke truly, my dear Bourrienne. I am, indeed, sorry to leave France; and I never should have left it, but for the injustice of Bonaparte. If ever I ascend the throne of Sweden, I shall owe my crown to his ill-treatment of me; for had he not persecuted me by his animosity, my condition would have sufficed for a soldier of fortune: but we must follow our fate."

During the three days the prince spent with me, I had many other conversations with him. He wished me to give him my advice as to the course he should pursue with regard to the continental system. "I advise you," said I, "to reject the system without hesitation. It may be very fine in theory; but it is utterly impossible to carry it into practice, and it will, in the end, give the trade of the world to England. It excites the dissatisfaction of our allies, who, in spite of themselves, will again become our enemies. But no other country, except Russia, is in the situation of Sweden. You want a number of objects of the first necessity, which nature has withheld from you. You can only obtain them by perfect freedom of navigation; and you can only pay for them with those peculiar productions in which Sweden abounds. It would be out of all reason to close your ports against a nation who rules the seas. It is your navy that would be blockaded, not hers. What can France do against you? She may invade you by land. But England and Russia will exert all their efforts to oppose her. By sea it is still more impossible that she should do any thing. Then you have nothing to fear but Russia and England, and it will be easy for you to keep up friendly relations with those two powers. Take my advice; sell your iron, timber, leather, and pitch: take in return salt, wines, brandy, and colonial produce. This is the way to make yourself popular in Sweden. If, on the contrary, you follow the continental system, you will be obliged

to adopt laws against smuggling, which will draw upon you the detestation of the people."

Such was the advice which I gave to Bernadotte, when he was about to commence his new and brilliant career. In spite of my situation as a French minister, I could not have reconciled it to my conscience to give him any other counsel, for if diplomacy has duties so also has friendship. Bernadotte adopted my advice, and the King of Sweden has now no reason to regret having done so.

BATTLE OF WAGRAM.

"Early in the morning of the 9th, after despatching orders in various directions, Napoleon was taken rather seriously ill, in consequence of his fatigue and exertion. This circumstance compelled him to indulge in a little rest whilst the troops were advancing.

"Marshal Bernadotte came at that time to see the emperor, who had left orders that no one should disturb him until he called; I therefore refused to introduce the marshal, the object of whose visit was wholly unknown to me. I had witnessed the lukewarmness which his troops had evinced in the battle: ever since the opening of the campaign, he had been incessantly complaining of want of ardour in his troops, of their inexperience, and of their want of confidence in their leaders. I should therefore have exhausted every supposition before I could have imagined that contradicting on a sudden the unfavourable opinion he had given of their courage, he could ever dream that those troops had decided the victory we had just obtained. The emperor was soon made acquainted with that unaccountable order of the day; he sent for the marshal, and removed him from the command of his troops. This lesson was ineffectual; Bernadotte, who persisted in maintaining the justice of the ridiculous congratulations he had addressed to the Saxons, caused them to be inserted in the public papers. The emperor was indignant at this conduct; being at all times inflexibly severe against every impropriety of conduct and every act of falsehood; though he was unwilling, at the same time, to wound the feelings of men who had exposed their lives in his service. The insult, however, was such, that he felt it impossible to pass it by. He issued an order of the day, which he directed the major-general not to circulate, either amongst the army at large, or the Saxon troops, of which he had given the command to General Regnier.

"At one period of the engagement the enemy's right was taking up a position in a perpendicular line to our extreme left, and compelled us to give it the form of an angle for the purpose of returning the enemy's fire. They had placed some pieces of artillery in such a manner as to fire upon the angle or elbow, whilst they were cannonading us on both sides of the angle. I know not what was the emperor's object, but he remained a full hour at that angle, which was a perfect stream of shot; and as there was no fire of musketry kept up, the soldiers became discouraged. The emperor was more sensible than any one else that such a situation could not last long, and he remained

there for the purpose of remedying the disorder. In the height of the danger, he rode in front of the line upon a horse as white as snow (it was called the Euphrates, and had been sent to him as a present from the Sophi of Persia). He proceeded from one extremity of the line to the other, and returned at a slow pace; it will easily be believed that shots were flying about him in every direction. I kept behind, with my eyes rivetted upon him, expecting at every moment to see him drop from his horse.—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The emperor ordered, that as soon as the opening which he intended to make in the enemy's centre should be effected, the whole cavalry should charge and wheel round upon all the troops that had penetrated to the extremity of our left. He had given directions, in consequence, to Marshal Bessières; and the latter had at that moment started to execute them, when he was knocked down by the most extraordinary cannon-shot ever seen. It ran in full sweep along the thigh, in a zigzag direction, as if it had been a thunderbolt; and the marshal was so suddenly thrown off his horse, that we fancied he was killed on the spot. The same shot forced the barrel from his pistol, and carried away both barrel and stock. The emperor saw him fall, but not having recognised him, asked, as he usually did on similar occasions, 'Who is it?'—'Bessières, sire,' was the reply. He instantly turned his horse round, saying, 'Let us go, I have no time to weep. Let us avoid another scene.' He alluded to the distress he had suffered at the death of Marshal Lannes. He sent me to see whether Bessières was still alive. He had been carried off the ground, and had recovered his senses, having merely been struck on the thigh, which was completely paralyzed."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The inhabitants of Vienna had ascended to the ramparts and the roofs of the houses, from whence they witnessed the battle. In the morning the ladies of that city were flushed with the hope of our defeat. This hope was converted to general gloom towards two in the afternoon. They discerned the retreat of the Austrian army, as plainly as it could be seen on the field of battle."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"The emperor was going over the field of battle the same evening when intelligence was brought him of the death of General Lasalle, who had just been killed by one of the last musket-shots fired before the final retreat of the enemy. That general had had, in the morning, a strange presentiment of the fate that awaited him. The acquisition of glory had been an object of much greater solicitude to him than the advancement of his fortune; but, on the night previous to the battle, he seems to have had the fate of his children strongly impressed upon his mind, and he awoke to draw up a petition to the emperor in their behalf, which he placed in his sabre-tasche. When the emperor passed in the morning in front of his division, General Lasalle did not address him; but he stopped M. Maret, who was a few paces behind, and told him that, never having asked any favour of the emperor, he begged he would take charge of the petition which he then handed to him, in case any misfortune should befal him; a few hours afterwards he was no more."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"As Napoleon was going over the field of battle, he stopped on the ground which had been occupied by Macdonald's two divisions; it

exhibited the picture of a loss fully commensurate with the valour they had displayed. The emperor recognised amongst the slain a colonel who had given him some cause for displeasure. That officer, who had made the campaign of Egypt, had misbehaved after the departure of General Bonaparte, and proved ungrateful towards his benefactor, in hopes, no doubt, of insinuating himself into the good graces of the general who had succeeded him. On the return of the army of Egypt to France, the emperor, who had shown him many marks of kindness during the war in Italy, gave no signs of resentment, but granted him none of those favours which he heaped upon all those who had been in Egypt. The emperor now said, on seeing him stretched upon the field of battle, 'I regret not having been able to speak to him before the battle, in order to tell him that I had long since forgotten every thing.'

"A few steps further on, he discovered a young quarter-master of the regiment of carabineers still alive, although a shot had gone through his head; but the heat and dust had almost immediately congealed the blood, so that the brain could not be affected by the air. The emperor dismounted, felt his pulse, and, with his handkerchief endeavoured to clear the nostrils, which were filled with earth. He then applied a little brandy to his lips; whereupon the wounded man opened his eyes, though he appeared at first to be quite insensible to the act of humanity exercised towards him; but having again opened them, and fixed them on the emperor, whom he now recognised, they immediately filled with tears, and he would have sobbed, had not his strength forsaken him. The wretched man could not escape death, according to the opinion of the surgeons who were called to his assistance.

"After having gone over the ground where the army had fought, the emperor went to place himself in the midst of the troops, which were beginning to move for the purpose of following the retreating enemy. On passing by Macdonald, he stopped, and held out his hand to him, saying, 'Shake hands, Macdonald! no more animosity between us: we must henceforward be friends; and, as a pledge of my sincerity, I will send you your marshal's staff, which you so gloriously earned in yesterday's battle.' Macdonald had been in a kind of disgrace for many years: it would be difficult to assign any reason for it, except the intrigue and jealousy to which an elevated mind is always exposed. Malevolence had succeeded in inducing the emperor to remove him from his presence; and his innate pride had withheld him from taking any step towards reconciliation with a sovereign who did not treat him with that kindness to which he felt he had a claim."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

"One evening, after the battle of Wagram, we were playing at *vingt-et-un.* Napoleon was very fond of this game; he used to try to cheat those he was playing with, and was much amused at the tricks he played. He had a great quantity of gold spread out upon the table before him. 'Rapp,' said he, 'are not the Germans very fond of these little Napoleons?'—'Yes, Sire, they like them much better than the great one.'—'That, I suppose,' said he, 'is what you call German frankness.'"—*Memoirs of General Rapp.*

CHAPTER XVI.

1810.

Bernadotte's departure from Hamburg—The Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg—Arrival of the crown prince in Sweden—Misunderstandings between him and Napoleon—Letter from Bernadotte to the emperor—Plot for kidnapping the Prince Royal of Sweden—Invasion of Swedish Pomerania—Forced alliance of Sweden with England and Russia—Napoleon's overtures to Sweden—Bernadotte's letter of explanation to the emperor—Distress in England—The Minerva—Colonel Burr—The Princess Royal of Sweden—My recal to Paris—Union of the Hanse Towns with France—Dissatisfaction of Russia—Extraordinary demand made upon me by Bonaparte—Fidelity of my old friends—Duroc and Rapp—Visit to Malmaison, and conversation with Josephine.

WHILE Bernadotte was preparing to fill the high station to which he had been called by the unbiassed wishes of the people of Sweden, Napoleon was involved in his misunderstanding with the pope,* and in the affairs of Portugal, which were far from proceeding according to his wishes. Bernadotte had scarcely quitted Hamburg for Sweden, when the Duke of Holstein-Augustenburg arrived. The duke was the brother of the last Prince Royal of Sweden, whom Bernadotte was called

* It was about this time, that, irritated at what he called the captive pope's unreasonable obstinacy, Bonaparte conceived, and somewhat openly expressed his notion of making France a protestant country, and changing the religion of thirty millions of people by an imperial decree. One or two of the good sayings of the witty, accomplished, and chivalrous Count Louis de Narbonne, have already been given in the course of these volumes. The following is another of them:

"I tell you what I will do Narbonne—I tell you how I will vent my spite on this old fool of a pope, and the dotards who may succeed him," said Napoleon one day at the Tuileries. "I will make a schism as great as that of Luther—I will make France a protestant country!"

"Sire," replied the count, "I see difficulties in the way of this project. In the south, in the Vendée, in nearly all the west, the French are bigoted catholics, and even what little religion remains among us in our cities and great towns is of the Roman church."

"Never mind Narbonne—never mind! I shall at least carry a large portion of the French people with me—I will make a division."

"Sire," replied Narbonne, "I am afraid that there is not enough religion in all France to stand a division!"—*Editor.*

to succeed, and he came to escort his sister from Altona to Denmark. His journey had been retarded for some days, on account of the presence of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo in Hamburg: the preference granted to Bernadotte had mortified his ambition, and he was unwilling to come in contact with his fortunate rival. The duke was favoured by the Emperor of Russia.

As soon as he arrived in Sweden, Bernadotte directed his aide-de-camp, General Gentil-Saint-Alphonse, to inform me of his safe passage. Shortly after, I received a letter from Bernadotte himself, recommending one of his aides-de-camp, M. Villatte, who was the bearer of it. This letter contained the same sentiments of friendship as those I used to receive from General Bernadotte; and formed a contrast with the correspondence of King Jerome, who, when he wrote to me, assumed the regal character, and prayed that God would have me in his holy keeping. However, the following is the prince royal's letter:

MY DEAR BOURRIENNE,

I have directed M. Villatte to see you on his way through Hamburg, and to bear my friendly remembrances to you. Gentil has addressed his letter to you, which I suppose you have already received. Adieu, and believe in the unalterable attachment of yours,

CHARLES JOHN.

P.S.—I beg you will present my compliments to Madame, and all your family: embrace my little cousin for me.

The *little cousin*, so called by Bernadotte, was one of my daughters, then a child, whom Bernadotte used to be very fond of while he was at Hamburg.

Departing from the order of dates, I will here anticipate the future, and relate all I know respecting the real causes of the misunderstanding which arose between Bernadotte and Napoleon. Bonaparte viewed the choice of the Swedes with great displeasure, because he was well aware that Bernadotte had too much integrity and honour to serve him in the north as a political puppet, set in motion by means of strings which he might pull at Paris, or at his head-quarters. His dissatisfaction upon this point, occasioned an interesting correspondence, part of which, consisting of letters from Bernadotte to the emperor, is in my possession. The emperor had allowed Bernadotte to retain in his service, for a year at least, the French officers who were his aides-de-camp; but that permission was soon revoked, and the Prince Royal of Sweden wrote to Napoleon the following letter of remonstrance:

"At the moment when I was about to address my thanks to your Majesty for your kindness in continuing, during another year, the

permission you granted to the French officers who accompanied me to Sweden, I learn that your Majesty has revoked that favour. This unexpected disappointment, and, in fact, every thing that I learn from Paris, indicates that your Majesty is not well disposed towards me. What have I done that deserves this treatment? I must look to calumny as the sole cause. In the new position in which fortune has placed me, I am, doubtless, likely to be more than ever exposed to calumny if I do not find a defender in the heart of your Majesty. Whatever may be said to you, Sire, I beg of you to believe that I have nothing to reproach myself with, and that I am entirely devoted to your person, not only by the strength of old ties, but by an unalterable affection. If the affairs of Sweden do not go on entirely as your Majesty wishes, it is solely owing to the constitution. It is not in the power of the king to control the constitution; still less is it in mine. In this country there are many separate interests to be united into one great national interest; there are four orders of the state to be amalgamated into one; and it is only by the most prudent and circumspect conduct, that I can hope one day to ascend the throne of Sweden. As M. Gentil de St. Alphonse returns to France, in conformity with your Majesty's orders, I commission him to deliver you this letter. Your Majesty may question him. He has seen every thing, and he will be able to explain to your Majesty how difficult is my situation. He can assure your Majesty how anxious I am to please you; and that I am in a state of continual perplexity between my new duties and the fear of displeasing you. I am grieved that your Majesty should withdraw the officers whose services you granted me for a year, but in obedience to your commands, I send them back to France. Perhaps your Majesty may be inclined to change your determination; in which case, I beg that you will, yourself, fix the number of officers you may think proper to send me. I shall receive them with gratitude. If, on the contrary, your Majesty should retain them in France, I recommend them to your favour. They have always served me well; and they have had no share in the rewards which were distributed after the last campaign.

Napoleon's dissatisfaction with the prince royal now changed to decided resentment. He repented having acceded to his departure from France, and he made no secret of his sentiments; for he said before his courtiers, "That he wished he had sent Bernadotte to Vincennes, to finish his study of the Swedish language." Bernadotte was informed of this; but he could not believe that the emperor had ever entertained such a design. *However, a conspiracy was formed in Sweden against Bernadotte, whom a party of foreign brigands were hired to kidnap in the neighbourhood of Haga;* but the plot was discovered, and the conspirators were compelled to embark without their prey.* The emperor having, at the same time, seized upon Swedish Pomerania, the prince royal wrote him a second letter in these terms:

* A Swedish gentleman has assured us that these brigands were in the pay of Bonaparte.—*Editor.*

From the papers which have just arrived, I learn that a division of the army, under the command of the Prince of Eckmuhl, invaded Swedish Pomerania on the night of the 26th of January; that the division continued to advance, entered the capital of the duchy, and took possession of the island of Rugen. The king expects that your Majesty will explain the reasons which have induced you to act in a manner so contrary to the faith of existing treaties. My old connexion with your Majesty, warrants me in requesting you to declare your motives without delay, in order that I may give my advice to the king as to the conduct which Sweden ought, hereafter, to adopt. This gratuitous outrage against Sweden is felt deeply by the nation; and still more, Sire, by me, to whom is intrusted the honour of defending it. Though I have contributed to the triumphs of France, though I have always desired to see her respected and happy; yet I can never think of sacrificing the interests, honour, and independence of the country which has adopted me. Your Majesty, who has so ready a perception of what is just, must admit the propriety of my resolution. Though I am not jealous of the glory and power which surrounds you, I cannot submit to the dishonour of being regarded as a vassal. Your Majesty governs the greatest part of Europe, but your dominion does not extend to the nation which I have been called to govern; my ambition is limited to the defence of Sweden. The effect produced upon the people by the invasion of which I complain, may lead to consequences which it is impossible to foresee; and although I am not a Coriolanus, and do not command the Volsci, I have a sufficiently good opinion of the Swedes to assure you that they dare undertake anything to avenge insults which they have not provoked, and to preserve rights to which they are as much attached as to their lives.

I was in Paris when the emperor received Bernadotte's letter on the occupation of Swedish Pomerania. When Bonaparte read it, I was informed that he flew into a violent rage, and even exclaimed, "You shall submit to your degradation, or die sword in hand!" But his rage was impotent. The unexpected occupation of Swedish Pomerania obliged the King of Sweden to come to a decided rupture with France, and to seek other allies; for Sweden was not strong enough in herself to maintain neutrality in the midst of the general conflagration of Europe, after the disastrous campaign of Moscow. The prince royal, therefore, declared to Russia and England, that in consequence of the unjust invasion of Pomerania, Sweden was at war with France, and he despatched Count de Lowenhjelm, the king's aide-de-camp, with a letter explanatory of his views. Napoleon sent many notes to Stockholm, where M. Alquier, his ambassador, according to his instructions, had maintained a haughty and even insulting tone towards Sweden. Napoleon's overtures after the manifestations of his anger, and after the attempt to carry off the prince royal, which could be attributed only to him, were considered by the prince royal merely as a snare. But in the hope of reconciling the duties he owed to both his old and his new country, he addressed to the emperor the following firm and moderate letter:

I have received some notes, the contents of which induce me to come to a candid explanation with your Majesty. When by the wish of the Swedish people I was called to the succession of the throne, I hoped, on quitting France, that I should always be able to reconcile my personal affections with the interests of my new country. My heart cherished the hope that I could identify myself with the affections of this people, and at the same time preserve the recollection of my early connexions, and never lose sight of the glory of France, nor of my sincere attachment to your Majesty, an attachment founded on our fraternity in arms, which was distinguished by so many great actions. Full of this hope I arrived in Sweden. I found a nation generally attached to France, but more jealous of their own liberty and laws; anxious for your friendship, Sire, but not wishing to purchase it at the expense of honour and independence. Your Majesty's ambassador thought proper to disregard this national feeling, and has ruined all by his arrogance. His communications bore no trace of the respect due from one crowned head to another. In fulfilling, according to the dictates of his own passions, your Majesty's intentions, Baron Alquier spoke like a Roman proconsul, forgetting that he did not address himself to slaves. This ambassador was the cause of the distrust which Sweden began to entertain respecting your Majesty's intentions, and which subsequent events were calculated to confirm. I have already had the honour, Sire, in my letters of November 19, and December 8, 1810, to make your Majesty acquainted with the situation of Sweden, and her wish to find a protector in your Majesty. She could only attribute your Majesty's silence to an unmerited indifference, and it became her duty to take precautions against the storm which was ready to burst upon the continent. Sire, mankind have already suffered too much; during twenty years the world has been deluged with blood, and all that is necessary to raise your Majesty's glory to the highest pitch, is to put a period to these disasters. If your Majesty wishes the king should give the Emperor Alexander to understand that there is a possibility of reconciliation, I have sufficient faith in the magnanimity of that monarch to venture to assure you, that he will readily listen to overtures which would be at once equitable for your empire and for the North. If an event so unexpected, and so generally desired, should take place, what blessings would the people of the continent invoke for your Majesty! Their gratitude would be increased in proportion to the fear now entertained of the return of a scourge which has already made such cruel ravages. One of the happiest moments I have known since I quitted France, was that in which I was assured that your Majesty had not entirely forgotten me. You have truly divined my sentiments. You have perceived how deeply they would be wounded by the painful prospect of either seeing the interests of Sweden separated from those of France, or of finding myself compelled to sacrifice the interests of a country by which I have been adopted with such unlimited confidence. Sire, although a Swede by the obligations of honour, duty, and religion; yet by feeling, I am still identified with France, my native country, which I have always faithfully served from my boyhood. Every step I take in Sweden, and the homage I receive here, revive those recollections of glory to which I chiefly

owe my elevation, and I cannot disguise from myself the fact, that Sweden, in choosing me, intended to pay a tribute of esteem to the French people.

This letter throws great light on the conduct of the emperor with respect to Bernadotte; for Napoleon was not the man whom any one whatever would have ventured to remind of facts, the accuracy of which was in the least degree questionable. Such then were the relations between Napoleon and the Prince Royal of Sweden. When I shall bring to light some curious secrets, which have hitherto been veiled beneath the mysteries of the restoration, it will be seen by what means Napoleon, before his fall, again sought to wreak his vengeance upon Bernadotte.

In December, 1810, the misery which had previously prevailed on the continent, began to be felt in England. Some Hamburg merchants received a letter from London, which was communicated to me, and from which I copied the following passage:—"We are in a very distressing situation. Discontent affects all classes, and threatens to become general. Our trade still keeps up, but it is attended only with loss, to which must be added embarrassments on the Exchange. The affairs of the Baltic have cost our merchants immense sums. Every one wishes for a change." This information was exactly that which pleased Bonaparte: for nothing gratified him so much as the idea of difficulties felt on the London exchange, which he attributed to his admirable continental system.

On the 6th of December I received a letter from the minister for foreign affairs, communicating the emperor's complaints respecting a monthly journal printed at Hamburg, under the title of The Minerva, which had a great circulation in Germany, and other parts of the north. My attention was directed to the number for October, amongst others, which I was sharply reprimanded for having allowed to appear. That number really contained nothing which could justify the least censure on me. The Minerva, so far from being hostile to the emperor, had by my care, become a French journal in opinion and principles. The paper had formerly been conducted by M. Archenholtz, who had been a captain in the Prussian service. He was infected with Anglo-mania, and was inclined to fill the publication with articles in unison with his prejudices. During the four years that he had the management of the Minerva, I had great difficulty in preventing him from gratifying his taste in that way. However I sometimes succeeded in obtaining the insertion of articles favourable to France and her system. I at length prevailed upon M. Archenholtz to resign the management of the Minerva to M. Bran, a young man of considerable talent, whose sentiments were very favourable to France. When the emperor's complaints were forwarded to me, M. Bran had been editor of

the Minerva for about a year, and it was quite impossible that the publication could at that time have contained any objectionable article; on the contrary, the spirit in which the Minerva was conducted continually exposed M. Bran to the attacks of the partisans of England.

At the height of his glory and power, Bonaparte was so suspicious, that the veriest trifle sufficed to alarm him. I recollect, that about the time the complaints were made respecting the Minerva, Colonel Burr, formerly Vice-President of the United States, who had recently arrived at Altona, was pointed out to me as a dangerous man, and I received orders to watch him very closely, and even to arrest him on the slightest ground of suspicion, if he should come to Hamburg. Colonel Burr was one of those in favour of whom I ventured to disobey the orders I received from the restless police of Paris. As soon as the minister of the police heard of his arrival at Altona, he directed me to adopt towards him those vigilant measures which are equivalent to persecution. In answer to these instructions, I stated that Colonel Burr conducted himself at Altona with much prudence and propriety; that he kept but little company; and that he was scarcely spoken of. Far from regarding him as a man who required watching, having learned that he wished to go to Paris, I caused a passport to be procured for him, which he was to receive at Frankfort, and I never heard that this dangerous citizen had endangered the safety of the state in any way.

On the 4th of December, I had the honour to see the Princess Royal of Sweden, who arrived that day at Hamburg.* She

* Madame Bernadotte, *puis* Princess Royal of Sweden, and now Queen of Sweden, was a Mademoiselle Clary, and younger sister to the wife of Joseph Bonaparte: hence the relationship with Bonaparte of which Bernadotte speaks. Monsieur Clary, the father of these two queens, was a very respectable merchant at Marseilles. The following anecdote we have had from a near connexion of the family. At a humble stage of his fortunes Napoleon sought the hand of Madame Bernadotte, his brother Joseph having already married her elder sister. But Monsieur Clary would not hear of the match. "*Pas de tout*—No, no," said he, "one poor Bonaparte in my family is quite enough!" Joseph, the to-be-hereafter King of Naples, and of Spain and the Indies, was then fagging in Clary's counting-house at invoices and bills of sales! It was some years later that Bernadotte obtained the hand of the young lady which had been refused to Napoleon. Madame Bernadotte (we speak from personal knowledge) was, even when she had become *a queen*, a kind-hearted, amiable woman, with a few eccentricities of character and conduct. The reader may find a very interesting sketch of her Swedish Majesty in the Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès.

In the operatic company of the theatre San-Carlo, at Naples, there was a poor French *danseuse*, sufficiently *passée* and miserable, who, in the vicissitudes of time and fortune, had almost sunk into the subordinate rank of a mere *figurante*. Some quarter of a century before the time when we first knew her, this woman had been the much-loved mistress of the King of Sweden—then Lieutenant Bernadotte of the French republican army. In the ardour of his affection Bernadotte proposed marriage; but the condition and prospects of the parties were considered by Mademoiselle as too unequal. "No, no," said she, "I am im-

merely passed through the city on her way to Stockholm, to join her husband. She remained but a short time in Sweden, two months I believe, at most, not being able to reconcile herself to the ancient Scandinavia. As to the prince royal, he soon became inured to the climate, having been for many years employed in the north. After this, my stay at Hamburg was not of long duration. Bonaparte's passion for territorial aggrandizement knew no bounds, and the turn of the Hanse Towns now arrived. By taking possession of those towns and territories, he merely accomplished a design formed long previously. I, however, was recalled with many complaints, and under the specious pretext that the emperor wished to hear my opinions respecting the country in which I had been residing. At the beginning of December, I received a letter from M. de Champagny, stating that the emperor wished to see me, in order to consult with me upon different things relating to Hamburg. In this note I was told "that the information I had obtained respecting Hamburg and the north of Germany might be useful to the public interest, which must be the most gratifying reward of my labours." The reception which awaited me will presently be seen. The conclusion of the letter spoke in very flattering terms of the manner in which I had discharged my duties. I received it on the 8th of December, and next day I set out for Paris. When I arrived at Mentz I was enabled to form a correct idea of the fine compliments which had been paid me, and of the emperor's anxiety to have my opinion respecting the Hanse Towns. In Mentz I met the courier, who was proceeding to announce the union of the Hanse Towns with the French empire. I confess, that notwithstanding the experience I had acquired of Bonaparte's duplicity, or rather, of the infinite multiplicity of his artifices, he completely took me by surprise on that occasion.

On my arrival in Paris, I did not see the emperor; but the first Moniteur I read contained the formula of a senatus con-

proving—I am getting on in my profession—I may make a fortune, and you, *cher* Bernadotte, though a good fellow enough, are only a *pauvre soldat*." We have heard Mademoiselle say twenty times, "*Voilà ce que c'est que le destin!* (Only see what is destiny!) At this hour I might have been Queen of Sweden, instead of being obliged to kick my heels about here for fifteen ducats a month!"* The story was universally known at Naples, and her companions on the boards almost invariably called her, in fun, the Queen of Sweden, or, Your Majesty.

Don Domenico Barbaja, the *impresario* or manager of San-Carlo's, was a man of hasty temper, and rather coarse tongue. One morning, during the *pruova* of a new grand ballet, as poor Mademoiselle was not at her post in proper time, he was heard roaring through the *coulisses*, "*Dov' è quella p— la regina di Svezia?* (Where is that w— the Queen of Sweden?)" We left her majesty at Naples in the year 1827.

The whole story would have been an incident for Candide, or the best of Voltaire's cynical novels.—*Editor.*

* Fifteen Neapolitan ducats are about 2*l.* 10*s.* English.—*Editor.*

sultum, which united the Hanse Towns, Lauenburg, &c. to the French empire by the right of the strongest. This new and important augmentation of territory could not fail to give uneasiness to Russia. Alexander manifested his dissatisfaction by prohibiting the importation of our agricultural produce and manufactures into Russia. Finally, as the continental system had destroyed all trade by the ports of the Baltic, Russia showed herself more favourable to the English, and gradually reciprocal complaints of bad faith led to that war, whose unfortunate issue was styled by M. Talleyrand "the beginning of the end."

I have now to make the reader acquainted with an extraordinary demand made upon me by the emperor through the medium of M. de Champagny. In one of my first interviews with that minister, after my return to Paris, he thus addressed me: "The emperor has intrusted me with a commission to you, which I am obliged to execute. 'When you see Bourrienne,' said the emperor, 'tell him I wish him to pay six millions into your chest to defray the expense of building the new office for foreign affairs.'" I was so astonished at this unfeeling and inconsiderate demand, that I was utterly unable to make any reply. This then was my recompence for having obtained money and supplies during my residence at Hamburg, to the extent of nearly ten millions, by which his treasury and army had profited in moments of difficulty! M. de Champagny added, that the emperor did not wish to receive me. He asked what answer he should bear to his majesty. I still remained silent, and the minister again urged me to give an answer. "Well, then," said I, "tell him he may go to the devil:" The minister naturally wished to obtain some variation from this laconic answer; but I would give no other; and I afterwards learned that M. de Champagny was compelled to communicate it to Napoleon. "Well," asked the latter, "have you seen Bourrienne?"—"Yes, sire." "Did you tell him I wished him to pay six millions into your chest?"—"Yes, sire,"—"And what did he say?"—"Sire, I dare not inform your majesty. . . . ."—"What did he say? I insist upon knowing."—"Since you insist on my telling you, sire, M. de Bourrienne said your majesty might go to the devil."—"Ah! ah! did he really say so!" The emperor then retired to the recess of a window, where he remained alone for seven or eight minutes, biting his nails, and doubtless giving free scope to his projects of vengeance. He then turned to the minister, and spoke to him of quite another subject. Bonaparte had so nursed himself in the idea of making me pay the six millions, that every time he passed the office for foreign affairs, he said to those who accompanied him, "Bourrienne must pay for that after all."

Having thus fallen into the quietude of private life, I had time to amuse myself with my reflections and observations, and the

details I received from my friends respecting Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa, which had taken place during my absence at Hamburg. Let any one place himself in my situation and he will understand all that flitted through my mind on seeing an old schoolfellow who had begun life under circumstances not at all superior to my own, hurried onward by fate, and becoming son-in-law to the Emperor of Germany! Berthier had been sent to Vienna to espouse, by proxy, the new Empress of the French: before his mission M. de Laborde, an absent-minded man, and a chamberlain of Bonaparte, had been charged with the first overtures of that marriage, at a moment when Napoleon had hardly settled in his own mind whether he would throw the handkerchief to a princess of the house of Saxony, or of Russia, or of Austria.

During my residence at Hamburg I knew some of these proceedings, but, in a sufficiently vague manner, being obliged to occupy my mind with things more directly important for myself. Even then, however, I was deeply afflicted at all the excellent Josephine must have to suffer, in the accomplishment of a cruel destiny she had long foreseen. When every thing was agreed upon with the court of Vienna, which has given so many queens to France, and nearly always with ill-fortune for their dowry, Berthier arranged the ceremony of the transmission of the person of the empress Maria Louisa, which took place near Braunau.*

Though I was not admitted to the honour of sharing the splendour of the imperial court, yet I had the satisfaction of finding, that in spite of my disgrace, those of my old friends who were worth any thing, evinced the same regard for me as heretofore. I often saw Duroc, who snatched some moments from his more serious occupations to come and chat with me respecting all that had occurred since my secession from Bonaparte's cabinet. I shall not attempt to give a verbatim account of my conversations with Duroc, as I have only my memory to guide me; but I believe I shall not depart from the truth, in describing them as follows:

On his return from the last Austrian campaign, Napoleon, as I have already stated, proceeded to Fontainebleau, where he was joined by Josephine.† Then, for the first time, the communication which had always existed between the apartments of the husband and wife was closed. Josephine was fully alive to the fatal prognostics which were to be deduced from this conjugal separation. Duroc informed me that she sent for him, and on entering her chamber he found her bathed in tears. "I am lost!" she exclaimed in a tone of voice, the remembrance

* In these ceremonials the etiquette of Louis XIV., when he received for his wife an Infanta of Spain, was rather closely copied.—*Editor.*

† See Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantès (Madame Junot.)—*Editor.*

of which seemed sensibly to affect Duroc, even while relating the circumstance to me: "I am utterly lost! all is over now! You, Duroc, I know have always been my friend, and so has Rapp. It is not you who have persuaded him to part from me. This is the work of my enemies, Savary and Junot! But they are more his enemies than mine. And my poor Eugène! how will he be distressed, when he learns I am repudiated by an ungrateful man!. . . . .Yes, Duroc, I may truly call him ungrateful . . . .My God! my God! what will become of us!". . . . . Josephine sobbed bitterly, while she thus addressed Duroc.

Before I was made acquainted with the singular demand which M. de Champagny was instructed to make to me, I requested Duroc to inquire of the emperor his reason for not wishing to see me. The grand marshal faithfully executed my commission, but he received only the following answer: "Do you think I have nothing better to do than to give Bourrienne an audience? that would indeed furnish gossip for Paris and Hamburg. He has always sided with the emigrants; he would be talking to me of past times; he was for Josephine!—My wife, Duroc, is near her confinement; I shall have a son, I am sure! . . . . Bourrienne is not a man of the day: I have made giant strides since he left France; in short, I do not want to see him. He is a grumbler by nature; and you know, my dear Duroc, I do not like men of that sort."

I had not been above a week in Paris, when Duroc related this speech to me. Rapp was not in France at the time, to my great regret. Much against his inclination he had been appointed to some duties connected with the imperial marriage ceremonies; but, shortly after, having given offence to Napoleon, by some observation relating to the Faubourg St. Germain, he had received orders to repair to Dantzic, of which place he had already been governor.

The emperor's refusal to see me made my situation in Paris extremely delicate; and I was at first in doubt whether I might seek an interview with Josephine. Duroc, however having assured me that Napoleon would have no objection to it, I wrote requesting permission to wait upon her. I received an answer the same day, and on the morrow I repaired to Malmaison. I was ushered into the tent drawing-room, where I found Josephine and Hortense. When I entered, Josephine stretched out her hand to me, saying, "Ah! my friend!" These words she pronounced with deep emotion, and tears prevented her from continuing. She threw herself on the ottoman on the left of the fireplace, and beckoned me to sit down beside her. Hortense stood by the fireplace, endeavouring to conceal her tears. Josephine took my hand, which she pressed in both her own; and, after a struggle to overcome her feelings, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, I have drained my cup of misery. He has

cast me off! forsaken me! He conferred upon me the vain title of empress, only to render my fall the more marked. Ah! we judged him rightly! I knew the destiny that awaited me; for what would he not sacrifice to his ambition!" As she finished these words, one of Queen Hortense's ladies entered with a message to her: Hortense stayed a few moments, apparently to recover from the emotion under which she was labouring, and then withdrew, so that I was left alone with Josephine. She seemed to wish for the relief of disclosing her sorrows, which I was curious to hear from her own lips; women have such a striking way of telling their distresses.

Josephine confirmed what Duroc had told me respecting the two apartments at Fontainebleau; then, coming to the period when Bonaparte had declared to her the necessity of a separation, she said, "My dear Bourrienne, during all the years you were with us, you know I made you the confident of my thoughts, and kept you acquainted with my sad forebodings. They are now cruelly fulfilled. I acted the part of a good wife to the very last. I have suffered all, and I am resigned! . . . . .What fortitude did it require latterly to endure my situation, when, though no longer his wife, I was obliged to seem so in the eyes of the world! With what eyes do courtiers look upon a repudiated wife! I was in a state of vague uncertainty worse than death, until the fatal day when he at length avowed to me what I had long before read in his looks! On the 30th of November, 1809, we were dining together as usual, I had not uttered a word during that sad dinner, and he had broken silence only to ask one of the servants what it was o'clock. As soon as Bonaparte had taken his coffee, he dismissed all the attendants, and I remained alone with him. I saw in the expression of his countenance what was passing in his mind; and I knew that my hour was come. He stepped up to me—he was trembling, and I shuddered: he took my hand, pressed it to his heart, and after gazing at me for a few moments in silence, he uttered these fatal words: 'Josephine! my dear Josephine! You know how I have loved you!. . . .To you, to you alone, I owe the only moments of happiness I have tasted in this world. But, Josephine, my destiny is not to be controlled by my will. My dearest affections must yield to the interests of France.'—'Say no more,' I exclaimed, 'I understand you: I expected this, but the blow is not the less mortal.' I could not say another word," continued Josephine; "I know not what happened after. I seemed to lose my reason; I became insensible, and when I recovered I found myself in my chamber. Your friend Corvisart, and my poor daughter were with me. Bonaparte came to see me in the evening; and oh! Bourrienne, how can I describe to you what I felt at the sight of him; even the interest he evinced for me seemed an additional cruelty. Alas! I had good reason to fear ever becoming an empress!"

I knew not what consolation to offer to Josephine; and knowing, as I did, the natural lightness of her character, I should have been surprised to find her grief so acute, after the lapse of a year, had I not been aware that there are certain chords, which, when struck, do not speedily cease to vibrate in the heart of a woman. I sincerely pitied Josephine, and among all the things I said to assuage her sorrow, the consolation to which she appeared most sensible, was the reprobation which public opinion had pronounced on Bonaparte's divorce, and on this subject I said nothing but the truth, for Josephine was generally beloved. I reminded her of a prediction I had made under happier circumstances, viz., on the day when she came to visit us in our little house at Ruel: "My dear friend," said she, "I have not forgotten it, and I have often thought of all you then said. For my part, I knew he was lost from the day he made himself emperor. Adieu! Bourrienne, come and see me soon again; come often, for we have a great deal to talk about, you know how happy I always am to see you." Such was, to the best of my recollection, what passed at my first interview with Josephine, after my return from Hamburg.

CHAPTER XVII.

1811.

Arrest of La Sahla—My visit to him—His account of himself, and explanation of the reasons that urged him to attempt the life of Napoleon—His confinement at Vincennes—Subsequent history of La Sahla—His second journey to France—Detonating powder—Plot hatched against me by the Prince of Eckmuhl—Friendly offices of the Duke de Rovigo—Bugbears of the police.

In describing the attempt on the life of Napoleon at Schœnbrunn, I mentioned that I should have to relate other facts of the same kind. One of these I have now to notice.

I had been in Paris about two months when young La Sahla, who arrived on the 16th of February 1811, was arrested on the Tuesday following, on suspicion of having come from Saxony to attempt the life of the emperor. La Sahla informed the Duke de Rovigo, then minister of the police, that he wished to see me, assigning, as a reason for this, the reputation I had left behind me in Germany. The emperor, I presume, had no objection to the interview, for I received an invitation to visit the prisoner. I accordingly repaired to the supernumerary-office of the minister of the police, in the Rue des Saint-Pères, where I was introduced to a young man between seventeen and eighteen years of

age. M. Desmarets was with him. La Sahla received me very politely, and said he wished to speak with me. I expressed a wish to be left alone with him, and declared that I would immediately retire, if there was any intention of converting the interview into a judicial interrogatory. Young La Sahla also declared, that he wished to speak with me in private. M. Desmarets immediately withdrew.

After discoursing a little with La Sahla respecting the university of Leipzig, where he had studied, the different professors who had died since I was there, and those by whom they had been succeeded, I turned the conversation on his journey to Paris. "How," said I, "could you, who are a member of a family of rank, and who have received an excellent education, conceive the design which, it is said, has brought you to Paris? Speak to me without fear or reserve; and tell me what have been the events of your past life." In answer to these questions, La Sahla related the following particulars. His manner was cool and collected; but his occasional fits of enthusiasm, when he alluded to Germany, involuntarily excited my interest. "About fifteen months ago," said he, "I was studying at the University of Leipzig. I associated but little with my fellow-students, because their dissipated habits did not suit my taste, and because moreover, I was frequently ill (the young man's appearance, indeed, denoted infirm health). I applied myself, particularly, to the study of law, history, and the oriental languages. As my health prevented me from attending the public courses of lectures, I engaged the professors to come to me. My father died about nine years ago. My mother, though not rich, is in easy circumstances: she allowed me 1300 German crowns per year, and I received a further allowance from some other relatives. I began to hate Napoleon, after having heard a sermon by M. Reinhard, the Lutheran preacher, at Dresden. In that sermon, which was delivered after the battle of Jena, Napoleon, without being precisely named, was clearly alluded to, and the preacher compared him to Nero. The miseries which Germany suffered after the battle of Jena, afflicted me more and more; and this state of my feelings was increased by a perusal of the work of Villers, entitled "A Letter to Madame Fanny Beauharnais, upon the taking of Lubeck." While I was at Leipzig, I heard mention of the conscription, and of the attempt of Staps (here his countenance betrayed a wildness of expression), and of the extinction of the states of my country. I saw the English merchandise burned. This act of stupid tyranny affected me violently. When I saw trade annihilated, and desolation and despair spreading every where, I determined to kill Bonaparte, who was the author of all these evils. I was not to have left Leipzig until six months later than I did. But I reflected that, if I executed my project before the delivery of the empress, I should be the more secure of success; for I

thought, if the empress should present Napoleon with a son, the French would probably be more attached to his dynasty; and a revolution in the empire could not be so positively counted upon. I therefore hastened my departure, and practised firing pistols, at which I became very expert. I also turned Catholic, because the pope having excommunicated Napoleon, it became a meritorious act in the eyes of God to kill him; and besides I knew that, by turning Catholic, I should meet with more support amongst the Catholics in general. A second motive induced me to embrace this religion, namely, I had observed that the countries in which it prevailed were more united than others, and not so easily influenced by their neighbours. I eagerly read the book entitled 'Theobald's Goilhraht,' which treats of this subject (the author is an illuminato), and the writings of John Muller, on the freedom of Germany. I made several extracts from these works, which will be found in my desk at Leipzig. Six weeks before my departure, I devoted myself to dissipation and pleasure, in order to deceive my comrades, and to make them suppose a motive for my departure, without the authority of my friends."

After these first confessions of La Sahla, I could not help feeling wonder, not unmixed with horror, that such calculations should have entered into so young a mind. How, indeed, could I fail to be struck with the resemblance to the first Brutus, who feigned idiotcy to free Rome from the yoke of the Tarquins, as La Sahla had affected dissipation to liberate Germany from the yoke of Napoleon. I asked him what he had done from the moment when he had resolved to leave Germany, and proceed to Paris. He replied, "On the eve of my departure for Frankfort, I sent my servant to Dresden, that I might have no embarrassment during my journey. He was the bearer of a letter to my uncle. Unfortunately he could not obtain a conveyance, and he returned home, where he found me making preparations for a journey, and evidently a long one. I believe it was this man who betrayed me. However, at that moment I felt no uneasiness, because I had stated that I was only going to Mentz to be confirmed. I arrived in Paris without being discovered. I had five pistols of different sizes."

"How," inquired I, "did you employ yourself from the period of your arrival in Paris, until you were arrested?" He answered, "From the 16th of February, when I arrived, I spent five hours every day at the Tuileries. I dined at Very's. Last Wednesday I saw the emperor walking in a saloon looking on the garden. The window was open, and he sometimes approached it. I thought of firing at him; but a person passing, to whom I expressed a wish to have a nearer view of Napoleon, having told me that he would probably come down into the garden, I waited. But the emperor did not appear. I reckoned on executing my project in different ways, according to circumstances: when he

should be stepping into his carriage; or in the gardens of the Tuileries, where he sometimes walks with Duroc; or at mass; or at the Théâtre Français. The distance at which I should be from him at chapel presented no obstacle, because it would not be so great as that which separated his box from the opposite one at the Théâtre Français. I had measured it, and it did not exceed thirty paces. I had a pistol, with which I could easily have hit my mark at that distance. It was at the theatre that I had the strongest expectation of effecting my object. By resting my hand on the front of the box, and firing twice, I could not possibly miss him. I saw a pistol with four barrels, at the Palais Royal; but it did not appear to me sufficiently convenient and sure. I was not deceived as to the fate which awaited me. I knew I should be massacred on the spot. But what did I care for life! If Staps had despised it as I do, Napoleon would not now be in existence, for he had the good fortune to get near him; but he trembled. I do not fear death. I firmly believe in predestination. If I am doomed to die in two days, nothing can save me: if I am not fated to die in that time, my life is secure.* I was always aware that the success of my undertaking was not infallible. I have read that twenty-three attempts were made to assassinate Henry IV., and that the twenty-fourth was successful. And yet Henry IV. was beloved, and did not adopt precautions. Napoleon, on the contrary, is much on his guard, and he is hated. We may therefore suppose that forty attempts must be made on his life before one can succeed. It may be thought that this consideration ought to have deterred me; but no. For, if his life has been attempted six times before, I have hazarded the seventh. That is one chance more for those who may follow me, and one less for Napoleon. This is so much gained. What signifies the life of a man in comparison with the great results which would arise from the emperor's death!" I asked whether he had any accomplices. To which he replied, "None. I communicated my design to no one; but if it please God, the bond of virtue which unites the youth of Germany in the same love of liberty, will raise up successors to me. I do not expect any from Saxony: the students of Leipzig are base and dissolute; but from Westphalia, where the people are unhappy and discontented; from the Hanse Towns; from Italy, and Spain, some one must succeed in the end."—"Were you not deterred," said I, "by the thought of the grief into which your rash act would plunge your family?"—"Family considerations," he replied, "must yield to the great interests of the liberty of one's country. I know that my mother and sister will be reduced to despair; but what signify women's tears when the deliverance of Germany is to be achieved. By Napoleon's death Germany would recover

* What a singular coincidence between this reasoning and that of El Coraim, the Sheriff of Alexandria. (See vol. i. of these Memoirs.)

her laws and sovereigns—the hateful French dominion would cease—the Code Napoleon would be no longer the law of her people. All this must happen, because, if we succeed in killing Napoleon—and we *will* succeed—Bernadotte, who is much beloved by the French, will be recalled from Sweden, and he will evacuate Germany; or if he be not recalled, the marshals will dispute for the empire, and we shall see the history of Alexander's successors renewed. Then Germany will be free and happy; but as long as France is united and tranquil, Germany will be oppressed.

"This was my design. I repeat that no private considerations influenced me, that I have communicated my secret to no one, and that I have no accomplices. I thought of neither mother, sister, nor relatives, of no nobility, or privileges. I am bent on one thing, the deliverance of Germany from the French yoke. To this great idea I have sacrificed every thing. My attempt has failed. I love life; but do not fear death; and if I were told that I must die in five minutes, I should receive the intelligence with indifference."

Such was the language which this young man held. I was particularly struck with his last observation, "I love life, but do not fear death." It was at once characteristic of the love of life peculiar to youth, and of that calm courage, superior to the vapouring of those who boast of being able to meet death without regret.

I wrote down La Sahla's answers to my interrogatories, and when I afterwards read them to him he declared them to be correct. As may well be supposed, my conversation with the young man, whose uncle was, I believe, minister to the King of Saxony, interested me greatly in his behalf; I determined if possible, to save La Sahla, and I succeeded. I proceeded immediately to the Duke de Rovigo, and I easily convinced him, that under the circumstances of the case, it was highly important to make it be believed that the young man was insane. I observed, that if he were brought before a court, he would repeat all that he had stated to me, and probably enter into still further disclosures, which might instigate fresh attempts at assassination. Perhaps an avenger of La Sahla might rise up amongst the students of Leipzig. These reasons, together with others, founded on the singular confession of the young fanatic, had the success I hoped for. The emperor afterwards acknowledged the prudent course which had been adopted respecting La Sahla, when speaking at St. Helena of the conspiracies against his life, he said, "I carefully concealed all that I could." La Sahla's was certainly one of those to which he had reason to congratulate himself on not having given unnecessary publicity.

I will now state all that has since come to my knowledge respecting the fate of young La Sahla. In conformity with my advice, he was sent to Vincennes, where he remained until the

end of March, 1814. He was then removed to the castle of Saumur, from which he was liberated at the beginning of April. I had heard nothing of him for three years, when one day, shortly after the restoration, whilst sitting at breakfast with my family, at my house in the Rue Hauteville, I heard an extraordinary noise in the antechamber, and before I had time to ascertain its cause, I found myself in the arms of a young man, who embraced me with extraordinary ardour. It was La Sahla. He was in a transport of gratitude and joy at his liberation, and at the accomplishment of the events which he had wished to accelerate by assassination. La Sahla returned to Saxony, and I saw no more of him; but while I was in Hamburg in 1815, whither I was sent by Louis XVIII., I learned, that on the 5th of June a violent explosion was heard in the chamber of representatives at Paris, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder, but was soon ascertained to have been occasioned by a young Saxon having fallen with a packet of detonating powder in his pocket.

On receiving this intelligence, I imagined, I know not why, that this young Saxon was La Sahla, and that he had probably intended to blow up Napoleon and even the legislative body; but I have since ascertained that I was under a mistake as to his intentions. My knowledge of La Sahla's candour, induces me to believe the truth of his declarations to the police: and if there be any inaccuracies in the report of those declarations, I do not hesitate to attribute them to the police itself, of which Fouché was the head at the period in question. The following is the account of the event above mentioned, which appears to be accurate, with the exception of the conclusion:

"During the sitting of the chamber of representatives, about half-past one o'clock, a violent explosion took place, which was at first supposed to be a clap of thunder. The following are the particulars connected with the circumstance: A Saxon, about twenty-eight years of age who is said to belong to a family of distinction, had in his coat-pocket about four ounces of detonating powder. He had come in a coach to the chamber of the legislative body. He entered the hall, but left it soon after, and at the corner of the Rue de Burgogne his foot slipped, and he fell upon the packet of detonating powder. A violent explosion was the consequence; his coat and pantaloons were torn, and himself dreadfully mutilated. None of the passers by were hurt. He was conveyed in this state to the prefecture of the police, where he was interrogated. He described himself to be Baron La Sahla, and is, we are told, of a rich and distinguished family.

"Some years since, he came to France, with the intention of assassinating or poisoning the emperor. He was arrested and confined at first in the fortress of Vincennes, and afterwards removed to the castle of Saumur. Shortly after the entrance of the allies into Paris he was liberated, and returned to his own country. The emperor having re-ascended the throne, he determined to return to France. The cause of his fresh arrest has been stated. The following is his defence: He does not deny having formerly entertained the design of killing the

emperor, whom he regarded as the oppressor of Germany; but that oppression having ceased, his feelings of hatred towards the author have also disappeared. The spoliations committed upon Saxony by the congress, and particularly by the Prussians, exasperated him greatly against the latter, and when he heard of the emperor's landing, and the fortunate issue of his enterprise, he beheld in him, henceforth, the liberator of his unfortunate country, and he wished to render him all the service in his power. He therefore determined to return to France. He requested an audience of M. Hardenberg, and having obtained it, he pretended to be more than ever bent on his former plan of assassinating Napoleon. M. Hardenberg, after praising his good intentions, referred him to Marshal Blucher, whom he requested to furnish him with the means of proceeding to France. Marshal Blucher's head-quarters were then at Namur, and the chief officer of his staff, who gave La Sahla a passport, advised him, with a view of facilitating his enterprise, to carry with him some detonating powder, and mentioned a shopkeeper at Namur of whom he could procure it. In order to avoid exciting suspicion, La Sahla went himself to the dealer, and purchased only four ounces of the fulminating powder. He then proceeded to France, and on his arrival in Paris, he instantly communicated to the government all the information he had acquired respecting the forces of the allies, their plans, their resources, &c. By endeavouring to serve France he believed that he was serving his own country. The police was satisfied that M. de La Sahla had communicated to the government some very valuable details, both political and military. He also informed the war minister that he had brought with him a little packet of detonating powder, and offered, it is said, to give it up; but it seems that no one was inclined to receive the dangerous deposit. Being asked the reason why he carried the powder about him, he replied that he did not wish to have it at the hotel where he lodged, for fear that any person should touch it, and occasion some accident. He is further said to have given M. Metternich proofs that M. Stein, the Prussian minister, had urged him to poison M. de Mongelas, the Bavarian minister, and that M. Metternich appeared indignant and horror-struck at M. Stein's conduct. If these declarations be true, it must be acknowledged that some members of the Prussian cabinet then resorted to diplomatic measures of a very extraordinary nature."

There is an evident error in the above report respecting the age of M. La Sahla, who, in 1815, could not be more than twenty-three. It is the latter part of the report which induced me to observe above, that if there were any inaccuracies in the statement, they were more likely to proceed from Fouché's police than the false representations of young La Sahla. It is difficult to give credit without proof to such accusations. However, I decide nothing; but I consider it my duty to express doubts of the truth of these charges brought against Prussian ministers, of whom the Prince of Wittgenstein, a man of undoubted honour, has always spoken to me in the best of terms.

There is nothing to prove that La Sahla returned to France the second time, with the same intentions as before. This pro-

ject, however, is a mystery to me, and his detonating powder gives rise to many conjectures.*

I had scarcely left Hamburg, when the Prince of Eckmuhl (Marshal Davoust) was appointed governor-general of that place, on the union of the Hanse Towns with the empire. From that period I was constantly occupied in contending against the persecutions and denunciations which he racked his imagination to invent. I cannot help attributing to those persecutions the emperor's coolness towards me on my arrival in Paris. But as Davoust's calumnies were devoid of proof, he resorted to a scheme by which a certain appearance of probability might supply the place of truth. When I arrived in Paris, at the commencement of 1811, I was informed by an excellent friend I had left at Hamburg, M. Bouvier, an emigrant, and one of the hostages of Louis XVI., that in a few days I would receive a letter which would commit me, and likewise M. de Talleyrand and General Rapp. I had never had any connexion, on matters of business, with either of those individuals, for whom I entertained the most sincere attachment. They, like myself, were not in the good graces of Marshal Davoust, who could not pardon the one for his incontestable superiority of talent, and the other for his blunt honesty. On the receipt of M. Bouvier's letter, I carried it to the Duke de Rovigo, whose situation made him

* This account of La Sahla produced a warm remonstrance from Baron Stein, which appeared first in the Prussian State Gazette, and was afterwards copied into many other papers. In the baron's reply, he declares that he never saw La Sahla until that person visited him in Paris, in 1814. The baron was not then a Prussian minister, having been dismissed by Napoleon, in 1808, from that cabinet of which he never afterwards was a member. He asks, what motive could he have for poisoning Count Mongelas, and what possible influence could such a crime have on the political questions which were agitated in the autumn of 1814 and the spring of 1815? A complete copy of the baron's vindication was annexed to the German translation of Bourrienne's Memoirs. Baron Gagern applied to Prince Metternich for a declaration from him on the subject, and received in return the following letter:

"The passage in M. de Bourrienne's Memoirs, which has attracted Baron Stein's attention, produced a similar effect on me. I never knew any individual called La Sahla, either personally or by name. Never, under any name whatever, did any person ever come to me, and attribute to Baron Stein a purpose having the slightest relation to that stated in the passage in question. I honour the indignation which Baron Stein feels. An accusation which wounds honour may exist, and be considered true, while it remains uncontradicted, by the greater part of readers, who always have a predisposition to credulity. They ought to be undeceived; and the necessity for contradiction is the more pressing, when an error appears in a work like M. de Bourrienne's, which is stamped with a character entirely different from the multitude of wretched publications which daily appear."

Baron Gagern afterwards corresponded with Bourrienne, who stated that he could not make the desired correction until he published a third edition. This proposal, however, was not satisfactory to Baron Stein.

It seems to us that all the mystery of La Sahla's case admits of an easy explanation: *he* was half mad, and did not know what he was saying; and Fouché was quite villain enough to report his saying just what he chose.—*Editor.*

perfectly aware of the low intrigues which had been carried on against me since I had left Hamburg, by him whose ambition aspired to the viceroyalty of Poland. On that, as on many other similar occasions, the Duke de Rovigo advocated my cause with Napoleon. We agreed that it would be best to await the arrival of the letter which M. Bouvier had announced. Three weeks elapsed, and the letter did not appear. The Duke de Rovigo, therefore, told me that I must have been misinformed. However, I was certain that M. Bouvier would not have sent me the information on slight grounds, and I therefore supposed that the project had only been delayed. I was not wrong in my conjecture, for at length the letter arrived. To what a depth of infamy men can descend! The letter was from a man whom I had known at Hamburg; whom I had obliged; whom I had employed as a spy. His epistle was a miracle of impudence. After relating some extraordinary transactions which he said had taken place between us, and which all bore the stamp of falsehood, he requested me to send him, by return of post, the sum of sixty thousand francs, on account of what I had promised him, for some business he executed in England, by the direction of M. de Talleyrand, General Rapp, and myself. Such miserable wretches are often caught in the snares they spread for others. This was the case in the present instance; for the fellow had committed the blunder of fixing upon the year 1802, as the period of this pretended business in England; that is to say, two years before my appointment as minister plenipotentiary to the Hanse Towns. This anachronism was not the only one I discovered in the letter.

I took a copy of the letter, and immediately carried the original to the Duke de Rovigo, as had been agreed between us. When I waited on the minister, he was just preparing to go to the emperor. He took with him the letter which I brought, and also the letter which announced its arrival. As the Duke de Rovigo entered the audience-chamber, Napoleon advanced to meet him, and apostrophized him thus: "Well, I have learned fine things of your Bourrienne, whom you are always defending." *The fact was, the emperor had already received a copy of the letter, which had been opened at the Hamburg post-office.* The Duke de Rovigo told the emperor that he had long known what his majesty had communicated to him. He then entered into a full explanation of the intrigue, of which it was wished to render me the victim, and proved to him the more easily the falsehood of my accusers, by reminding him that in 1802 I was not in Hamburg, but was still in his service at home.

It may be supposed, that I was too much interested in knowing what had passed at the Tuileries not to return to the Duke de Rovigo the same day. I learned from him the particulars which I have already related. He added, that he had observed

to the emperor that there was no connexion between Rapp and M. de Talleyrand which could warrant the suspicion of their being concerned in the affair in question. "When the emperor saw the matter in its true light," said Savary, "when I proved to him the palpable existence of the odious machination, he could not find terms to express his indignation. 'What baseness, what horrible villany!' he exclaimed, and gave me orders to arrest and bring to Paris the infamous writer of the letter, and you may rely upon it, his orders shall be promptly obeyed." Savary, as he had said, instantly despatched orders for the arrest of the writer, whom he directed to be sent to France. On his arrival, he was interrogated respecting the letter. He declared that he had written it at the instigation, and under the dictation of Marshal Davoust, for doing which he received a small sum of money as a reward. He also confessed that, when the letter was put into the post, the Prince of Eckmuhl ordered the director of the post to open it, take a copy, then seal it again, and send it to its address; that is to say, to me, and the copy to the emperor. The writer of the letter was banished to Marseilles, or to the Island of Hières; but the individual who dictated it continued a marshal, a prince, and a governor-general, and still looked forward to the viceroyalty of Poland! Such was the distributive justice of the empire; and Davoust continued his endeavours to revenge himself by other calumnies for my not having considered him a man of talent. I must do the Duke de Rovigo the justice to say, that though his fidelity to Napoleon was, as it always had been, boundless, yet whilst he executed the emperor's orders, he endeavoured to make him acquainted with the truth, as was proved by his conduct in the case I have just mentioned. He was much distressed by the sort of terror which his appointment had excited in the public, and he acknowledged to me that he intended to restore confidence by a more mild system than that of his predecessor. I had observed formerly, that Savary did not coincide in the opinion I had always entertained of Fouché; but when once the Duke de Rovigo endeavoured to penetrate the labyrinth of police, counter-police, inspections and hierarchies of spying, he found they were all bugbears which Fouché had created to alarm the emperor, as gardeners put up scarecrows among the fruit-trees, to frighten away the sparrows. Thus, thanks to the artifices of Fouché, the eagle was frightened as easily as the sparrows, until the period when the emperor, convinced that Fouché was maintaining a correspondence with England, through the agency of Ouvrard, dismissed him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1811.

M. Czernischeff—Dissimulation of Napoleon—Napoleon and Alexander—Josephine's foresight respecting the affairs of Spain—My visits to Malmaison Grief of Josephine—Tears and the toilet—Vast extent of the empire—List of persons condemned to death and banishment in Piedmont—Observation of Alfieri respecting the Spaniards—Success in Spain—Check of Masséna in Portugal—Money lavished by the English—Bertrand sent to Illyria, and Marmont to Portugal—Situation of the French army—Assembling of the Cortès—Europe sacrificed to the continental system—Conversation with Murat in the Champs-Elysées.

Since my return to France, I had heard much of the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, an aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, who, under the pretext of being frequently sent to compliment Napoleon, on the part of the Emperor Alexander, performed, in fact, the office of a spy. The conduct of Napoleon, with regard to M. Czernischeff, at that period, struck me as singular; especially after the intelligence, which, before my departure from Hamburg, I had transmitted to him, respecting the dissatisfaction of Russia, and her hostile inclinations. It is therefore clear to me, that Bonaparte was well aware of the real object of M. Czernischeff's mission, and that, if he appeared to give credit to the increasing professions of his friendship, it was only because he still wished, as he formerly did, that Russia might so far commit herself as to afford him a fair pretext for the commencement of hostilities in the north.

M. Czernischeff first arrived in Paris shortly after the interview at Erfurt, and after that period was almost constantly on the road between Paris and St. Petersburg; it has been computed, that in the space of less than four years, he travelled more than ten thousand leagues. For a long time, his frequent journeyings excited no surmises; but while I was in Paris, Savary began to entertain suspicions, the correctness of which it was not difficult to ascertain, so formidable was still the system of espionage, notwithstanding the precaution taken by

Fouché, to conceal from his successor the names of his most efficient spies. It was known that M. Czernischeff was looking out for a professor of mathematics; doubtless, to disguise the real motives for his stay in Paris, by veiling them under the desire of studying the sciences. The confidant of Alexander had applied to a professor, connected with a public office; and from that time all the steps of M. Czernischeff were known to the police. It was discovered that he was less anxious to question his instructor respecting the equations of a degree, or the value of unknown quantities, than to gain all the information he could about the different branches of the administration, and particularly the department of war. It happened that the professor knew some individuals employed in the public offices, who furnished him with intelligence, which he in turn communicated to M. Czernischeff, but not without making a report of it to the police; according to custom, instead of putting an end to this intrigue at once, it was suffered fully to develop itself. Napoleon was informed of what was going on, and in this instance gave a new proof of his being an adept in the art of dissimulation; for, instead of testifying any displeasure against M. Czernischeff, he continued to receive him with the same marks of favour which he had shown to him during his former missions to Paris. Being, nevertheless, desirous to get rid of him, without evincing a suspicion that his clandestine proceedings had been discovered, he intrusted him with a friendly letter to his brother of Russia; but Alexander was in such haste to reply to the flattering missive of his brother of France, that M. Czernischeff was hurried back to Paris, having scarcely been suffered to enter the gates of St. Petersburg. I believe I am correct in the idea, that Napoleon was not really displeased at the intrigues of M. Czernischeff, from the supposition that they afforded an indication of the hostile intentions of Russia towards France; for, whatever he might say on this subject to his confidants, what reliance can we place on the man who formed the camp of Boulogne, without the most distant intention of attempting a descent upon England, and who had deceived the whole world respecting that important affair, without taking any one into his own confidence?

During the period of my stay in Paris, the war with Spain and Portugal occupied much of the public attention; and it proved, in the end, an enterprise upon which the intuition of Josephine had not deceived her. In general, she intermeddled little with political affairs: in the first place, because her doing so would have given offence to Napoleon; and next, because her natural frivolity led her to give a preference to lighter pursuits. But I may safely affirm, that she was endowed with an instinct so perfect, as seldom to be deceived respecting the good or evil tendency of any measure which Napoleon engaged in; and I remember she told me, that when informed of the inten-

tion of the emperor to bestow the throne of Spain on Joseph, she was seized with a feeling of indescribable alarm. It would be difficult to define that instinctive feeling which leads us to foresee the future; but it is a fact, that Josephine was endowed with this faculty in a more perfect degree than any other person I have ever known; and to her it was a fatal gift, for she suffered at the same time under the weight of present and of future misfortunes.

I often visited her at Malmaison, as Duroc assured me that the emperor had no objection to my doing so; yet he must have been fully aware, that when Josephine and I were in confidential conversation, he would not always be mentioned in terms of unqualified eulogy; and in truth, his first friend and his first wife, might well be excused for sometimes commingling their complaints.

Though more than a twelvemonth had elapsed since the divorce, grief still preyed on the heart of Josephine. "You cannot conceive, my friend," she often said to me, "all the torments that I have suffered since that fatal day! I cannot imagine how I survived it. You cannot figure to yourself the agony I endure on seeing descriptions of his fêtes every where. And the first time he came to visit me, after his marriage, what a meeting was that! How many tears I shed! The days on which he comes are to me days of misery, for he spares me not. How cruel to speak of his expected heir. Bourrienne, you cannot conceive how heart-rending all this is to me! Better, far better to be exiled a thousand leagues from hence! However," added Josephine, "a few friends still remain faithful in my changed fortune; and that is now the only thing which affords me even temporary consolation." The truth is that she was extremely unhappy, and the most acceptable consolation her friends could offer her was to weep with her. Yet such was still Josephine's passion for dress, that after having wept for a quarter of an hour, she would dry her tears, to give audience to milliners and jewellers. The sight of a new hat would call forth all Josephine's feminine love of finery.* One day, I re-

* Our amusing femme-de-chambre, Mademoiselle Avrillion, informs us that poor Josephine, after her divorce, amused her solitude with embroidering, and other little works of the kind. She says she was also very fond of reading, or of having books read out to her; but mademoiselle lets out on fifty occasions that the principal occupation of the ex-empress was the toilet, and that her taste for finery and expensive nic-nacs continued undiminished by time and many sorrows. Shortly after the divorce, Josephine made a journey to the waters of Aix, in Savoy, and then a short tour in Switzerland. When she was at Coppet, where Madame de Staël was residing, she declined receiving the visit of that celebrated woman, as she feared that by so doing she would offend her former husband, the great Napoleon, who was in a state of open warfare with the author of "Corinne." At Sécheron, Mademoiselle d'Avrillion was very near losing her "*fort beau châle de cachemire!*" It is her mixing up these characteristic traits and feminine fatuities with important events, and pathetic scenes, that renders her book interesting.—*Editor.*

member, that taking advantage of the momentary serenity occasioned by an ample display of sparkling gewgaws, I congratulated her upon the happy influence they exercised over her spirits, when she said, "My dear friend, I ought, indeed, to be indifferent to all this; but it is a habit." Josephine might have added, that it was also an occupation: for it would be no exaggeration to say, that if the time she wasted in tears and at her toilet had been substracted from her life, its duration would have been considerably shortened.

The vast extent of the French empire now presented a spectacle, which resembled rather the dominion of the Romans, and the conquests of Charlemagne, than the usual form and political changes of modern Europe. In fact, for nearly two centuries, until the period of the revolution, and particularly until the elevation of Napoleon, no remarkable changes had taken place in the boundaries of European states, if we except the partition of Poland, when two of the co-partitioners committed the error of turning the eyes of Russia towards the west! Under Napoleon, every thing was overturned with astonishing rapidity! customs, manners, laws, were superseded by new customs, new manners, and new laws, imposed by force, and forming a heterogeneous whole, which could not fail to dissolve, as soon as the influence of the power which had created it should cease to operate. Such was the state of Italy, that I have been informed by an individual worthy of credit, that if the army of Prince Eugène, instead of being victorious, had been beaten on the Piava, a deeply organized revolution would have broken out in Piedmont, and even in the kingdom of Italy, where, nevertheless, the majority of the people fully appreciated the excellent qualities of Eugène. I have been also credibly informed that lists were in readiness, designating those of the French who were to be put to death, as well as those by whom the severe orders of the imperial government had been mitigated, and who were only to be banished. In fact, revolt was as natural to the Italians, as submission to the Germans, and as the fury of despair to the Spanish nation. On this subject I may cite an observation contained in one of the works of Alfieri, published fifteen years before the Spanish war. Taking a cursory view of the different European nations, he regarded the Spaniards as the only people possessed of "sufficient energy to struggle against foreign usurpation." Had I still been near the person of Napoleon, I would most assuredly have resorted to an innocent artifice, which I had several times employed, and placed the work of Alfieri on his table, open at the page I wished him to read. Alfieri's opinion of the Spanish people was in the end fully verified; and I confess I cannot think without shuddering of the torrents of blood which inundated the Peninsula; and for what? To make Joseph Bonaparte a king!

The commencement of 1811 was sufficiently favourable to the

French arms in Spain; but towards the beginning of March, the aspect of affairs changed. The Duke of Belluno, notwithstanding the valour of his troops, was unsuccessful at Chiclana; and from that day the French army could not make head against the combined forces of England and Portugal. Even Masséna, notwithstanding the title of Prince of Eslingen, which he had won under the walls of Vienna, was no longer the favourite child of victory as he had been at Zurich.

Having mentioned Masséna, I may take this opportunity to declare that he did not favour the change of the French government on the foundation of the empire. Masséna loved two things, glory and money; but as to what is termed honours, he only valued those which resulted from the command of an army; and his recollections all bound him to the republic, because the republic recalled to his mind the most brilliant and glorious events of his military career. He was, besides, among the number of the marshals who wished to see a limit put to the ambition of Bonaparte; and he had assuredly done enough, since the commencement of the wars of the republic, to be permitted to enjoy some repose, which his health at that period required. What could he achieve against the English in Portugal? The combined forces of England and Portugal daily augmented, while ours diminished. No efforts were spared by England to gain a superiority in the great struggle in which she was engaged; as her money was lavished profusely, her troops paid well wherever they went, and were abundantly supplied with ammunition and provisions, the French army was compelled, though far from possessing such ample means, to purchase at the same high rate, in order to keep the natives from joining the English party. But even this did not prevent numerous partial insurrections in different places, which rendered all communication with France extremely difficult. Armed bands continually carried off our dispersed soldiers; and the presence of the British troops, supported by the money they spent in the country, excited the inhabitants against us; for it is impossible to suppose that, unsupported by the English, Portugal could have held out a single moment against France. But battles, bad weather, and even want, had so reduced the French force, that it was absolutely necessary our troops should repose, when their enterprises could lead to no results. In this state of things Masséna was recalled, because his health was so materially injured as to render it impossible for him to exert sufficient activity to restore the army to a respectable footing.

Under these circumstances, Bonaparte sent Bertrand into Illyria to supersede Marmont, who was ordered in his turn to relieve Masséna, and take the command of the French army in Portugal. Marmont, on assuming the command, found the troops in a deplorable state. The difficulty of procuring provisions was extreme, and the means he was compelled to employ

Engraved by C. Cook

MASSENA.

for that purpose greatly heightened the evil; at the same time insubordination and want of discipline prevailed to such an alarming degree, that it would be as difficult as painful to depict the situation of our army at this period. Marmont by his steady conduct fortunately succeeded in correcting the disorders which prevailed, and very soon found himself at the head of a well-organized army, amounting to thirty thousand infantry, with forty pieces of artillery; but he had only a very small body of cavalry, and those ill-mounted.

Affairs in Spain at the commencement of 1811, exhibited an aspect not very different from those of Portugal. At first we were uniformly successful, but our advantages were so dearly purchased that the ultimate issue of this struggle might easily have been foreseen, because when a people fight for their homes and their liberties, the invading army must gradually diminish, while at the same time the armed population, imboldened by success, increases in a still more marked progression. Insurrection was now regarded by the Spaniards as a holy and sacred duty, to which the recent meetings of the Cortès in the Isle of Leon, had given, as it were, a legitimate character, since Spain found again, in the remembrance of her ancient privileges, at least the shadow of a government—a centre around which the defenders of the soil of the Peninsula could rally.*

The continental system was the cause, if not of the eventual fall, at least of the rapid fall of Napoleon. This cannot be doubted, if we consider for a moment the brilliant situation of the empire in 1811, and the effect simultaneously produced throughout Europe, by that system which undermined the most powerful throne which ever existed. It was the continental system that Napoleon upheld in Spain; for he had persuaded himself that this system rigorously enforced, would strike a deathblow to the commerce of England; and Duroc besides informed me of a circumstance which is of great weight in this question. Napo-

* Lord Wellington gave Masséna a sound beating at Fuentes d'Onor, on the 5th of May, 1811. It was soon after this battle that Napoleon sent Marmont to succeed Masséna. Advancing on the southern frontier of Portugal, the skilful Soult contrived to take Badajoz from a blundering, wavering Spanish garrison. About this time, however, General Graham, with his British corps, sallied out of Cadiz, and beat the French on the heights of Barrosa, which lie in front of Cadiz, which city the French were then besieging. Encouraged by the successes of our regular armies, the Spanish Guerillas became more and more numerous and daring. By the end of 1811, king Joseph Bonaparte found so many thorns in his usurped crown, that he implored his brother to put it on some other head. Napoleon would not then listen to his prayer. In the course of 1811, a clever plan was laid for liberating Ferdinand from his prison in France, and placing him at the head of affairs in Spain, but this plan was detected by the emissaries of Bonaparte's expert police. Ferdinand's sister, the ex-Queen of Etruria, had also planned an escape to England. Her agents were betrayed, tried by a military commission, and *shot*—the princess herself was condemned to close confinement in a Roman convent.—*Editor.*

leon, one day, said to him, "I am no longer anxious that Joseph should be King of Spain; and he himself is indifferent about it. I would give the crown to the first comer, who would shut his ports against the English."

Murat had come to Paris on the occasion of the empress's accouchement, and I saw him several times during his stay, for we had always been on the best terms; and I must do him the justice to say, that he never assumed the king but to his courtiers, and those who had known him only as a monarch. Eight or ten days after the birth of the King of Rome, as I was one morning walking in the Champs-Elysées, I met Murat. He was alone, and dressed in plain clothes. We were exactly opposite the gardens of his sister-in-law, the Princess Borghese. "Well, Bourrienne," said Murat, after we had exchanged the usual courtesies, "well, what are you about now?" I informed him how I had been treated by Napoleon; who, that I might not be in Hamburg when the decree of union arrived there, had recalled me to Paris under a show of confidence. I think I still see the handsome and expressive countenance of Joachim when, having addressed him by the titles of Sire and your Majesty, he said to me, "Pshaw! Bourrienne, are we not old comrades? The emperor has treated you unjustly! and to whom has he not been unjust? His displeasure is preferable to his favour, which costs so dear! He says that he made us kings! but did we not make him an emperor! To you, my friend, whom I have known long and intimately, I can make my profession of faith. My sword, my blood, my life, belong to the emperor. When he calls me to the field to combat his enemies, and the enemies of France, I am no longer a king, I resume the rank of a marshal of the empire; but let him require no more. At Naples I will be King of Naples, and I will not sacrifice to his false calculations the life, the well-being, and the interests of my subjects. Let him not imagine that he can treat me as he has treated Louis! For I am ready to defend, even against him, if it must be so, the rights of the people, over whom he has appointed me to rule. Am I then an advanced-guard king?" These last words appeared to me peculiarly appropriate in the mouth of Murat, who had always served in the advanced guard of our armies, and which I thought expressed in a very happy manner the similarity of his situation as a king and a soldier.

I walked with Murat about half an hour. In the course of our conversation, he informed me that his greatest cause of complaint against the emperor was, his having first set him forward, and then abandoned him. "Before I arrived in Naples," continued he, "it was intimated to me that there was a design of assassinating me. What did I do? I entered that city alone, at midnight, in an open carriage, for I would rather have been assassinated at once, than have lived in the constant fear of being

so. I afterwards made a descent on the isle of Capri, which succeeded. I attempted one against Sicily, and am certain it would have also been successful, had the emperor fulfilled his promise of sending the Toulon fleet to second my operations; but he issued contrary orders: *he enacted Mazarin, and wished me to play the part of the adventurous Duke of Guise.* But I see his designs. Now that he has a son on whom he has bestowed the title of King of Rome, he merely wishes the crown of Naples to be considered as a deposit in my hands. He regards Naples as a future annexation to the kingdom of Rome, to which I foresee it is his design to unite the whole of Italy. But let him not urge me too far, for I will oppose him, and conquer, or perish in the attempt."

I had the discretion not to inform Murat, how correctly he had divined the plans of the emperor, and his projects as to Italy; but in regard to the continental system, which, perhaps, the reader will be inclined to call my great battle-horse, I spoke of it as I had done to the Prince of Sweden, and I perceived that he was fully disposed to follow my advice, as experience has sufficiently proved. It was in fact the continental system which separated the interests of Murat from those of the emperor, and which compelled the new King of Naples to form alliances amongst the princes at war with France. Different opinions have been entertained on this subject; mine is, that the marshal of the empire was wrong, but the King of Naples right.

[The penal code of Napoleon, which was in many respects miserably ill-suited to the character of the people of the south, had also its effect in rendering the French odious in Naples. According to General Colletta,

"They made a great abuse of the punishment of the pillory, which may be proper enough in those countries where the sense of shame is common to the people, but most unjust among us, where shame is either null, or of too excessive a nature. This is proved by the two following facts: For some petty larceny they sentenced to the pillory a man of the very lowest class, who was most incredibly ugly, and deformed in person. While this fellow was standing in the pillory many of the spectators mocked him, and laughed at his ugliness, and the wretch answered by mocking and laughing at them in return, thus converting a punishment into a mere scene and a farce.

"At the same time, in a different part of the kingdom, a horrible event happened. A young lady of an honourable family, and daughter of parents of most rigid morals, transported with love for a young man, committed the act of imprudence, and became *enceinte.* More sensible to disgrace than honesty, she endeavoured to produce abortion, but her vigorous health defeated the drugs. She was then shut up in a house for several

months, during which she was assisted and comforted by a kind-hearted old aunt. On being delivered, this unhappy and unnatural mother consented to the exposing of her child during a cold winter night on the public highway, where it miserably perished. Her crime was discovered, and, on ample proof, the court condemned her to a long imprisonment, and to the punishment (according to the code) of the pillory. On the fatal day, the wretched girl, followed by an infamous retinue, and preceded by the public crier, who proclaimed her offence, walked to the place of her punishment; having reached the spot, the hangman stuck a paper on her head, indicating her name, with the fearful addition, "She killed her child!" And then all her delicate limbs were seen to tremble, and she suddenly stopped, so that the pitiless executioner, fancying she was afraid of the pillory, menaced her, and thrust her forward, but she fell with her face to the earth at the foot of the scaffold, because she was suffocated with shame—and was dead!"—*Storia del Reame di Napoli.*

If we add to the errors of the regular code, the horrors of the irregular courts-martial and military tribunals, and then if we take the detested conscription law, which sent the young men of sunny Naples to perish by thousands in northern Germany and the wilds of Poland and Russia, it will easily be understood how unpopular must have been Napoleon who ordered all these things. M. de Bourrienne, however, does not over-estimate the effects of the continental system: it had reduced one half of the kingdom to beggary. In the rich oil country about Gallipoli, Taranto, and Bari—through a large portion of Apulia and Calabria, many people no longer pressed the olives that their rich groves furnished, as, owing to the exclusion of England, America, &c., from the market, the price of oil scarcely paid the expenses of its preparation. Murat, however, was always personally popular with a large portion of the Neapolitan nation. —*Editor.*]

CHAPTER XIX.

1811.

New titles and old names—Napoleon's dislike of literary men—Odes, &c. on the marriage of Napoleon—Chateaubriand and Lemercier—Death of Chenier—Chateaubriand elected his successor—His discourse read by Napoleon—Bonaparte compared to Nero—Suppression of the Mercure—M. de Chateaubriand ordered to leave Paris—MM. Lemercier and Esmenard presented to the emperor—Birth of the King of Rome—France in 1811—My return to Hamburg—Government committee established there—Anecdote of the Count de Chaban—Napoleon's misunderstanding with the pope—Cardinal Fesch—Convention of a council—Declaration required from the bishops—Spain in 1811—Certainty of war with Russia—Lauriston supersedes Caulaincourt at St. Petersburg—The war in Spain neglected—Troops of all nations at the disposal of Bonaparte—Levy of national guard—Treaties with France and Austria—Capitulation renewed with Switzerland—Intrigues with Czernischeff.

The princes and dukes of the empire must pardon me for so often designating them by their republican names. The marshals set less value on their titles of nobility, than the dukes and counts selected from among the civilians. Of all the sons of the republic, Regnauld de Saint-Jean-d'Angély was the most gratified at being a count, whilst among the fathers of the revolution, no one could regard with greater disdain than Fouché, his title of Duke of Otranto; he congratulated himself upon its possession only once, and that was after the fall of the empire.

I have expressed my dislike of Fouché, and the reason of that feeling was, that I could not endure his system of making the police a government within a government. He had left Paris before my return thither, but I had frequent occasion to speak of that famous personage to Savary, who, for the reason above assigned, I do not always term Duke de Rovigo. Savary knew better than any one the fallacious measures of Fouché's administration, since he was his successor. Fouché, under pretence of encouraging men of letters, though well aware that the emperor was hostile to them, intended only to bring them into contempt, by making them write verses at command. It was easily seen that Napoleon nourished a profound dislike of literary

men, though we must not conclude that he wished the public to be aware of that dislike. Those besides who devoted their pens to blazon his glory and his power, were sure to be received by him with distinction. On the other hand, as Charlemagne and Louis XIV. owed a portion of the splendour of their reigns to the lustre reflected on them by literature, he wished to appear to patronize authors, provided that they never discussed questions relating to philosophy, the independence of mankind, and civil and political rights. With regard to men of science, it was wholly different; those he held in real estimation; but men of letters, properly so called, were considered by him merely as a sprig in his imperial crown. The marriage of the emperor with an archduchess of Austria had set all the court poets to work, and in this contest of praise and flattery, it must be confessed that the false gods were vanquished by the true God; for in spite of their fulsome verses, not one of the disciples of Apollo could exceed the extravagance of the bishops in their pastoral letters. At a time when so many were striving to force themselves into notice, there still existed a feeling of esteem in the public mind for men of superior talent, who remained independent amidst the general corruption; such was M. Lemercier; such was M. de Chateaubriand. I was in Paris in the spring of 1811, at the period of Chenier's death, when the numerous friends whom Chateaubriand possessed in the second class of the Institute, looked to him as the successor of Chenier. This was more than a mere literary question, not only on account of the high literary reputation of M. de Chateaubriand already possessed, but of the recollection of his noble conduct at the period of the Duke d'Enghien's death, which was yet fresh in the memory of every one; and besides, no person could be ignorant of the immeasurable difference of opinion between Chenier and M. de Chateaubriand.

M. de Chateaubriand obtained a great majority of votes, and was elected a member of the Institute. This opened a wide field for conjecture in Paris. Every one was anxious to see how the author of the "Génie du Christianisme," the faithful defender of the Bourbons, would bend his eloquence to pronounce the eulogium of a regicide. The time for the admission of the new member of the Institute arrived; but in his discourse, copies of which were circulated in Paris, he had ventured to allude to the death of Louis XVI., and to raise his voice against the regicides. This did not displease Napoleon; but, M. du Chateaubriand also made a profession of faith in favour of liberty, which, he said, found refuge amongst men of letters when banished from the politic body. This was great boldness, for the time; for though Bonaparte was secretly gratified at seeing the judges of Louis XVI. scourged by an heroic pen, yet those men held the highest situations under the government. Cambacérès filled the second place in the em-

pire, although at a great distance from the first: Merlin de Douay was also in power: and it is known how much liberty was stifled and hidden beneath the dazzling illusion of what is termed glory. M. M. Suard, de Ségur, de Fontanes, and two or three other members of the same class of the Institute, whose names I cannot recollect, were of opinion that the discourse should be read; but it was opposed by the majority. When Napoleon was informed of what had passed, he demanded a sight of the address, which was presented to him by M. Daru. After having perused it, he exclaimed, "Had this discourse been delivered, I would have shut the gates of the Institute, and thrown M. de Chateaubriand into a dungeon for life." The storm long raged; at length means of conciliation were tried. The emperor required M. de Chateaubriand to prepare another discourse, which the latter refused to do, in spite of every menace. Madame Gay applied to Madame Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, who interested her husband in favour of the author of the "Génie du Christianisme." M. de Montalivet and Savary also acted on this occasion in the most praiseworthy manner; and succeeded in appeasing the first transports of the emperor's rage. But the name of Chateaubriand constantly called to mind the circumstances which had occasioned him to give in his resignation; and besides, Napoleon had another complaint against him. He had published in the Mercure, an article on a work of M. Alexandre de Laborde. In that article, which was eagerly read in Paris, and which caused the suppression of the Mercure, occurred the famous phrase which has been since so often repeated: "In vain a Nero triumphs: Tacitus is already born in his empire." This quotation leads me to repeat an observation which, I believe, I have already made, viz., that it is a manifest exaggeration to compare Bonaparte to Nero. Napoleon's ambition might blind his vision to political crimes; but in private life, no man could evince less disposition to cruelty. A proof that he bore little resemblance to Nero, is that his anger against the author of the article in question vented itself in mere words. "What!" exclaimed he, "does Chateaubriand think I am a fool, and that I do not know what he means? If he go on this way, I will have him sabred on the steps of the Tuileries." This language is quite characteristic of Bonaparte; but it was uttered in the first ebullition of his wrath. Napoleon merely threatened, but Nero would have made good his threat; and in such a case, there is surely some difference between words and deeds.

The discourse of M. de Chateaubriand revived Napoleon's former enmity against him; he received an order to quit Paris. M. Daru returned to him the manuscript of his discourse, which had been read by Bonaparte, who cancelled some passages with a pencil.

Such were the principal circumstances attending the nomina-

tion of Chateaubriand to the Institute. I shall now relate some others which occurred on a previous occasion, viz., on the election of an old and worthy visiter at Malmaison, M. Lemercier, and which will serve to show one of those strange inconsistencies so frequent in the character of Napoleon.

After the foundation of the empire, M. Lemercier ceased to present himself at the Tuileries, Saint-Cloud, or at Malmaison, though he was often seen in the saloons of Madame Bonaparte, while she yet hoped not to become a queen. Two places were vacant at once in the second class of the Institute, which still contained a party favourable to liberty. This party, finding it impossible to influence the nomination of both members, contented itself with naming one; it being the mutual condition in return for favouring the government candidate, that the government party should not oppose the choice of the liberals. The liberal party selected M. Lemercier; but as they knew his former connexion with Bonaparte had been broken off, they wished first to ascertain that he would do nothing to commit their choice. Chenier was empowered to inquire whether M. Lemercier would refuse to accompany them to the Tuileries, when they repaired thither in a body; and whether, on his election, he would comply with the usual ceremony of being presented to the emperor. M. Lemercier replied, that he would do nothing contrary to the customs and usages of the body to which he might belong: he was accordingly elected. The government candidate was M. Esmenard, who was also elected. The two new members were presented to the emperor on the same day. On this occasion upwards of four hundred persons were present in the saloon, from one of whom I received these details. When the emperor saw M. Lemercier, for whom he had long pretended great friendship, he said to him, in a kind tone, "Well, Lemercier, you are now installed." Lemercier respectfully bowed to the emperor, but without uttering a word in reply. Napoleon was mortified at this silence; but without saying any thing more to Lemercier, he turned to Esmenard, the member who should have been most acceptable to him, and vented upon him the whole weight of his indignation, in a manner equally unfeeling and unjust. "Well, Esmenard," said he, "do you still hold your place in the police?" These words were spoken in so loud a tone, as to be heard by all present; and it was doubtless this cruel and ambiguous speech, which furnished the enemies of Esmenard with arms to attack his reputation as a man of honour, and to give an appearance of disgrace to those functions which he exercised with so much zeal and ability.

When, at the commencement of 1811, I left Paris, I had ceased to delude myself respecting the brilliant career which seemed opening before me during the consulate. I clearly perceived that since Bonaparte, instead of receiving me as I ex-

pected, had refused to see me at all, the calumnies of my enemies were triumphant, and that I had nothing to hope for from an absolute ruler, whose past injustice rendered him the more unjust. He now possessed what he had so long and ardently wished for, a son of his own—an inheritor of his name, his power, and his throne. I must take this opportunity of stating, that the malevolent and infamous rumours spread abroad respecting the birth of the King of Rome were wholly without foundation. My friend Corvisart, who did not for a single instant leave Maria Louisa, during her long and painful labour, removed from my mind every doubt on the subject. It is as true that the young prince, for whom the emperor of Austria answered at the font, was the son of Napoleon and the archduchess Maria Louisa, as it is false that Bonaparte was the father of the first child of Hortense. The birth of the son of Napoleon was hailed with general enthusiasm.* The emperor was at the height of his power from the period of the birth of his son, until the reverse he experienced after the battle of the Moskowa. The empire, including the states possessed by the imperial family, contained nearly fifty-seven millions of inhabitants; but the period was fast approaching when this power, unparalleled in modern times, was to moulder away, and fall by its own weight.

As I took the most lively interest in all that concerned the Hanse Towns, my first care on returning to Hamburg, was to collect information from the most respectable sources concerning the influential members of the new government. Davoust was at its head. On his arrival, he had established in the duchy of Mecklenburg, in Swedish Pomerania and in Stralsund, the capital of that province, military posts and custom-houses, and that in a time of profound peace with those countries, and without any previous declaration. The omnipotence of Napoleon,

* The reader will find some very interesting notices of this great event and the fêtes which followed, in the Memoirs of the Duchess of Abrantès. It appears from Mademoiselle Avrillion's memoirs, that Napoleon was the first to announce to Josephine the birth of his son—a singular departure from all delicacy of feeling. "In such circumstances," said Mademoiselle, "all that passes in the breast of a woman is inexplicable: the empress testified the greatest and the most sincere joy at an event which was considered by almost all Frenchmen as an immense happiness for the empire. * * * She showed me, with a sort of pride, the letter the emperor had written her with his own hand, and in which he added, after having said 'My dear Josephine I have a son,' these other words, 'I am at the summit of my happiness.'"

"Yes!" said the Empress Josephine to me, with visible emotion, though without any sign of jealousy or ill-humour, 'Yes! he must be very happy!" and then after drying some tears that escaped her, she continued, "and I, also —I too ought to be very happy at the happiness of the emperor—happy to see the fulfilment of the wishes of all France—I now gather the fruits of my painful sacrifices, since they have secured the prosperity of France."

The little King of Rome, Napoleon Francis Bonaparte, was born on the 20th of March, 1811.—*Editor.*

and the terror inspired by the name of Davoust, overcame all obstacles which might have opposed those iniquitous usurpations. The weak were forced to yield to the strong.

At Hamburg a government committee was formed, consisting of the Prince of Eckmuhl, as president, Count de Chaban, counsellor of state, who superintended the departments of the interior and finance, and of M. Faure, counsellor of state, who was appointed to form and regulate the courts of law. I had sometimes met M. de Chaban at Malmaison. He was distantly related to Josephine, and had formerly been an officer in the French guards. He was compelled to emigrate, having been subjected to every species of persecution during the revolution. I recollect an anecdote, which but too well depicts those disastrous times. The Count de Chaban, being obliged to cross France during the reign of terror, was compelled to assume a disguise. He accordingly provided himself with a smock-frock, a cart and horses, and a load of corn. In this manner he journeyed from place to place, till he reached the frontiers. He stopped at Rochambeau, in the Vendomais, where he was recognised by the Marshal de Rochambeau, who, to guard against exciting any suspicion among his servants, treated him as if he had really been a carman, and said to him, "You may dine in the kitchen." M. de Chaban was among the first of the emigrants who returned to France after the 18th Brumaire. He was at first made sub-prefect of Vendome; but, on the union of Tuscany with France, Napoleon created him a member of the junta appointed to regulate the affairs of Tuscany. He next became prefect of Coblentz and Brussels, was made a count by Bonaparte, and was afterwards chosen a member of the government committee at Hamburg. M. de Chaban was a man of upright principles, and he discharged his various functions in a way that commanded esteem and attachment.

During my stay in Hamburg, which on this occasion was not very long, Napoleon's attention was particularly engaged by the campaign of Portugal and his discussions with the pope. At this period, the thunderbolts of Rome were not very alarming. Yet precautions were taken to keep secret the excommunication which Pius VII. had pronounced against Napoleon. The event, however, got reported about, and a party in favour of the pope speedily rose up among the clergy, and more particularly among the fanatics. Napoleon sent to Savona the Archbishops of Nantz, Bourges, Treves, and Tours, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation with his holiness. But all their endeavours were unavailing, and after staying a month at Savona, they returned to Paris without having done any thing. But Napoleon was not discouraged by this first disappointment, and he shortly afterwards sent a second deputation, which experienced the same fate as the first. Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, took part with the pope. For this fact I can vouch, though I cannot

for an answer which he is said to have made to the emperor. I have been informed, that when Napoleon was one day speaking to his uncle about the pope's obstinacy, the cardinal made some observations to him on his (Bonaparte's) conduct to the holy father, upon which Napoleon flew into a passion, and said that the pope and he were two old fools. "As for the pope," said he, "he is too obstinate to listen to any thing. No, I am determined he shall never have Rome again.... He will not remain at Savona, and where does he wish I should send him?"—"To heaven, perhaps," replied the cardinal.

The truth is, the emperor was violently irritated against Pius VII. Observing with uneasiness, the differences and difficulties to which all these dissensions gave rise, he was anxious to put a stop to them. As the pope would not listen to any propositions that were made to him, Napoleon convoked a council, which assembled in Paris, and at which several Italian bishops were present. The pope insisted that the temporal and spiritual interests should be discussed together; and, however disposed a certain number of prelates, particularly the Italians, might be to separate these two points of discussion, yet the influence of the church, and well-contrived intrigues, gradually gave preponderance to the wishes of the pope. The emperor, having discovered that a secret correspondence was carried on by several of the bishops and archbishops who had seats in the council, determined to get rid of some of them, and the Bishops of Ghent, Troyes, Tournay, and Toulouse, were arrested and sent to Vincennes. They were superseded by others. He wished to dissolve the council, which he saw was making no advance towards the object he had in view, and fearing that it might adopt some act at variance with his supreme wish, every member of the council was individually required to make a declaration that the proposed changes were conformable to the laws of the church. It was said at the time, that they were unanimous in this individual declaration, though it is certain that in the sittings of the council opinions were divided. I know not what his holiness thought of these written opinions compared with the verbal opinions that had been delivered; but certain it is, though still a captive at Savona, he refused to adhere to the concessions granted in the secret declarations.

The conflicts which took place in Spain during the summer of 1811, were unattended by any decisive results. Some brilliant events, indeed, attested the courage of our troops, and the skill of our generals. Such were the battle of Albufera and the taking of Tarragona, while Wellington was obliged to raise the siege of Badajos.* These advantages, which were attended only by glory, encouraged Napoleon in the hope of triumphing in the Peninsula, and enabled him to enjoy the brilliant fêtes

* The reader will remember that the British, on pretty good ground, claimed the victory at Albufera.—*Editor.*

which took place at Paris, in celebration of the birth of the King of Rome.

On his return from a tour in Holland, at the end of October, Napoleon clearly saw that a rupture with Russia was inevitable. In vain he sent Lauriston, as ambassador to St. Petersburg, to supersede Caulaincourt, who would no longer remain there: all the diplomatic skill in the world could effect nothing with a powerful government, which had already formed its determination. All the cabinets in Europe were now unanimous in wishing for the overthrow of Napoleon's power, and the people no less ardently wished for an order of things less fatal to their trade and industry. In the state to which Europe was reduced, no one could counteract the wish of Russia and her allies to go to war with France—Lauriston, no more than Caulaincourt.

The continental war for which Napoleon was now obliged to prepare, forced him to neglect Spain, and to leave his interests in that country in a state of real danger. Indeed, his occupation of Spain, and his well-known wish to maintain himself there, were additional motives for inducing the powers of Europe to enter upon a war which would necessarily divide Napoleon's forces. All at once, the troops which were in Italy and the north of Germany moved towards the frontiers of the Russian empire. In March, 1811, the emperor had all the military forces of Europe at his disposal. It was curious to see this union of nations, distinguished by difference of manners, language, religion, and interests, all ready to fight for one man, against a power who had done nothing to offend them. Prussia herself, though she could not pardon the injuries he had inflicted upon her, joined his alliance, but with the intention of breaking it on the first opportunity. When the war with Russia was first spoken of, Duroc and I had frequent conversations on the subject. I communicated to him all the intelligence I received from abroad respecting that vast enterprise. The Duke de Rovigo shared all my forebodings; and if he, and those who thought like him had been listened to, the war would probably have been avoided. Through him I learned who were the individuals who urged the invasion. The eager ambition with which they looked forward to viceroyalties, duchies, and endowments, blinded them to the possibility of seeing the Cossacks in Paris.

The gigantic enterprise being determined on, vast preparations were made for carrying it into effect. Before his departure, Napoleon, who was to take with him all the disposable troops, caused a senatus consultum to be issued for levying the national guards, who were divided into three corps. He also arranged his diplomatic affairs, by concluding, in February, 1812, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Prussia, by virtue of which the two contracting powers mutually guaranteed the integrity of their own possessions, and the European possessions of the Ottoman Porte, because that power was then at war with

Russia. A similar treaty was concluded about the beginning of March with Austria, and about the end of the same month, Napoleon renewed the capitulation of France and Switzerland. At length, in the month of April, there came to light an evident proof of the success which had attended M. Czernischeff's intrigues in Paris. It was ascertained that a clerk in the war-office, named Michel, had communicated to him the situation of the French forces in Germany. Michel was condemned to death, for the time was gone by, when Bonaparte, confident in his genius and good fortune, could communicate his plans to the spy of General Mélas.

CHAPTER XX.

1811—1812.

Attacks of my enemies—Memorial to the emperor—Ogier de la Saussaye, and the mysterious box—Removal of the pope to Fontainebleau—Anecdote of his holiness and M. Denon—Departure of Napoleon and Maria Louisa for Dresden—Situation of affairs in Spain and Portugal—Rapp's account of the emperor's journey to Dantzic—Mutual wish for war on the part of Napoleon and Alexander—Sweden and Turkey—Napoleon's vain attempt to detach Sweden from her alliance with Russia.

I TRUST, that whatever my readers may reproach me with, they cannot complain of my speaking too frequently of myself. I hide myself as much as possible behind those important personages whom I have known intimately, and with whom I have endeavoured to make others acquainted. However, there are some circumstances in which I am personally concerned, and the mention of which I cannot with propriety omit. Such are the infamous calumnies which incessantly and bitterly pursued me from the moment when my functions in Hamburg ceased by the union of the Hanse Towns with the great metropolitan empire. The little that I have already stated on this subject, will have sufficed to point out the quarter whence these calumnies proceeded. I suppose, that by assailing me, Davoust consoled himself for his disappointment in not becoming viceroy of Poland.

In March, 1812, when I saw that an approaching war would necessarily take Napoleon from France, weary of the persecutions, and even threats, by which I was every day assailed, I addressed to the emperor a memorial explaining my conduct, and showing the folly and wickedness of my accusers. Among them was a certain Ogier de la Saussaye, who had sent a report

to the emperor, in which the principal charge was, that I had carried off a box containing important papers belonging to the first consul. The accusation of Ogier de la Saussaye, terminated thus: "I add to my report the interrogatories of MM. Westphalen, Osy, Chapeau Rouge, Ankscher, Thierry, and Gumprecht-Mares. The evidence of the latter bears principally on a *certain mysterious box, a secret upon which it is impossible to throw any light, but the reality of which we are bound to believe.*" These are his words. The affair of the mysterious box has been already explained. I have already informed the reader that I put my papers into a box, which I buried lest it should be stolen from me. But for that precaution I should not have been able to lay before the reader the autograph documents in my possession, and which I imagine form the most essential part of these volumes. In my memorial to the emperor, I said, in allusion to the passage above quoted, "This, sire, is the most atrocious part of Ogier's report. Gumprecht being questioned on this point, replies, that the accuser has probably, as well as himself, seen the circumstance mentioned in an infamous pamphlet which appeared seven or eight years ago. It was, I think, entitled 'Le Secret du Cabinet des Tuileries,' and was very likely, at the time of its appearance, denounced by the police. In that libel it is stated, among a thousand other calumnies equally false and absurd, that *When I left the first consul I carried away a box full of important papers; that I was in consequence sent to the Temple, where your brother Joseph came to me and offered me my liberation, and a million of francs, if I would restore the papers, which I refused to do, &c.* Ogier, instead of looking for this libel in Hamburg, where I read it, has the impudence to give credit to the charge, the truth of which could have been ascertained immediately: and he adds, *This secret we are bound to believe.* Your majesty knows whether I was ever in the Temple, and whether Joseph ever made such an offer to me." I entreated that the emperor would do me the favour to bring me to trial; for, certainly, I should have regarded that as a favour, rather than to remain as I was, exposed to vague accusations; yet all my solicitations were in vain. My letter to the emperor remained unanswered; but though Bonaparte could not spare a few moments to reply to an old friend, I learned through Duroc the contempt he cherished for my accusers. Duroc advised me not to be uneasy, and that in all probability the emperor's prejudices against me would be speedily overcome; and I must say, that if they were not overcome, it was neither the fault of Duroc nor Savary, who knew how to estimate the miserable intrigues just alluded to.

Napoleon was at length determined to extend the bounds of his empire, or rather to avenge the injuries which Russia had committed against his continental system. Yet, before he departed for Germany, the resolute refusal of the pope to submit

to any arrangement, occasionally claimed his consideration. Savona did not appear to him a sufficiently secure residence for such a prisoner. He feared that when all his strength should be removed towards the Niemen, the English might carry off the pope, or that the Italians, excited by the clergy, whose dissatisfaction was general in Italy, would stir up those religious dissensions which are always fatal and difficult to quell. With the view, therefore, of keeping the pope under his control, he removed him to Fontainebleau, and even at one time thought of bringing him to Paris.

The emperor appointed M. Denon to reside with the pope at Fontainebleau; and to afford his illustrious prisoner the society of such a man, was certainly a delicate mark of attention on the part of Napoleon. When speaking of his residence with Pius VII., M. Denon related to me the following anecdote: "The pope," said he, "was much attached to me. He always addressed me by the appellation *my son*, and he loved to converse with me, especially on the subject of the Egyptian expedition. One day he asked me for my work on Egypt, which he said he wished to read; and, as you know, it is not quite orthodox, and does not perfectly agree with the creation of the world according to Genesis, I at first hesitated; but the pope insisted, and at length I complied with his wish. The holy father assured me that he had been much interested by the perusal of the book. I made some allusion to the delicate points; upon which he said, 'No matter, no matter, my son; all that is exceedingly curious, and I must confess entirely new to me.' I then," continued M. Denon, "told his holiness why I hesitated to lend him the work, which, I observed, he had excommunicated, together with its author. 'Excommunicated you, my son?' resumed the pope, in a tone of affectionate concern. 'I am very sorry for it, and I assure you I was far from being aware of any such thing.'" When M. Denon related to me this anecdote, he told me how greatly he had admired the virtues and resignation of the holy father; but he added, that it would nevertheless have been easier to make him a martyr, than to induce him to yield on any point, until he should be restored to the temporal sovereignty of Rome, of which he considered himself the depositary, and which he would not endure the reproach of having willingly sacrificed. After settling the place of the pope's residence, Napoleon set off for Dresden, accompanied by Maria Louisa, who had expressed a wish to see her father.*

* "Come, you, who would form a correct idea of the domination exercised by Napoleon over Europe; who desire to fathom the depth of terror into which the sovereigns of the continent were plunged; come, transport yourselves with me to Dresden, and there contemplate that mighty chief at the proudest period of his glory—so near to that of his humiliation!

"The emperor occupied the principal apartments of the palace. He brought

The Russian enterprise, the most gigantic, perhaps, the genius of man ever conceived, since the conquest of India by Alexander, now absorbed universal attention, and defied the calculations of reason. The Manzanares was forgotten, and nothing was thought of but the Niemen, already so celebrated by the raft of Tilsit. Thither, as towards a common centre, were moving men, horses, provisions, and baggage of every kind, from all parts of Europe. The hopes of our generals, and the fears of all prudent men, were directed to Russia. The war in Spain, which was becoming more and more unfortunate, excited but a feeble interest; and our most distinguished officers looked upon it as a disgrace to be sent to the Peninsula. In short, it was easy to foresee that the period was not far distant when the French would be obliged to recross the Pyrenees. Though the truth was concealed from the emperor on many subjects, yet he was not deceived as to the situation of Spain in the spring of 1812. In February the Duke of Ragusa* had frankly informed him that the armies of Spain and Portugal could not, without considerable reinforcements of men and money, hope for any important advantages, since Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz had fallen into the hands of the English.

with him almost the whole of his household, and formed a regular establishment. The King of Saxony was nothing: it was constantly at Napoleon's apartments that the sovereigns and their families were assembled, by cards of invitation from the grand marshal of his palace. Private individuals were sometimes admitted; I had myself that honour, on the day of my appointment to Poland. The emperor held his levees as usual at nine. Then you should have seen in what numbers, with what submissive timidity, a crowd of potentates—mixed and confounded, among the courtiers, and often entirely overlooked by them—awaited in fearful expectation the moment of appearing before the new arbiter of their destinies! You should have heard the frivolous questions which the emperor put to them, and the humble answers which they ventured to hazard! What Phædra said of Hippolytus, may be justly applied to Napoleon's residence at Dresden:

'Even at the altars where I seem'd to pray,
This was the real god of all my vows.'

"Napoleon was, in fact, the god of Dresden, the only king among all the kings assembled there—the king of kings!—on *him* all eyes were turned; in *his* apartments, and around *his* person, were collected the august guests who filled the palace of the King of Saxony. The throng of foreigners, of officers, of courtiers—the arrival and departure of couriers, crossing one another in every direction; the mass of people hurrying to the gates of the palace, at the least movement of the emperor, crowding upon his steps, gazing at him with an air of mingled admiration and astonishment—the expectation of the future strongly painted in every face, the confidence on one side, the anxiety on the other—all these together, presented the vastest and most interesting picture, the most brilliant and dazzling monument ever yet raised to the power of Napoleon! He had now certainly attained the zenith of his glory. He might hold his elevated station; but to surpass it seemed impossible."—*Histoire de l'Ambassade dans le Grand Duché de Varsovie, en* 1812. Par M. de Pradt, Archevêque de Malines, alors Ambassadeur à Varsovie. (*Editor.*)

* Marshal Marmont.—*Editor*

Before he commenced his great operations on the Niemen and the Volga, Napoleon made a journey to Dantzic, and Rapp, who was then governor of that city, informed me of some curious particulars connected with the imperial visit. The fact is, that if Rapp's advice had been listened to, and had been supported by men higher in rank than himself, Bonaparte would not have braved the chances of the Russian war until those chances turned against him. Speaking to me of the Russians, Rapp said, "Those ..... will soon be as wise as we are! Every time we go to war with them, we teach them how to beat us." I was struck with the originality and truth of this observation, which, at the time I heard it, was new, though it has been often repeated since.

"On leaving Dresden," said Rapp to me, "Napoleon came to Dantzic. I expected a dressing; for, to tell you the truth, I had treated very cavalierly both his custom-house and its officers, who were raising up as many enemies to France as there were inhabitants in my government. I had also warned him of all that has since happened in Russia, but I assure you I did not think myself quite so good a prophet. In the beginning of 1812, I thus wrote to him: 'If your majesty should experience reverses, you may depend on it that both Russians and Germans will rise up in a mass to shake off the yoke. There will be a crusade, and all your allies will abandon you. Even the King of Bavaria, on whom you rely so confidently, will join the coalition. I except only the King of Saxony. He, perhaps, might remain faithful to you; but his subjects will force him to make common cause with your enemies.' The King of Naples," continued Rapp, "who had the command of the cavalry, had been to Dantzic before the emperor. He did not seem to take a more favourable view of the approaching campaign than I did. Murat was dissatisfied that the emperor would not consent to his rejoining him in Dresden; and he said that he would rather be a captain of grenadiers than a king such as he was."

Here I interrupted Rapp to tell him what had fallen from Murat when I met him in the Champs-Elysées. "Bah!" resumed Rapp, "Murat, brave as he was, was a craven in Napoleon's presence. On the emperor's arrival in Dantzic, the first thing of which he spoke to me was the alliance he had just then concluded with Prussia and Austria. I could not refrain from telling him that we did a great deal of mischief as allies; a fact of which I was assured from the reports daily transmitted to me respecting the conduct of our troops. Bonaparte tossed his head, as you know he was in the habit of doing when he was displeased. After a moment's silence, dropping the familiar thee and thou, he said, 'Monsieur le Général, this is a torrent which must be allowed to run itself out. It will not last long. I must first ascertain whether Alexander decidedly wishes for war.' Then, suddenly changing the subject of conversation,

he said, 'Have you not lately observed something extraordinary in Murat? I think he is quite altered. Is he ill?'—'Sire,' replied I, 'Murat is not ill, but he is out of spirits.'—'Out of spirits; but why? Is he not satisfied with being a king?'—'Sire, Murat says he is no king.'—'That is his own fault. Why does he make himself a Neapolitan. Why is he not a Frenchman? When he is in his kingdom he commits all sorts of follies. He favours the trade of England; that I will not suffer.

"When," continued Rapp, "he spoke of the favour extended by Murat to the trade between Naples and England, I thought my turn would come next; but I was deceived. No more was said on the subject; and when I was about to take my leave, the emperor said to me, as when in his best of humours, 'Rapp, you will sup with me this evening.' I accordingly supped that evening with the emperor, who had also invited the King of Naples and Berthier. Next day, the emperor visited the fortress, and afterwards returned to the government-palace, where he received the civil and military authorities. He again invited Murat, Berthier, and me to supper. When we first sat down to table, we were all very dull, for the emperor was silent; and, as you well know, under such circumstances, not even Murat himself dared to be the first to speak to him. At length, Napoleon, addressing me, inquired how far it was from Cadiz to Dantzic? 'Too far, sire,' replied I.—'I understand you, Monsieur le Général; but in a few months the distance will be still greater.'—'So much the worse, sire!' Here there was another pause. Neither Murat nor Berthier, on whom the emperor fixed a scrutinizing glance, uttered a word; and Napoleon again broke silence, but without addressing any one of us in particular: 'Gentlemen,' said he, in a solemn, and rather low tone of voice, 'I see plainly, that you are none of you inclined to fight again. The King of Naples does not wish to leave the fine climate of his dominions; Berthier wishes to enjoy the diversion of the chase at his estate of Grosbois; and Rapp is impatient to be back to his hotel in Paris.' Would you believe it," pursued Rapp, "that neither Murat nor Berthier said a word in reply? and the ball again came to me. I told him frankly, that what he said was perfectly true; and the King of Naples and the Prince of Neufchâtel complimented me on my spirit, and observed that I was quite right in saying what I did. 'Well, said I, 'since it was so very right, why did you not follow my example, and why leave me to say all?' You cannot conceive," added Rapp, "how confounded they both were; and especially Murat, though he was very differently situated from Berthier.

The negotiations which Bonaparte opened with Alexander, when he yet wished to seem averse to war, resembled those oratorical paraphrases which do not prevent us coming to the

conclusion we wish. The two emperors equally desired war; the one with the view of consolidating his power, and the other in the hope of freeing himself from a yoke which threatened to reduce him to a state of vassalage; for it was little short of this, to require a power like Russia to close her ports against England, for the mere purpose of favouring the interests of France. At that time, only two European powers were not tied to Napoleon's fate—Sweden and Turkey. Napoleon was anxious to gain the alliance of those two powers. With respect to Sweden, his efforts were vain: and though, in fact, Turkey was then at war with Russia, yet the grand seignior was not now, as at the time of Sebastiani's embassy, subject to the influence of France.

The peace, which was soon concluded at Bucharest, between Russia and Turkey, increased Napoleon's embarrassment. The left of the Russian army, secured by the neutrality of Turkey, was reinforced by Bagration's corps from Moldavia: it subsequently occupied the right of the Beresina, and destroyed the last hope of saving the wrecks of the French army, which was now reduced one-half. It is difficult to conceive how Turkey could have allowed the consideration of injuries she had received from France to induce her to terminate her war with Russia, when France was attacking that power with immense forces. The Turks had never a fairer opportunity for taking revenge on Russia, and, unfortunately for Napoleon, they suffered it to escape.*

Napoleon was not more successful when he sought the alliance of a prince whose fortune he had made, and who was allied to his family, but with whom he had never been on terms of good understanding. The Emperor Alexander had a considerable corps of troops in Finland, destined to protect that country against the Swedes; Napoleon having consented to that occupation, in order to gain the provisional consent of Alexander to the invasion of Spain. What was the course pursued by Napoleon, when, being at war with Russia, he wished to detach Sweden from her alliance with Alexander? He intimated to Bernadotte, that he had a sure opportunity of retaking

* This important treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey, through the mediation of Great Britain, was admirably conducted and brought to a most successful issue by Sir Stratford, then Mr. S. Canning, and a young man and a very young diplomatist. Sir Stratford, like his cousin, the late Mr. G. Canning, has gained high literary honours as well as political ones. He is the author of a magnificent ode on the fall of Bonaparte, a production with which the late Lord Byron was enchanted. It is somewhat curious that three years ago the court of Russia should have positively refused to receive as British ambassador the distinguished individual who, twenty-four years ago, did their country such signal service. Such, however, was the fact, and after long delays, and many heart-burnings, during which the Emperor Nicholas would state no motives for his almost unprecedented refusal, Lord Durham was appointed by the present cabinet to supply Sir Stratford Canning's place.—*Editor.*

Finland; a conquest which would gratify his subjects, and win their attachment to him. By this alliance Napoleon wished to force Alexander not to withdraw the troops, who were in the north of his empire, but rather to augment their numbers, in order to cover Finland and St. Petersburg. It was thus that Napoleon endeavoured to draw the prince royal into his coalition. It was of little consequence to Napoleon whether Bernadotte succeeded or not. The Emperor Alexander would nevertheless have been obliged to increase his force in Finland; that was all that Napoleon wished. In the gigantic struggle upon which France and Russia were about to enter, the most trivial alliance was not to be neglected. In January, 1812, Davoust invaded Swedish Pomerania without any declaration of war, and without any apparent motive. Was this inconceivable violation of territory likely to dispose the Prince Royal of Sweden to the proposed alliance, even had that alliance not been adverse to the interests of his country? That was impossible; and Bernadotte took the part which was expected of him. He rejected the offers of Napoleon, and prepared for coming events.

The Emperor Alexander wished to withdraw his force from Finland, for the purpose of more effectively opposing the immense army which threatened his states. Unwilling to expose Finland to an attack on the part of Sweden, he had an interview, on the 28th of August, 1812, at Abo, with the prince royal, to come to an arrangement with him for uniting their interests. I know that the Emperor of Russia pledged himself, whatever might happen, to protect Bernadotte against the fate of the new dynasties—to guarantee the possession of his throne—and promised that he should have Norway as a compensation for Finland. He even went so far as to hint that Bernadotte might supersede Napoleon. Bernadotte adopted all the propositions of Alexander, and from that moment Sweden made common cause against Napoleon. The prince royal's conduct has been much blamed; but the question resolved itself into one of mere political interest. Could Bernadotte, a Swede by adoption, prefer the alliance of an ambitious sovereign, whose vengeance he had to fear, and who had sanctioned the seizure of Finland, to that of a powerful monarch, his formidable neighbour, his protector in Sweden, and whose hostility might effectually support the hereditary claims of young Gustavus? Sweden, in joining France, would thereby have declared herself the enemy of England. Where, then, would have been her navy, her trade, and even her existence?

CHAPTER XXI.

1812.

Changeableness of Bonaparte's plans and opinions—Articles for the Moniteur dictated by the first consul—The protocol of the congress of Châtillon—Conversations with Davoust at Hamburg—Promise of the viceroyalty of Poland—Hope and disappointment of the Poles—Influence of illusion on Bonaparte—The French in Moscow—Disasters of the retreat—Mallet's conspiracy—Intelligence of the affair communicated to Napoleon at Smolensko—Circumstances detailed by Rapp—Real motives of Napoleon's return to Paris—Murat, Ney, and Eugène—Power of the Italians to endure cold—Napoleon's exertions to repair his losses—Defection of General Yorck—Convocation of a privy council—War resolved on—Wavering of the pope—Useless negotiations with Vienna—Maria Louisa appointed Regent.

It may now be asked whether Bonaparte, previous to entering upon the last campaign, had resolved on restoring Poland to independence. The fact is, that Bonaparte, as emperor, never entertained any positive wish to re-establish the old kingdom of Poland, though at a previous period he was strongly inclined to that re-establishment, of which he felt the necessity. He may have said that he would re-establish the kingdom of Poland, but I must beg leave to say, that that is no reason for believing that he entertained any such design. He had said, and even sworn, that he would never aggrandize the territory of the empire! The changeableness of Bonaparte's ideas, plans, and projects, renders it difficult to seize them; but they may be best understood, when it is considered that all Napoleon's plans and conceptions varied with his fortune. Thus, it is not unlikely that he might at one time have considered the re-establishment of Poland as essential to European policy, and afterwards have regarded it as adverse to the development of his ambition.* Who can venture to guess what passed in his mind, when dazzled by his glory at Dresden; and whether, in one of his dreams, he might not have regarded the empire of the Jagellons as another gem in the imperial diadem? The truth is, that Bonaparte, when general-in-chief of the army of Egypt and first consul, had deeply at heart the avenging the dismemberment of Poland, and I have often conversed with him on this most

* As the Polish question still remains of the highest interest, we shall give a short historical sketch of it.—*Editor.*

interesting subject, upon which we entirely concurred in opinion. But times and circumstances were changed since we walked together on the terrace of Cairo, and mutually deplored the death of young Sulkowski. Had Sulkowski lived, Napoleon's favourable intentions with respect to Poland might perhaps have been confirmed. A fact which explains to me the coolness, I may almost say the indifference, of Bonaparte, to the resurrection of Poland, is, that the commencement of the consulate was the period at which that measure particularly occupied his attention. How often did he converse on the subject with me and other persons, who may yet recollect his sentiments! It was the topic on which he most loved to converse, and on which he spoke with feeling and enthusiasm. In the Moniteur of the period here alluded to, I could point out more than one article without signature, or official character, which Napoleon dictated to me, and the insertion of which in that journal, considering the energy of certain expressions, sufficiently proves that they could have emanated from none but Bonaparte. It was usually in the evening that he dictated to me these articles. Then, when the affairs of the day were over, he would launch into the future, and give free scope to his vast projects. Some of these articles were characterized by so little moderation, that the first consul would very often destroy them in the morning, smiling at the violent ebullitions of the preceding night. At other times I took the liberty of not sending them to the Moniteur on the night on which they were dictated; and though he might earnestly wish their insertion, I adduced reasons, good or bad, to account for the delay. He would then read over the article in question, and approve of my conduct; but he would sometimes add, "It is nevertheless true, that with an independent kingdom of Poland, and a hundred and fifty thousand disposable troops in the east of France, I should always be master of Russia, Prussia, and Austria."—"General," I would reply, "I am entirely of your opinion; but wherefore awaken the suspicions of the interested parties? Leave all to time and circumstances."

The reader may have to learn, and not, perhaps, without some surprise, that in the protocol of the sittings of the congress of Châtillon, Napoleon put forward the spoliation of Poland by the three principal powers allied against him, as a claim to a more advantageous peace, and to territorial indemnities for France. In policy, he was right, but the report of foreign cannon was already loud enough to drown the best of arguments.

After the ill-timed and useless union of the Hanse Towns to France, I returned to Hamburg in the spring of 1811, to convey my family to France. I then had some conversation with Davoust. On one occasion, I said to him, that if his hopes were realized, and my sad predictions respecting the war with Russia overthrown, I hoped to see the restoration of the kingdom of Poland. Davoust replied, that event was probable, since

he had Napoleon's promise of the viceroyalty of that kingdom, and as several of his comrades had been promised starosties. Davoust made no secret of this, and it was generally known throughout Hamburg and the north of Germany. But notwithstanding what Davoust said respecting Napoleon's intentions, I considered that these promises had been made as conditional rather than positive.

On Napoleon's arrival in Poland, the diet of Warsaw assured, as there seemed reason to be, of the emperor's sentiments, declared the kingdom free and independent. The different treaties of dismemberment were pronounced to be null; and certainly the diet had a right so to act: for it calculated upon his support. But the address of the diet to Napoleon, in which these principles were declared, was ill received. His answer was full of doubt and indecision, the motive of which could not be blamed. To secure the alliance of Austria against Russia, he had just guaranteed to his father-in-law the integrity of his dominions. Napoleon, therefore, declared that he could take no part in any movement, or resolution, which might disturb Austria in the possession of the Polish provinces, forming a part of her empire. To act otherwise, he said, would be to separate himself from his alliance with Austria, and to throw her into the arms of Russia. But with regard to the Polish-Russian provinces, Napoleon declared he would see what he could do, should Providence favour the good cause. These vague and obscure expressions did not define what he intended to do for the Poles, in the event of success crowning his vast enterprises. They excited the distrust of the Poles, and had no other result. On this subject, however, one observation occurs, which is of some force, as an apology for Napoleon. Poland was successively divided between three powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, with each of which Napoleon had been at war, but never with all three at once. He had, therefore, never been able to take advantage of his victories to re-establish Poland, without injuring the interests of neutral powers, or of his allies. Hence it may be concluded, not only that he never had the positive will, which would have triumphed over all obstacles, but also that there never was a possibility of realizing those dreams and projects of revenge in which he had indulged on the banks of the Nile, as it were, to console the departed spirit of Sulkowski.

Bonaparte's character presents many unaccountable incongruities. Although the most positive man that perhaps ever existed, yet there never was one who more readily yielded to the charm of illusion. In many circumstances, the wish and the reality were to him one and the same thing. He never indulged in greater illusions than at the beginning of the campaign of Moscow. Even before the approach of the disasters, which accompanied the most fatal retreat recorded in history, all sensible persons concurred in the opinion that the emperor ought to

have passed the winter of 1812-13 in Poland, and have resumed his vast enterprises in the spring. But his natural impatience impelled him forward as it were unconsciously; and he seemed to be under the influence of an invisible demon, stronger than even his own strong will. This demon was ambition. He who knew so well the value of time, never sufficiently understood its power, and how much is sometimes gained by delay. Yet Cæsar's Commentaries, which were his favourite study, ought to have shown him that Cæsar did not conquer Gaul in one campaign. Another illusion by which Napoleon was misled during the campaign of Moscow, and perhaps past experience rendered it very excusable, was the belief that the Emperor Alexander would propose peace, when he saw him at the head of his army on the Russian territory. The prolonged stay of Bonaparte at Moscow, can indeed be accounted for in no other way, than by supposing that he expected the Russian cabinet would change its opinion, and consent to treat for peace. However, whatever might have been the reason, after his long and useless stay in Moscow, Napoleon left that city with the design of taking up his winter-quarters in Poland; but Fate now frowned on Napoleon, and in that dreadful retreat, the elements seemed leagued with the Russians to destroy the most formidable army ever commanded by one chief. To find a catastrophe in history comparable to that of the Beresina, we must go back to the destruction of the legions of Varus.

Notwithstanding the general dismay which prevailed in Paris, that capital continued tranquil, when, by a singular chance, on the very day on which Napoleon evacuated the burning city of Moscow, Mallet attempted his extraordinary enterprise. This general, who had always professed republican principles, and was a man of bold, decided character, after having been imprisoned for some time, obtained the permission of government to live in Paris in an hospital-house, situated near the Barrière du Trône. Of Mallet's conspiracy it is not necessary to say much, after the excellent account given of it in the Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.* Mallet's plan was to make it be believed that Bonaparte had been killed at Moscow, and that a new government was established under the authority of the senate. But what could Mallet do? Absolutely nothing; and had his government continued three days, he would have experienced a more favourable chance than that which he ought reasonably to have expected. He asserted that the emperor was dead; but an estafette from Russia would reveal the truth, resuscitate Napoleon, and overwhelm with confusion Mallet and his proclamations. His enterprise was that of a madman. The French were too weary of troubles to throw themselves into the

* For the account of Mallet's extraordinary conspiracy here alluded to by M. de Bourrienne, the reader is referred to the conclusion of the present chapter. —*Editor.*

arms of Mallet or his associate Lahorie, who had figured so disgracefully on the trial of Moreau. Yet, in spite of the evident impossibility of success, it must be confessed that considerable ingenuity and address marked the commencement of this silly conspiracy. On the 22d of October Mallet escaped from the hospital-house and went to Colonel Soulier, who commanded the tenth cohort of the national guard, whose barracks were situated exactly behind the hospital-house. So far all went well. Mallet was loaded with a parcel of forged orders, which he had himself prepared. He introduced himself to Soulier, under the name of General La Motte, and said that he came from General Mallet.

Colonel Soulier, on hearing of the emperor's death, was affected to tears. He immediately ordered the adjutant to assemble the cohort, and obey the orders of General La Motte, to whom he expressed his regret for being himself too ill to leave his bed. It was then two o'clock in the morning, and the forged documents respecting the emperor's death, and the new form of government, were read to the troops by lamp-light. Mallet then hastily set off, with twelve hundred men, to La Force, and liberated the Sieurs Guidal and Lahorie, who were confined there. Mallet informed them of the emperor's death, and of the change of government: gave them some orders, in obedience to which the minister and prefect of police were arrested in their hotel.

I was then at Courbevoie, and I went to Paris on that very morning to breakfast, as I frequently did, with the minister of the police. My surprise may be imagined when I learned from the porter that the Duke de Rovigo had been arrested, and carried to the prison of La Force. I went into the house, and was informed, to my great astonishment, that the ephemeral minister was being measured for his official suit, an act which so completely denoted the character of the conspirator, that it gave me an insight into the business.

Mallet repaired to General Hulin, who had the command of Paris. He informed him that he had been directed by the minister of the police to arrest him, and seal his papers. Hulin asked to see the order, and then entered his cabinet, where Mallet followed him, and just as Hulin was turning round to speak to him, he fired a pistol in his face. Hulin fell: the ball entered his cheek, but the wound was not mortal. The most singular circumstances connected with the whole affair is, that the captain whom Mallet had directed to follow him, and who accompanied him to Hulin's, saw nothing extraordinary in all this. Mallet next proceeded, very composedly, to Adjutant-general Doucet's. It happened that one of the inspectors of the police was there. He recognised General Mallet as being a man under his supervision. He told him that he had no right to quit the hospital-house without leave, and ordered him to be arrested.

Mallet, seeing that all was over, was in the act of drawing a pistol from his pocket, but being observed, he was seized and disarmed. Thus terminated this extraordinary conspiracy, of which fourteen lives paid the forfeit; but with the exception of Mallet, Guidal, and Lahorie, all the others concerned in it were either machines or dupes.

This affair produced but little effect in Paris; for the enterprise, and its result, were made known simultaneously. But it was thought droll enough that the minister and prefect of police should be imprisoned by the men, who, only the day before, were their prisoners. Next day I went to see Savary, who had not yet recovered from the stupefaction caused by his extraordinary adventure. He was aware that his imprisonment, though it lasted only half an hour, was a subject of merriment to the Parisians.*

The emperor, as I have already mentioned, left Moscow on the day when Mallet made his bold attempt, that is to say, the 19th of October. He was at Smolensko when he heard the news. Rapp, who had been wounded before the entrance into Moscow, but who was sufficiently recovered to return home, was with Napoleon when the latter received the despatches containing an account of what had happened in Paris. He informed me that Napoleon was much agitated on perusing them, and that he launched into abuse of the inefficiency of the police. Rapp added, that he did not confine himself to complaints against the agents of his authority. "Is then my power so insecure," said he, "that it may be put in peril by a single individual, and a prisoner! It would appear that my crown is not fixed very firmly on my head, if in my own capital, the bold stroke of three adventurers can shake it. Rapp, misfortune never comes alone; this is the complement of what is passing here. I cannot be every where; but I must go back to Paris; my presence there is indispensable to reanimate public opinion. I must have men and money. Great successes and great victories will repair all. I must set off." Such were the motives which induced the emperor to leave his army. It is not without indignation that I have heard his precipitate departure attributed to cowardice and fear. He was a stranger to such feelings, and was never more happy than on the field of battle. I can readily conceive that he was much alarmed on hearing of Mallet's enterprise. The remarks which he made to Rapp

* Savary's arrest was a rich subject for the wits of Paris. "I will quote on this occasion," says Mademoiselle Avrillion, "a *bon-mot* that was repeated from one end of the city to the other: as every one knows, it was in the middle of the night that the Duke de Rovigo was seized: the duchess, terrified by the noise she heard, rushed out of her bedroom *en chemise*, which made our punsters say that the person who had shown herself best, in the affair of Mallet, was the Duchess de Rovigo." (La personne qui s'était *le mieux montrée*, dans l'affaire de Mallet, c'était la Duchesse de Rovigo.)—*Editor.*

were those which he knew would be made by the public; and he well knew that the affair was calculated to banish those illusions of power and stability with which he endeavoured to surround his government.

On leaving Moscow, Napoleon consigned the wrecks of his army to the care of his most distinguished generals; to Murat, who had so ably commanded the cavalry, but who abandoned the army to return to Naples; and to Ney, the hero rather than the Prince of the Moskowa, whose name will be immortal in the annals of glory, as his death will be eternal in the annals of party revenge. Amidst the general disorder, Eugène, more than any other chief, maintained a sort of discipline among the Italians; and it was remarked, that the troops of the south engaged in the fatal campaign of Moscow, had endured the rigour of the cold better than those troops who were natives of less genial climates.*

Napoleon's return from Moscow was not like his returns from the campaigns of Vienna and Tilsit, when he came back crowned with laurels, and bringing peace as the reward of his triumphs. It was remarked that Napoleon's first great disaster followed the first enterprise he undertook after his marriage with Maria Louisa. This tended to confirm the popular belief, that the presence of Josephine was favourable to his fortune; and superstitious, as he sometimes was, I will not venture to affirm that he himself did not adopt this idea. He now threw off even the semblance of legality in the measures of his government: he assumed arbitrary power, under the impression that the critical circumstances in which he was placed would excuse every thing. But, however inexplicable were the means to which the emperor resorted to procure resources, it is but just to acknowledge that they were the consequence of his system of government, and that he evinced inconceivable activity in repairing his losses, so as to place himself in a situation to resist his enemies, and restore the triumph of the French standard.

But in spite of all Napoleon's endeavours, the disasters of the campaign of Russia were daily more and more sensibly felt. The King of Prussia had played a part which was an acknowledgment of his weakness in joining France, instead of openly declaring himself for the cause of Russia, which was also his. Then took place the defection of General Yorck, who commanded the Prussian contingent to Napoleon's army. The King of Prussia, though, no doubt, secretly satisfied with the conduct of General Yorck, had him tried and condemned; but shortly

* On one occasion during his flight, Napoleon owed his preservation from the Cossacks to a small body of Neapolitan cavalry that had contrived to keep itself mounted and in perfect order. The horses as well as the men from the southern extremity of Italy, from the banks of the Garigliano, the Volturno, and the Amato, resisted the inclemencies of the Russian winter much better than the French.—*Editor.*

after, that sovereign commanded in person the troops which had turned against ours. The defection of the Prussians produced a very ill effect, and it was easy to perceive, that other defections would follow. Napoleon, foreseeing the fatal chances which this event was likely to draw upon him, assembled a privy council, composed of the ministers and some of the grand officers of his household. MM. de Talleyrand and Cambacérès, and the president of the senate were present. Napoleon asked whether, in the complicated difficulties of our situation, it would be more advisable to negotiate for peace or to prepare for a new war. Cambacérès and Talleyrand gave their opinion in favour of peace, which, however, Napoleon would not hear of after a defeat; but the Duke de Feltre, knowing how to touch the susceptible chord in the mind of Bonaparte, said that he would consider the emperor dishonoured, if he consented to the abandonment of the smallest village which had been united to the empire by a senatus consultum. This opinion was adopted, and the war continued.

On Napoleon's return to Paris, the pope, who was still at Fontainebleau, determined to accede to an arrangement, and to sign an act, which the emperor conceived would terminate the differences between them. But being influenced by some of the cardinals, who had previously incurred the emperor's displeasure, Pius VII. disavowed the new concordate which he had been weak enough to grant; and the emperor, who then had more important affairs on his hands, dismissed the holy father, and published the act to which he had assented. Bonaparte had no leisure to pay attention to the new difficulties started by Pius VII.; his thoughts were wholly directed to the other side of the Rhine. He was unfortunate, and the powers with whom he was most intimately allied separated from him, as he might have expected, and Austria was not the last to imitate the example set by Prussia. In these difficult circumstances, the emperor, who, for some time past, had observed the talent and address of the Count Louis de Narbonne, sent him to Vienna, to supersede M. Otto; but the pacific propositions of M. de Narbonne were not listened to. Austria would not let slip the fair opportunity of taking revenge without endangering herself.

Napoleon now saw clearly, that since Austria had abandoned him, and refused her contingent, he should soon have all Europe arrayed against him. But this did not intimidate him.

Some of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine still remained faithful to him; and his preparations being completed, he proposed to resume in person the command of the army, which had been so miraculously reproduced. But before his departure, Napoleon, alarmed at the recollection of Mallet's attempt, and anxious to guard against any similar occurrence, during his absence, did not, as on former occasions, consign the reins of the national government to a council of ministers, pre-

sided over by the arch-chancellor. He made the Empress Maria Louisa regent, and appointed a council of regency to assist her.

MALLET'S CONSPIRACY.

"General Mallet was a gentleman of Franche-Comté, descended from an ancient family. Before the revolution, he had served in the musqueteers of the king's household. The part he took in the revolution was sincere, and he professed its principles with great fervour. He was from heart and soul a republican; and he had a head for conspiracies similar to those of which Greek and Roman history has transmitted to us the portraits.

"He rose to the rank of general during the war of the revolution; and long before the emperor ascended the throne, he had obtained a command in the interior. His mind was continually occupied with ideas of government, but he was always faithful to his political principles. It would be too long to relate here the details of a project, nearly similar to the one in question, which he wished to carry into execution while the emperor was in Prussia in 1807. His scheme was then called insane; but, nevertheless, the minister for the police thought it his duty to arrest him. After a long confinement in one of the gaols, he was transferred to what is in Paris called a Maison de Santé. In that kind of lock-up house, or prison-hospital, I found him on my appointment to the ministry, and in it I left him. The house is the last on the left in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, near the barrier of the throne.

"Mallet had long been the comrade of Lahorie in the army of the Rhine, and learned that he was at La Force through other prisoners who had been removed to the same Maison de Santé in which he was placed. He also knew that Guidal was in La Force: with that general he had been acquainted in the time of the Directory, having met him at the house of the Director Barras, who employed him on particular services. But before proceeding further with Mallet, I ought to tell by what fatality these two men were still in La Force, from which they ought to have been removed more than a fortnight before, in pursuance of orders which I had given for that purpose.

"Guidal had been arrested at Marseilles for an affair of jacobinism, and brought to Paris for examination. This was done in consequence of the representations of the magistracy of the department of the Var, where tranquillity had been so far menaced that the prefect found it necessary to resort to extraordinary measures. While Guidal was in Paris, inquiries into another affair which occurred at Marseilles led to the discovery of a spy system, which had been established by Frenchmen at a former period on the coast of Provence, for the benefit of the English admiral who cruised before Toulon. Guidal was accused of having visited the English fleet, and of having sent his son on board of it. This espionage was carried on for a number of years, without any thing occurring to excite a suspicion of its existence. In consequence of what transpired on the examination of

the persons arrested on this charge, application was made for the reconveyance of Guidal to Marseilles, in order to his being tried there; and a fortnight had elapsed since I made the necessary arrangements with the gendarmerie for his removal. The execution of my order was delayed; and consequently Guidal was still in the prison of La Force on the 23d of October.

"It was the same with respect to Lahorie. Since Moreau's trial, he had concealed himself in France. The emperor had frequently repeated the order for his departure, but M. Fouché allowed him to remain in Paris. Lahorie was a native of Brittany, and easily found protectors. The emperor ordered me to take measures to send him off to America, and as a preliminary step to arrest him. He was arrested accordingly. I lost no time in preparing for his departure; and he was to have been embarked at Nantz on board a vessel bound for the United States. More than a fortnight before, I had signed the papers necessary to authorize his removal to that port; but he remained in La Force, like Guidal, and in consequence of the same negligence.

"Mallet, whose mind was always occupied with his scheme for changing the government, thought he could not have a better opportunity for trying it than the present. The remote situation of the emperor and the armies seemed to smooth the difficulties which environed an enterprise so hazardous; and the success of which so materially depended on a supposition that could not be soon enough contradicted to destroy the credulity which was the leading principle of his plan.

"After meditating on the various means of which he might avail himself for the execution of his project, he fixed on the following: He supposed the emperor killed under the walls of Moscow on the 8th of October; he could not take any other day without incurring the risk of being contradicted by the arrival of the regular courier. The emperor being dead, he concluded that the senate ought to be invested with the supreme authority; and he therefore resolved to address himself in the name of that body to the nation and the army. In a proclamation to the soldiers, he deplored the death of the emperor; in another, after announcing the abolition of the imperial system and the restoration of the republic, he indicated the manner in which the government was to be reconstructed, described the branches into which public authority was to be divided, and named the directors. Attached to the different documents, there appeared the signatures of several senators whose names he recollected, but with whom he had ceased to have any intercourse for a great number of years. These signatures were all written by Mallet; and he drew up a decree in the name of the senate, and signed by the same senators, appointing himself governor of Paris, and commander of the troops of the first military division. He also drew up other decrees in the same form, which purported to promote to higher ranks all the military officers he intended to make instruments in the execution of his enterprise.

"General Hulin had at this time the command of Paris, and Adjutant-commandant Doucet was the chief of his staff. Mallet, by one of his decrees, continued Doucet as chief of the staff, raised him to

the rank of brigadier-general, and gave him an order for one hundred thousand francs on the public treasury, payable at sight.

"Behind Mallet's Maison de Santé were the barracks, which the 10th cohort of the national guard occupied, and which also served as a depot for the 32d regiment of the line. This 10th cohort was commanded by Colonel Soulier, one of the brave old officers of the army of Italy, but unfortunately as simple as he was brave. He had arrived but a few days before from Spain, and was appointed to the command of the 10th cohort.

"Mallet was married, and his wife lived at a considerable distance from Paris. She came frequently to town to visit him, but never saw any reason to suspect that the planning of any extraordinary enterprise occupied his mind.

"A Spanish priest, who was for some time confined in the same house as Mallet, having been set at liberty, took an apartment for himself in the Place-Royale; and there remained with Mallet an abbé, named Lafond, who had been long under arrest on some charge connected with ecclesiastical affairs. Being in company with this abbé all day long, he found it necessary to confide in him. Two young men of Lafond's acquaintance were then in Paris, and he kept up intimate communications with them, but did not disclose the plan. One, a young corporal of the Paris guard, was a native of the same part of the country as the abbé; the other, a young Vendean, was studying law at Paris. The latter being of an intriguing character, became a favourite with Mallet; who, on the day before that which he selected for the execution of his project, directed him to go to the Palais-Royal, and purchase a tri-coloured scarf. At the same time he gave him a letter to his wife, in which he directed her to put his uniforms and his arms in his portmanteau, and also the uniform for an aide-de-camp, which had been left with her (probably by design), and to deliver the portmanteau and the key to the bearer.

"In obedience to Mallet's orders, the young Vendean carried the portmanteau to the lodgings of the Spanish priest in the Place-Royale. Next day, the 22d, Mallet invited the corporal and the student to dine with him, and the Abbé Lafond; and when the party broke up, he told the two young men to go to the Spanish priest's, and wait for him there.

"At ten at night, after the doors were locked, Mallet and Lafond let themselves out by the window of their apartment, which was on the ground-floor, and adjacent to the garden. The wall at the end of the garden was not very high, and when they got over it they were in the street. Having accomplished this without creating the least alarm, they proceeded on foot to the Spanish priest's lodgings in the Place-Royale. Mallet sent for punch; and when he saw that the liquor began to operate on the heads of the young men, he spoke to them of his plan as a thing long ago agreed upon between him and the senate, but which was only to be executed in the case of the emperor's death, and of that event he had but just been informed. In this way he imposed upon his two dupes, who knew him to be dissatisfied with the imperial government, but who never before had heard him hint at any thing of the kind he then proposed.

"Mallet showed them the instructions which he said had been sent to him by the committee of the government established at the Luxem-

bourg: his appointment as governor of Paris; a credit granted him to a considerable amount on the treasury; and, finally, an order for the immediate installation of new authorities in the place of those acting under the imperial government. All these documents were of his own fabrication. Without giving his auditors time for reflection, he opened his portmanteau, dressed himself in the uniform of a general-officer, made the young corporal put on the aide-de-camp's uniform, and decked out the young Vendean in the tri-coloured scarf.

"At one o'clock in the morning Mallet left the Spanish priest's apartment, accompanied by only one of the three persons I have already named, and proceeded to Popincourt-barracks, where the 10th cohort was quartered. Strangers were not admitted into the barracks of Paris during night; Mallet therefore stated that he had particular business with the commanding officer. He was conducted to the unfortunate Soulier, who was then living out of his quarters: he was sick, and was not able to receive Mallet.

"Mallet depended for the success of his enterprise entirely upon the trick he had to play here, and he certainly performed it dexterously. Without giving his name, he entered Soulier's bedroom: the colonel, after apologizing for not getting up, asked the general what commands he had for him. Mallet said, 'I see you are not informed of what has happened; we have had the misfortune to lose the emperor.' On hearing this, Soulier burst into tears; and Mallet, who affected to participate in his grief, proceeded to say, 'The government is changed, and here is the order which General Mallet has this moment given me to deliver to you.

"Soulier read the paper. It purported to be an order signed by General Mallet, requiring the colonel to muster the cohort under arms, to notify the events which had taken place, and to follow punctually whatever directions might be given by General Lamotte, who was the bearer of the order, and who had received instructions from the committee of the senate invested with the government. Thus Mallet passed himself off to Soulier as General Lamotte. Soulier saluted the general, sent for the adjutant of his cohort, ordered him to call out the troops, and in the presence of the pretended General Lamotte, expressed his regret at not being able to accompany that officer to the barracks.

"Mallet then proceeded in the character of Lamotte to the square of the barracks, where the troops were drawn up. He caused the account of the emperor's death, and the proclamations of the senate to the nation and the army, announcing the change of the government, to be read to the cohort by the light of torches. During all this scene it never struck any individual to question the truth of the facts; but certainly nothing could be more clear than the terms in which Mallet explained every thing.

"The pretended General Lamotte ordered out the cohort, which was one thousand two hundred strong, without requiring the ten thousand reserve ball-cartridges which, according to the practice of the garrison of Paris, were kept in the colonel's quarters, or making the wooden flints be changed which the soldiers put in their muskets for exercise.

"Mallet marched off at the head of the cohort, leaving only a single company in the barracks to accompany Soulier to the Hotel-de-Ville,

where the colonel was ordered to wait for him, and to make arrangements for the reception of the government committee. He did not neglect to deliver to the colonel the commission by which he was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, accompanied by an order on the treasury for one hundred thousand francs.

" The 23d of October fell upon a Friday, which was parade-day for the garrison of Paris. Since the emperor's absence the parade had always taken place every day in the Place Vendome. It was necessary for the troops of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine to leave their quarters early, in order to reach the Place Vendome in time. The appearance of the 10th cohort marching on the Friday morning with arms and baggage, therefore, excited no surprise.

" Mallet marched the cohort through the Rue Saint-Antoine to the gate of La Force. He ordered it to be opened, and made Guidal and Lahorie be brought to him. He then ordered the keeper to shut the gate, and to allow no other person to come out. Having embraced Lahorie and Guidal, he informed them of the emperor's death, and what had taken place in consequence of that event. He then said, ' There is no time to be lost. Here are your instructions ; take this corps, and execute them. I need only half a company to go with me to take possession of the government of Paris, where I shall expect to hear from you. We shall meet afterwards at the Hotel-de-Ville.'

" Lahorie took the story of the emperor's death for granted : he had been in the confidence of General Moreau, and knew all his projects ; he also remembered the 18th Brumaire, in which he had acted a part. These ideas recurred to his mind, and aided by the appearance of Mallet in his embroidered uniform, and followed by a regular corps, left no room for suspicion. He read the orders, which seemed to come in an official form to him, and took the command of the cohort, leaving only fifty men with Mallet, who hastened to take possession of the prefecture of the police. Mallet found M. Pasquier, who was in the habit of rising early, already at his post. He arrested him, and installed the Vendean student and the Abbé Lafond in his office. Notwithstanding the situation in which the prefect of the police was placed, he found means to send one of his clerks to me to inform me of what was going on. This clerk, however, when he came to my hotel, merely insisted upon seeing me immediately, and said not a word more to any one. As he was known to the porter of the hotel, he might, as a preliminary step, have caused the gate to be shut. This he did not do ; and he was informed of the order I had left, when I went to bed at five in the morning, that I was not to be called except for business of importance. As he came on foot, he was not long at my hotel before General Lahorie, who appeared to have followed close at his heels, he entered like a shot, as I have already related.

" Lahorie despatched General Guidal, who had accompanied him, to arrest the minister of war ; but as the sergeant, who was to have assassinated me, had not kept his word, he ran after Guidal, whom he overtook in the Rue de Saints-Pères, and brought him back to my hotel with his detachment. It was solely owing to this incident that the war-minister missed having an adventure similar to mine.

" On parting with Lahorie at the gate of La Force, Mallet sent by soldiers of the 10th cohort packets to the commanding officers of two regiments of the Parisian paid-guard. These packets contained the same proclamations which had been read to the cohort when he called

it out; and besides, minute instructions as to the duty required of the two regiments.

"He ordered one regiment to close all the barriers of Paris, and to allow no person to pass through them. This was done; so that in all the neighbouring towns from which assistance, in case of need, might have been obtained, nothing was known of the transactions in Paris. He sent the other regiments to occupy the bank, the treasury, and different ministerial offices. At the treasury some resistance was made. The minister of that department was on the spot, and he employed the guard of his household in maintaining his authority. But in the whole of the two regiments of the Paris-guard not a single objection was started to the execution of Mallet's orders

"While Mallet was thus acting through the agency of others on different points, he proceeded himself along the Rue Saint-Honoré with the party of troops he had reserved for himself. He turned the corner of the street which leads to the Place Vendome. Here he detached from his troop an officer with twenty-five men, whom he ordered to form in order of battle in front of the office of the staff, which was the house in the angle of the Place Vendome on the left, and to allow no person to come out.

"He gave the officer a packet to be delivered to Adjutant-general Doucet. The packet contained the documents already described; namely, the proclamation announcing the death of the emperor, the decree of the senate, Mallet's appointment to the office of governor of Paris, and a brigadier-general's commission, with an order for one hundred thousand francs to Doucet. To this packet were added instructions, in the form of a confidential letter, in which Mallet expressed great satisfaction at the connexion which their relative duties in the public service would now establish between them. He directed Doucet to transmit certain orders to the troops at Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain, and Versailles, and also to those in Paris: of the last he only accepted the paid-guard, which he had already employed, and the 10th cohort, to which he had assigned the task of arresting the prefect, and the minister of the police, and also General Hulin. He added, that being aware of the intimate relation subsisting between him and General Hulin, he wished to relieve him from the disagreeable duty of arresting him, and would take that business on himself. At the same time, he warned Doucet to take care that no opposition was made to the arrest; and desired him to detain in front of his office, until further orders, the picket commanded by the officer who was the bearer of the packet.

"Adjutant-general Doucet was in bed when the officer arrived. As the officer refused to communicate with any third person, he was introduced into the bedroom of the adjutant-general, who, suddenly roused from his slumbers, was quite at a loss what to think of the despatch presented to him. He read the documents several times, and asked the officer of the 10th cohort who brought them what had occurred in his barracks. The young man related all that he knew: he had seen his corps called out under arms; had followed Mallet to La Force; had seen Lahorie and Guidal brought out; and had continued on with the rest of the cohort to the Place Vendome, whence Mallet proceeded to General Hulin, with whom he then was; 'for,' added the officer, 'I can see our detachment in front of General Hulin's quarters.' And, in fact, it was easy to see the party from the window of M. Doucet's room.

"It was impossible for Doucet to doubt the existence of an enterprise, the details of which Mallet had communicated to him in his instructions. The project, it was true, might be called absurd; but it was acted upon. Of this he could not fail to be assured, both by what he saw, and by what the young officer, who was himself one of the agents, told him: nevertheless, he not only did not stir a step to counteract what was going on, but he completely lost his self-possession, and became alarmed about his responsibility. Mallet had ordered him to arrest M. Laborde, whose activity he doubtless dreaded. Doucet sent for M. Laborde, who had apartments in the same hotel. They were reading the papers together when Mallet, returning from General Hulin's quarters, entered the room in which they were. He asked Doucet why Laborde was not under arrest, and ordered him to surrender himself. Laborde resisted; and some discussion arose, which terminated by his leaving the room, saying, 'In order to place myself under arrest, I must go hence; for this is not my apartment.' Going down stairs, he observed the inspector-general of the police, who had come to the office of the garrison-staff in quest of information. The picket of the 10th cohort stationed at the door, in pursuance of the orders which had been given by Mallet, refused him admittance; but Laborde called from the stairs to let him pass. The soldiers, who knew Laborde's person, and had long been accustomed to obey him, readily complied. Laborde told the inspector-general what was going on, and conducted him to Doucet's apartment, where Mallet still was.

"In a moment the scene changed. Mallet could no longer maintain his deception in the presence of the inspector, who, addressing him in a loud tone, said, 'Monsieur Mallet, you had no authority to leave the house where you were detained, without my permission:' then turning to Adjutant-general Doucet, he added, 'There is something under all this: arrest him in the first place, while I go to the ministry, and get an explanation of the business.' Mallet stood with his back against the fireplace of the room. Finding that all was lost, he grasped a pistol which he had in his coat-pocket. The other three saw the motion he made reflected in the opposite glass, and they immediately seized and disarmed him.

"What had happened at General Hulin's, whither Mallet had been before he came to Doucet, was learned after his arrest.

"Mallet, who was accompanied by a captain of the 10th cohort, asked to speak to General Hulin in private.

"The general came out of his official cabinet to receive him. Mallet said he had a disagreeable commission to execute, as he was ordered by the minister of the police to arrest him, and put the seals on his papers. General Hulin demanded to see the order; upon which Mallet said, 'Let us go into your cabinet, and I will show it you.' Hulin went first; Mallet, accompanied by the captain of the cohort, followed, with his hand on a pistol which was in his pocket. At the moment Hulin turned round to see the order, Mallet fired the pistol in his face, and he instantly fell. The general was not killed; but the ball, which entered by his cheek, remained in his head, and could not be extracted. Mallet then turned round, and proceeded to Adjutant-general Doucet's, without the captain, who witnessed this transaction, and had become an accomplice in it, not seeming to think it any way extraordinary."—*Memoirs of the Duke de Rovigo.*

NOTES ON THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN, AND THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND.

We will here avail ourselves of a masterly sketch of the great campaign of 1812, which has recently been written by a military gentleman in this country, and which is alike admirable for its brevity and its correctness. We shall afterwards avail ourselves of some other equally valuable and authentic sources of information respecting this frightful tragedy, and to all which we shall add a few notes regarding Napoleon's treatment of the Poles.

"Before Napoleon set off from Paris for the Russian expedition, he directed Maret, Duke of Bassano, to write a letter to Lord Castlereagh proposing negotiations for peace, on the basis of *uti possidetis*. He was willing this time to let Sicily remain under Ferdinand, and Portugal under the House of Braganza, but he insisted on Spain being secured to his brother Joseph. It must be observed that Lord Wellington had just taken possession of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, and was advancing into Spain towards Madrid, which he shortly after entered upon gaining the battle of Salamanca. The English minister immediately replied, that England's engagements with the Spanish Cortes, acting in the name of King Ferdinand VII., rendered the acknowledgment of Joseph impossible.

"The Russian minister, Prince Kourakin, still remained at Paris. Early in May he presented an official note to the Duke of Bassano, stating that the matters in dispute between the two empires might easily be made the subject of amicable negotiations, provided the French troops should evacuate Pomerania and the duchy of Warsaw, where they could be for no other purpose than that of threatening the frontiers of Russia. Napoleon pretended to be exceedingly angry at this demand, which he said was insolent, adding that he was not used to be addressed in such a style, and to have his movements dictated by a foreign sovereign; and he sent Prince Kourakin his passports. On the 4th of May he himself set off with his empress for Dresden, where he had invited the kings of his own creation, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Westphalia, and his other tributaries, to meet him. The Emperor of Austria also repaired to Dresden with his empress. The King of Prussia came too, as he had just signed a treaty with Napoleon, by which he placed twenty thousand men at his disposal in the approaching campaign. Austria agreed to furnish thirty thousand men to act against Russian Poland. Napoleon sent the Count de Narbonne to Wilna, where the Emperor Alexander then was, to invite him to come to Dres-

REFERENCE.
The double dotted lines represent nearly the positions of the Russian lines soon after the entrance of Buonaparte into Moscow viz. A Army under Essen, B Wittgenstein C Alexander Wurtemberg, D Army under Kutusoff E Tormasoff F Sacken Kluchen and Tormasoff. The single dotted lines shadowed round these mark out the boundaries from whence the Cossacks and light troops made incursions upon the French positions and re-enforcements.
NORTH SEA
HOLLAND
FRANCE
PRUSSIA
POLAND
GERMANY
AUSTRIA
RUSSIA
BALTIC
Moscow
PARIS & MOSCOW
THE FRENCH ARMY

den, but Alexander declined. After brilliant festivals, Napoleon quitted Dresden for Thorn, where he arrived on the 2d of June. His immense army was assembled chiefly between the Vistula and the Niemen, which latter river formed the boundary of the Russian empire. There were two hundred and seventy thousand French, eighty thousand Germans of the Confederation of the Rhine, thirty thousand Poles under Prince Poniatowski, twenty thousand Italians under Eugène, and twenty thousand Prussians. On the 22d of June Napoleon issued a proclamation to his soldiers, declaring, 'that the second war of Poland had begun. The fate of Russia must be fulfilled. Let us cross the Niemen, and carry the war into her own territory,' &c. On the 24th and 25th of June Napoleon's army, in three large masses, crossed the Niemen, and entered Lithuania without meeting with any opposition. The Russian army, under General Barclay de Tolli, one hundred and twenty thousand strong, evacuated Wilna, and retired to the banks of the Dwina. Another Russian army, eighty thousand strong, under Prince Bagration, was stationed near the Dnieper. On the 28th of June Napoleon entered Wilna, where he remained till the 16th of July. He there received a deputation from the diet of the duchy of Warsaw, entreating him to proclaim the union and independence of Poland. Napoleon's answer was still cold and cautious: he told them that he had guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria that part of Poland which he still retained; while for the rest they must depend chiefly on their own efforts.*

"In the mean time, the French soldiers treated Lithuania as an enemy's country. The provisions ordered by Napoleon to follow his army not having arrived, and the Russians having removed all their stores, the French and German soldiers went about marauding, plundering alike the mansions of the nobility and the huts of the peasants, feeding their horses on the green corn, insulting the women, and killing those who resented such treatment.† Lithuania, a poor and thinly inhabited country, which had suffered from the bad harvest of the preceding year (1811), was utterly devastated. At the same time, disorder and demoralization spread fearfully through the enormous masses of the invaders; disease thinned their ranks; twenty-five thousand patients were crowded within Wilna in a few weeks, where there was not accommodation for one-third of the number; heavy rains rendered the roads impassable, and ten thousand horses were lost.

"After partial engagements at Mohilow and Witepsk, the Russians continued their retreat upon Smolensk, in the interior of Russia. Thither Napoleon determined to follow them. 'Forward marches alone,' he observed, 'can keep such a vast army in its present condition together; to halt or retire would be the signal of dissolution. It is an army of attack, not of defence; an army

* De Pradt, *Ambassade de Pologne.* † Oginski and Segur.

of operation, not of position. We must advance upon Moscow, and strike a blow in order either to obtain peace, or resting quarters and supplies.'* He crossed the Dnieper, and entered Russia Proper with about one hundred and eighty thousand men, leaving a body of reserve at Wilna and the corps of Macdonald on the Dwina, towards Riga. In his march through Lithuania, no less than one hundred thousand men had dropped off from his ranks, and were either dead or sick, or had been taken prisoners by the Cossacks, or were straggling and marauding about the country.

"On the 16th of August the two hostile armies met under the walls of Smolensk. But the Russians, after carrying off or destroying their provisions, and allowing time to the inhabitants to retire, evacuated the place, which their rear-guard set on fire. They continued their retreat upon Moscow, whither Napoleon followed them. The battle of Borodino, near the banks of the river Moskwa, was fought on the 7th of September. The two armies were nearly equal in numbers, one hundred and twenty thousand each. After a dreadful slaughter on both sides, the Russian general sounded a retreat, and the French were left in possession of the bloody field; but they scarcely took any prisoners or guns: fifteen thousand Russians and about ten thousand Frenchmen lay dead. Next day the Russian army continued its retreat; and on the 14th of September it passed through Moscow, which most of the inhabitants had already evacuated. The French entered the city on the same day, and found it deserted, except by the convicts and some of the lowest class, who lingered behind for the sake of plunder. On the evening of this day a fire broke out in the coachmakers' street, but it was put down in the night. The next day, 15th, Napoleon took up his residence in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the Tzars. On the following night the fire burst out again in different parts of the city, and no exertions of the French could stop it: the wind spread the flames in all quarters, and on the third day Napoleon was obliged to leave the Kremlin, where he incurred imminent danger. The fire raged till the 19th, when it abated, after destroying seven thousand six hundred and eighty-two houses, about four-fifths of the town. The conflagration has been attributed to a premeditated plan of the Russians; but Count Rostopchin, the governor, has positively denied this. 'Several individuals,' he says, 'set fire to their own houses, rather than leave them in possession of the invaders, and the French soldiers seeking for plunder, or for wine and spirits in the cellars, where they got intoxicated, did the rest.'†

"The markets of Moscow used to be supplied, not from the immediate neighbourhood, but from a considerable distance in the interior, and especially from the southern districts towards

* Segur.

† *La Vérité sur l'Incendie de Moscow*, par le Comte Rostopchin, Paris, 1823.

Napoleon leaving the Kremlin.

Vol. ii. page 194.

Death of Poniatowski.

Vol. ii. page 268.

Kaluga, where the Russian army was now posted. The French, therefore, could get no provisions, and they were obliged to live chiefly on the flesh of their horses, salted.

"Napoleon remained among the ruins of Moscow for five weeks. He had sent Lauriston to the Russian head-quarters with a letter for the Emperor Alexander, which was forwarded to Petersburg, but no answer was returned. Napoleon was evidently deceived in his calculations upon the temper of Alexander, and of the Russian people. On the 19th of October, seeing no chance of making peace, Napoleon began his retreat. The weather was fine, and moderately cold at this time. He attempted first to retire by Kaluga, where he expected to find provisions; but the stout resistance opposed to him at Malo Yaroslavetz induced him reluctantly to turn again to the road by Vareïa and Viazma to Smolensk, by which he had advanced. He was closely followed by the Russian army, but was more especially harassed by swarms of Cossacks under the hetman Platoff. His rear divisions had sharp engagements at Viazma and at the passage of the Wop.* His army dwindled away apace, through fatigue, privations, and the constant attacks of the Cossacks. It had left Moscow one hundred and twenty thousand strong, but was now reduced to one-half that number of fighting men: the rest formed a confused and disorderly mass in the rear, with an immense train of baggage and artillery. In this condition they were overtaken on the 6th of November by the Russian winter, which that year set in earlier than usual. The emaciated frames of soldiers and horses could not resist this fresh enemy, and they dropped by thousands on the road, where they were soon buried under the snow. The bitter frosty nights killed thousands more; but the winter only completed the destruction of the army, which had begun during the advance in the summer."

At last the French reached Smolensk, where they found their stores, which had come up so far. Many had not tasted a piece of bread or biscuit since they had advanced through that town three months before. On the 14th of November Napoleon left Smolensk with about forty thousand men able to carry arms; his rear divisions, so harassed by repeated attacks from the Russians, that when he arrived at Orcsa, in Lithuania, he had only twelve thousand men with arms in their hands, and of forty thousand horses there were scarcely three thousand left. In this plight he reached the banks of the Berezina, where he was joined by a corps of reserve of nearly fifty thousand men, under Victor and Oudinot. The passage of this river on the 26th and 27th of November cost him about one-half of his army thus reinforced. It was on the 3d of December that Napoleon arrived at Malodeczno, whence he issued the famous 29th bulletin, which came like a clap of thunder to awaken Europe. This time he told

* Gl' Italiani in Russia.

the whole truth in all its sternness: except the guards, indeed, he had no longer an army. At Smorgoni, where he arrived on the 5th of December, he took leave of his generals, left the command of the army, such as it was, to Murat, and set off in a sledge with Caulaincourt on his return to Paris. He arrived at Warsaw on the 10th, where he had that curious conversation with De Pradt, which the latter has so humorously related. Continuing his route, he passed through Dresden on the 14th, and arrived at Paris on the 18th of December, at night. The remains of his unfortunate army were collected by Murat on the line of the Vistula. In General Berthier's report, dated 16th of December, a dismal picture is given of the state of the troops after Napoleon left them: 'Plunder, insubordination, and disorganization, have reached the highest pitch.' The loss of the French and their auxiliaries in this campaign is reckoned by Boutourlin at one hundred and twenty-five thousand slain, one hundred and thirty-two thousand dead of fatigue, hunger, disease, and cold, and one hundred and ninety-three thousand prisoners, including three thousand officers and forty-eight generals. It is stated in the St. Petersburg Gazette that the bodies burnt in the spring after the thaw, in Russia Proper and Lithuania, amounted to three hundred and eight thousand, of which, of course, a considerable proportion were Russians. In the Berezina alone, and the adjoining marshes, thirty-six thousand dead bodies were said to have been found. The French left behind nine hundred pieces of cannon and twenty-five thousand waggons, cassoons, &c."*

In all the earlier stages of this fatal campaign, the plan of the Russians was very wisely one of retreat. They were, however, decidedly beaten in one or two of the great engagements they hazarded; but whether fighting in a general action, or, during their retreat, throwing off the different corps of their hot pursuers, the steadiness, the almost impenetrable phalanxes of the Russian infantry, excited universal admiration. We shall avail ourselves of information received from the Prince of Ischitella, who was then the Marquis Giuliano, and on the staff of Murat, King of Naples, whose particular favour and full confidence he enjoyed.

From the moment the French crossed the Niemen, Murat, as usual, led the van with his formidable cavalry. To defend themselves from his charges, the Russian infantry formed into squares, which the French never could break. The Russian infantry would sometimes make this stand two or three times in one day; falling back each time with coolness and precision, and without any confusion. Owing to the rapidity of Murat's advance, his heavier artillery could not keep up with him, and his lighter cannon seemed to produce hardly any impression on those masses of iron men. The Russian infantry withstood charge

* See article *Bonaparte*, in Cyclopædia, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

after charge—and the onslaughts of Murat were unparalleled for their vigour and fierceness, and yet he could never make the slightest impression upon the squares. The utmost that Murat could do now and then was to cut off a corner or angle of those masses of resolute men; but even partial advantages like these were never obtained by the gallant King of Naples without tremendous sacrifices.

Wherever there was a redoubt to defend, the Russian infantry accomplished it heroically. Even after their defeats at Witepsk and Smolensk, they made a most determined stand on the great and bloody field of Moskwa. One redoubt there, which was only defended by nine hundred men, cost the French an enormous price. In the words of Labaume, who was on the staff of Eugène Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, "We followed up the enemy through a wood, and, arriving at an open space, saw long columns of Russians defiling. These columns took up a position on an extensive plain on the summit of a hill about half a league distant, where, it was said, Prince Kutusoff had resolved to risk a decisive battle. On our right, we saw below us the abbey of Kolotskoï, the numerous towers of which gave it the appearance of a town. The coloured tiles, with which it was covered, reflecting the rays of the sun through the thick dust caused by our immense cavalry, served to heighten still more the gloomy and savage aspect which the whole surrounding country presented. Intending to arrest our progress here, the Russians had devastated in the most frightful manner the whole plain on which we were forced to encamp. The corn, though yet green, had been cut, the woods destroyed, and the villages burnt,in a word, we found no food or our horses, and no shelter for ourselves.

"We halted on a hill. During this time the centre of the army vigorously pursued the enemy, and obliged them to retire upon the eminence which they had intrenched. Till nearly two o'clock in the afternoon we remained inactive; when the viceroy, followed only by his staff, reconnoitred the approaches to the Russian position. He had scarcely commenced, when our dragoons, placed as sharpshooters, announced the approach of Napoleon. In a moment the name of the emperor passed from mouth to mouth, and every one awaited his arrival with the greatest impatience. He soon made his appearance, followed by his principal officers, and took his station on an eminence whence he could easily command the whole camp of the enemy. After having long and attentively regarded their position, and carefully observed all the adjacent country, he began to hum some insignificant tune. Having then conversed a moment with the viceroy, he mounted his horse, and proceeded to concert the plan of attack with the other generals.

"The viceroy now ordered the divisions of Delzons and

Broussier to advance: the Italian guard, which had been left in the rear, being placed in reserve. These two divisions had scarcely reached the eminence whence they could attack the Russians, when a brisk fire of musketry commenced on our right, between the sharpshooters of Gerard's division (third division, first corps) and those of the enemy. At first our troops advanced close to the ravine which separated us from the enemy, but superior numbers obliged them to retire.

"The Russians had a redoubt towards the right extremity of our army, the destructive fire of which carried consternation through the ranks. This redoubt had been constructed to strengthen their left wing, which was the weakest part of their intrenched camp. Napoleon understood this, and saw the necessity of taking that redoubt. The honour of the affair was confided to Compans's division (fourth division, first corps), and these gallant men advanced to the attack with an intrepidity which ensured the success of the enterprise. In the mean time, Prince Poniatowski manœuvred on our right with his cavalry, to turn the enemy's position; and when he was at a proper distance, Compans's division attacked the redoubt, and succeeded in carrying it after an hour's fighting. The Russians, completely routed, abandoned the neighbouring woods, and retreating in disorder towards the principal eminence, rejoined the centre of their army.

"The division of Compans, in proving itself worthy of the brilliant enterprise with which it had been intrusted, purchased that honour with considerable loss. The acquisition of this important position cost the lives of twelve hundred of our men, more than half of whom remained dead in the intrenchments which they had so gloriously carried. As Napoleon was on the following morning reviewing the 61st regiment, which had suffered most, he asked the colonel what he had done with one of his battalions? 'Sire,' replied he, '*it is in the redoubt.*'

"The possession of the redoubt did not in the least determine the success of the battle. Before the general engagement began, Napoleon wished to turn the left wing of the Russians; but foreseeing this manœuvre, they had placed the whole of the corps of Tutschkoff (the third) and the militia of Moscow in ambuscade behind the thick underwood which covered the extremity of their left; while the 2d, 4th, and 6th corps formed two lines of infantry in the rear, protected by the works which connected this grand redoubt with the wood. Our brave light troops recommenced the attack with redoubled vigour; and although the day was nearly closed, the fire on both sides continued with equal fury. At the same time, several villages on fire to the right spread around a frightful glare; which the cries of the combatants, and the flames which were vomited from a thousand brazen mouths, and which carried every where desolation and death, completed the horror of the scene. Our corps,

ranged in order of battle, received with intrepidity the fire of the enemy, and coolly closed ranks whenever a cannon-ball had knocked down any of our comrades.

"In the mean time, the night becoming darker and darker, caused as to slacken our fire without cooling our ardour; and our soldiers, uncertain of their aim, reserved their strength and ammunition for the morrow. Scarcely had we ceased firing, when the Russians, whose camp resembled an immense amphitheatre, lighted up numberless fires. The whole of that camp was one continuous blaze of light, which not only presented a grand and sublime aspect, but formed a striking contrast with our bivouac, where the men, unable to get any wood, reposed in utter darkness, with no sounds to cheer them, and listening only to the groans of the wounded and of the dying.

"Our head-quarters were established on the spot where the Italian guard was placed in reserve. Lying down in the underwood, we slept soundly after the fatigues of the day, in spite of an impetuous wind, and a very cold rain." "The next morning (the 6th of September), at daybreak, the viceroy ordered me to complete a plan of the ground, by inspecting all our line, and approaching the enemy as nearly as possible." "In executing my orders, I advanced, and discovered that the Russian camp was pitched beyond the river Kologha, upon a narrow eminence, and that its left was very much weakened by the loss of the redoubt on the preceding evening. In front of the camp, and opposite to us, was the village of Borodino, an excessively strong position,* situated at the confluence of a little rivulet, with the Kologha. Upon this eminence were two grand redoubts about two hundred toises from each other; that on the right had fired on us the evening before; that on the left was built on the ruins of a village which they had destroyed for this purpose. The latter redoubt communicated with Borodino by three bridges constructed upon the Kologha. This village, and the rivulet which was in front, constituted the first line of the enemy's fortification.

"The Italian cavalry had crossed the rivulet of Borodino at the extremity of our left; but the village situated on an eminence, was defended by a numerous corps of Russian troops. All this ground was exposed to the fire of their grand redoubts, as well as that of several smaller masked batteries along the river. The enemy was perfectly aware that our success on

* Napoleon said in his bulletin, "The viceroy who formed our left, attacked and took the village of Borodino, which the enemy could not defend." Prince Kutusoff, on the contrary, wrote to Alexander, "The position which I have chosen in the village of Borodino, is one of the best that can be found in a flat country. It is to be wished that the French would attack us in this position." We made the assault, and the village was so well defended, that General Plausanne, and Colonel Demay of the artillery, officers of our corps, were killed in the commencement of the action. The Russians have given to this bloody day the name of the *Battle of Borodino.—Labaume.*

the preceding evening had enabled us to cross the Kologha on the right, and push forward the greater part of our troops to the rear of the eminence on which their principal redoubt was placed.

"We passed the rest of the day in reconnoitring the position of the Russians. General Danthouard caused the redoubts which were placed too much in the rear, to be reconstructed; and on the left some epaulments were thrown up, where cannon might be placed in battery. In fact, all was prepared for a decisive engagement, when, towards evening, the emperor sent a proclamation to the chiefs of the corps, with orders not to read it to the soldiers till the next day, should they then come to action; for although the position was both advantageous and strong, the enemy had so often declined giving battle, that it was to be feared they would again act as they had done at Witepsk and Volontina. Here, however, our rapid marches, and the distance of our reserves, had equalized the forces of the opposite parties, and the Russians were forced to come to action, if they wished to save Moscow, from which we were distant not more than twenty-six leagues. In addition to this, the fatigue of our soldiers, and the worn-out condition of our horses, seemed to promise the Russians an easy victory. We, on the other hand, were quite certain that we must either conquer or perish." "Although, exhausted with hard work, we felt the want of sleep, there were many among us so enamoured of glory, and so sure of success on the morrow, that they could not sleep. Suddenly, before daybreak, the drums beat, the officers cried to arms, the soldiers ran to their stations, and we all awaited the signal for the onslaught. The colonels placing themselves in the centre of their regiments, ordered the trumpets to sound, and every captain, surrounded by his company, read aloud the following address of Napoleon:

"Soldiers! This is the battle you have so much desired. The victory depends upon you! It is now *necessary to us*. It will give us abundance of good winter-quarters, and a prompt return to our country. Behave as at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, at Smolensk, and let the latest posterity recount with pride your conduct on this day; let them say of you, 'He was at the great battle under the walls of Moscow.'"

The positive truths contained in these short and energetic words had a great effect, and the French were most eager for the combat. Labaume continues—

"Such were the feelings of the army, when a radiant sun, bursting from the thickest fog, shone on many of us for the last time. It is reported, that at this sight Napoleon exclaimed to those around him, 'Behold the sun of Austerlitz!' The army hailed the happy presage, and was electrified by the glorious recollection.

"The grand manœuvres which the first and fifth corps, commanded by the Prince of Eckmuhl, made at the extremities of our right, clearly proved that the decisive combat was about to commence. The armies were in sight of each other, the cannoneers at their pieces, and all awaited in anxious silence the signal of attack. At length (7th September), at six o'clock precisely, the firing of a cannon from our principal battery announced that we were engaged. One hundred and twenty pieces of artillery placed on our right answered the signal. General Pernetti placed himself at the head of the division of Compans, with a battery of thirty pieces, and forcing his way through the wood, turned the intrenchments of the enemy. At half-past six General Compans was wounded, and at seven the Prince of Eckmuhl had his horse killed under him. The Duke of Elchingen likewise advanced, and protected by sixty cannon which General Fouché had placed in battery on the preceding evening, attacked the centre of the Russian army. He was supported by all the horse of Latour-Maubourg, which charged the masses of the Russians, who were formed into squares around the grand redoubt. At the same time the division of Delzons advanced upon the village of Borodino, to which the Russians had already set fire. Our men then crossed the rivulet, reached the village, and, after hard work, carried it at the point of the bayonet."

In checking an absurd advance made by the French soldiers from Borodino, General Plausanne was hit in the middle of the body by a ball. At this point of the combat, or shortly after, Kutusoff thought all was lost, but he made another desperate effort to maintain the cause of his country, and his military reputation, which last was based on the service of half a century.

"He renewed the combat, and attacked with all his forces the strong positions which had just been carried. Three hundred pieces of cannon arranged on these heights spread devastation and death among his ranks, and his disheartened soldiery perished at the feet of those ramparts which they had themselves raised, and which they regarded as the bulwark of Moscow, their venerable and sacred city.

"The 30th regiment, attacked on every side, was unable to keep the redoubt which it had carried, not being supported by the third division, which was scarcely yet drawn up in order of battle. This gallant regiment, commanded by General Bonami, was therefore constrained to yield to the superior force which overwhelmed it, and rejoined its division with the loss of its general. That division, with General Gerard's, continued to maintain itself on the hill, and to withstand the utmost efforts of the Russians.

"The enemy, encouraged by the success he had just obtained, brought forward his reserve, with the hope of striking a decisive blow. It was partly composed of the imperial guard. Having

concentrated all his forces, he attacked our centre, on which our right had now wheeled. For a moment we feared that our lines would have been broken, and that we should have lost the redoubt we had gained the preceding evening. Our troops however, approached the intrenchments of the enemy, when a sudden discharge of grape-shot from the whole of the Russian artillery spread ruin and terror through our ranks."

The French troops were now wellnigh falling back, but the presence of mind of Eugène Beauharnais kept them tolerably steady. The next movement was a brilliant charge of Napoleon's cuirassiers. Labaume continues—

"At this instant a division of cuirassiers, from the centre of the army, rushed on the redoubt, and offered to our astonished sight a grand and sublime spectacle. The whole eminence which overhung us appeared in an instant a mass of moving iron: the glitter of the arms, and the rays of the sun, reflected from the helmets and cuirasses of the dragoons, mingled with the flames of the cannon that on every side vomited forth death, gave to the redoubts the appearance of a volcano in the midst of the army.

"The enemy's infantry, placed near this point, behind a ravine, kept up so destructive a fire on our cuirassiers, that they were obliged immediately to retire. Our infantry took their place. They were supported by the third corps of cavalry commanded by Generals Chastel, Thiry, and Dommanget, who charged and overthrew every thing which it found in its way. The aides-de-camp Carbonel, Turenne, and Grammont, were wounded at the side of Count Grouchy. The general himself was struck soon afterwards; but the redoubt was in our possession. In forcing the intrenchments, our troops made a horrible massacre of the Russians, whose efforts to retain the redoubt rivalled ours to carry it.

"In spite of the enemy's tremendous fire, the viceroy and his staff remained at the head of Broussier's division, followed by the 13th and 30th regiments, and rushing on the redoubt, entered it by the breastwork, and massacred on their pieces the cannoneers that served them. Prince Kutusoff, astonished at this attack, immediately ordered the cuirassiers of the guard to advance and endeavour to retake the position. These were the best of their cavalry. The shock between their cuirassiers and ours was therefore terrible; and one may judge of the fury with which both parties fought, when the enemy, in quitting the field, left it completely covered with dead.

"The interior of the redoubt presented a horrid spectacle. The dead were heaped on one another. The feeble cries of the wounded were scarcely heard amid the surrounding tumult. Arms of every description were scattered over the field of battle. The parapets half demolished had their embrasures entirely destroyed. Their places were distinguished only by the cannon, the greatest part of which were dismounted and separated from

the broken carriages. In the midst of this scene of carnage, I discovered the body of a Russian cannoneer decorated with three crosses. In one hand he held a broken sword, and with the other firmly grasped the carriage of the gun at which he had so valiantly fought.

'All the Russian soldiers in the redoubt chose rather to perish than to yield. The general who commanded them would have perished also if his valour had not saved his life. That brave man had sworn to die at his post, and he would have kept his oath. Seeing all his companions lying dead around him, he endeavoured to throw himself on our swords, and he would inevitably have met his death, had not the honour of taking such a prisoner arrested the cruelty of the soldiers. The viceroy received him with kindness, and caused him to be conducted to Napoleon, who, throughout this memorable day, remained constantly in the rear of the centre, and executed some grand manœuvres with the first corps and the Poles on the extremity of the right."

Bagration resisted all the attempts made by the French and Poles on his left, and being reinforced by Strogonoff, and Woronzow's grenadiers, drove back the Poles with considerable loss: Ney then went to the support of the Poles with a corps of Westphalians, and the divisions of Ledru, Morand, and Gerard coming up, they all attacked together; at the same moment Prince Eugène brought up his tremendous parks of artillery, and advancing, penetrated into the very centre of the Russian lines. These movements ensured the victory. Labaume continues—

"Prince Eugène's attention had been wholly taken up by the centre, when it was recalled to his left by a grand movement of cavalry directed by the Russians on that point. This obliged General Delzons to form his brigade into a square on the left of Borodino. He was several times attacked; but the enemy seeing that no impression could be made on him, advanced to the extremity of our left, and commenced a brisk attack on our light cavalry commanded by Count Ornano, which were for a moment thrown into disorder. The prince, who happened to be on the spot, threw himself into the middle of a square formed by the 84th, and prepared to set it in motion, when the Cossacks were in their turn repulsed, and taking to flight, disengaged our left. Every thing was then restored to the greatest order.

"The prince was found on all points, exhorting every officer to do his duty, and reminding him, that on this day depended the glory of France. He was seen at all the batteries, causing them to advance in proportion as the enemy gave way; and, braving every peril, he himself instructed the cannoneers how to direct their fire. His aide-de-camp, Maurice Mejean, who had been present at every post of danger from the beginning of the day, now received a wound in the thigh; while General Gifflinga and the

equerry Bellisomi had their horses killed under them. His highness had at one time placed himself on the parapet of the grand redoubt, surrounded by his officers, and thence remarked from the embrasures all the movements of the enemy, paying no attention to the bullets which frequently whistled near him. Among the persons who composed his suite was Colonel de Bourmont, whose great merit was only equalled by his rare modesty. He had dismounted with the other officers, and was leaning on the pommel of his saddle, when General Guilleminot letting a paper fall, the colonel stooped to pick it up. That motion saved his life, for at that very instant a cannon-ball passed through the breast of his horse.

"Although we had taken two redoubts, the enemy had still a third, situated on another eminence, and separated by a ravine. Thence served, they kept up an incessant fire on our regiments, some of which were sheltered by a wood, and others were behind the grand redoubt. We remained several hours in this state of inaction, convinced that Kutusoff was preparing to retreat. The artillery alone vomited from every side flames and death. At this period General Houard was killed by a grape-shot, while commanding the second brigade of the thirteenth division. He was companion in arms to General Plausanne, and they perished on the same day. United in their lives, they were not separated in death; for they were both interred in that field which had witnessed their gallantry."

For ten hours the French had to sustain the murderous attacks of the Russians, and even before the battle was finished, there was not a corps but had lost one or more of its chiefs. It would require a long list to enumerate even the generals who fell. Among them were Montbrun, Augustus Caulaincourt, Compère, Marion, and Lepel. Besides these, thirty generals were wounded: in the latter number were Grouchy, Nansouty, Latour-Maubourg, Friant, Rapp, Compans, Desaix, and Lahoussage.

The Russians lost about forty thousand men, and fifty generals killed or wounded. Among the last were the Prince Bagration, who died a few days after, Prince Charles of Mecklenburg, and the Generals Tutschoff, Rejewsky, Gotschakoff, Kanoveritzen, Gregoff, Woronzow, Krapowilski, and the two Boehmetieffs.

The troops engaged were nearly equal in number, each army being about one hundred and thirty thousand strong. The loss of the French, who were more exposed than the Russians, seeing that the latter fought in an intrenched position, has been estimated as high as fifty thousand men. The French fired ninety thousand cannon, and the soldiers who had been supplied with one hundred cartridges each, expended them all. Twenty-five thousand horses were either burnt or buried on the field of battle!

The result of this carnage was, that the Russians maintained their right wing and only lost a little ground with their left. The French occupied that little ground after sustaining a heavy cannonade, and during the night the Russians retreated in the finest order. In the words of Labaume—

"Although the victory was ours, the cannon roared with unabated fury, and continued to overwhelm new victims. The viceroy, ever indefatigable and unmindful of danger, was on every part of the field of battle, exposed to a shower of grape-shot and bullets. The firing still continued, and in the evening it was so briskly maintained, that the legion of the Vistula, commanded by General Claparède was forced to kneel down behind the grand redoubt. We remained more than an hour in this uncomfortable position. The enemy was then more quiet, and only fired a few shots at intervals, while the silence of the last redoubt, gave us reason to believe that the Russians were preparing to retreat on the road to Mojaïsk.

"The weather, which had been very fine during the day, became, towards evening, stormy, cold, and damp. The whole army bivouacked on the ground it had gained. This encampment was most painful: neither our men nor our horses had any thing to eat, and thus the pangs of hunger were added to those of cold.

"The next day, the 8th of September, at an early hour, we surveyed the field of battle. What was only fancied the preceding evening had actually taken place. The enemy, seeing the intrepidity with which we carried their redoubts, despaired of maintaining their position, and resolved to evacuate it during the night. As we passed over the ground which they had occupied, we were enabled to judge of the immense loss that the Russians had sustained. In the space of a square league, almost every spot was covered with the killed or wounded. On many places the bursting of the shells had promiscuously heaped together men and horses. The fire of our howitzers had been so destructive that mountains of dead bodies were scattered over the plain; and the few places that were not encumbered with the slain were covered with broken lances, muskets, helmets, and cuirasses, or with grape-shot and bullets, as numerous as hailstones after a violent storm. But the most horrid spectacle was the interior of the ravines; almost all the wounded who were able to drag themselves along had taken refuge there to avoid the shot. These miserable wretches, heaped one upon another, and almost suffocated with blood, uttering the most dreadful groans, and invoking death with piercing cries, eagerly besought us to put an end to their torments. We had no means to relieve them, and could only deplore the calamities inseparable from a war so atrocious.

"While the cavalry pursued the enemy, the viceroy ordered his engineers to destroy the redoubt; and, as the fourth corps

remained encamped on the field of battle, it was presumed we should pass the night there. His highness had also ordered his suite to establish themselves in the church of Borodino, the only building that had escaped the flames; but it was filled with the wounded, and the surgeons were employed in dressing and amputating. The staff of the prince then proceeded to establish their quarters in the village of Novoe, on the banks of the Kologha, near the road to Mojaïsk."

On the following day, as Labaume approached the town of Mojaïsk, he saw it enveloped in flames. The inhabitants had set fire to their houses and then fled. These frequent conflagrations, and the determined spirit of the people ought to have prepared Bonaparte for what he had to expect at Moscow, but he obstinately shut his eyes to all that was contrary to his wishes. Labaume continues—

"Pursuing our route through thick underwood and briers, we arrived at a large village, called Vrouinkovo, where we understood the head-quarters were to be established. On entering it, we saw on an eminence at a distance some very neat houses, and four steeples elegantly constructed. We were about to halt at this village where abundance seemed to reign, when it was announced that the fourth corps was to proceed to a town of the name of Rouza, the steeples of which were plainly perceived. When we left Vrouinkovo we met a great number of peasants with carts loaded with the most valuable furniture and property. A sight so new excited our astonishment, and asking Colonel Asselin what could be the reason of this singular assemblage, he answered me as follows

"'In proportion as our armies advanced into the interior of Russia, the Emperor Alexander, seconding the wishes of the nobility, and following the example of Spain, endeavoured to make this a national war. Accordingly the nobility and the priests have by persuasions and by bribes induced all the peasants who were dependent upon them to rise *en masse* against us. Of the numerous districts which have adhered to this system of defence, that of Rouza has shown itself the most zealous. The whole population, animated by their seigneur who had declared himself the chief of the insurrection, was properly organized, and ready to join the Russian army, as soon as they should receive the necessary orders.'

"'As Rouza was at a distance of five or six leagues from the high road, the inhabitants had flattered themselves that we should not pass through their town, and had consequently remained secure and tranquil. What was their surprise, or rather their terror,' continued the colonel, 'when I was sent by the viceroy, and presented myself with a dozen of Bavarian light horse before the town! The dismayed peasants rushed from their houses, hastily harnessed their horses to the carts which you now see, and fled with the utmost precipitation.'

"'The men, however, who had been enrolled for the levy, collected at the voice of their lord, and armed with poles, lances, and scythes, assembled in the square, and immediately advanced towards us; but this timid populace could not resist a few soldiers accustomed to battle, and presently took to flight. The chief alone evinced more firmness. He awaited us on the square, and armed with a poniard, menaced all who summoned him to surrender. "*How can I survive the dishonour of my country?*" cried he, foaming with rage. "*Our altars are no more! Our empire is disgraced! Take my life—it is odious to me!*" We wished to calm him, and endeavoured to wrench his poniard from him: but he became more furious, and wounded several of our soldiers, who then, listening only to revenge, killed him with repeated stabs of the bayonet.'

"'This was scarcely effected when the advanced-guard of the fourth corps entered Rouza. On my reciting what had happened,' continued the colonel, 'they immediately pursued the peasants who had fled with their effects and their cattle. They soon came up with them, and those whom you see here are part of the fugitives escaped from Rouza. Go into the town,' added he, 'and you will see many more of them.'

"As we approached the town, we saw a great number of these carts brought back by the dragoons. It was an affecting spectacle. These vehicles were loaded with children and old people. The heart was pierced with grief to think how soon our soldiers should divide among them the carts and horses which constituted the sole fortunes of these disconsolate families.'

"At length we entered Rouza; and as we advanced to the very centre of the town, we saw in every street, a crowd of soldiers pillaging the houses, unmindful of the cries of the inhabitants, or the tears of the mothers, who, to soften the hearts of the conquerors, presented their children on their knees, bathed in tears, and distractedly wringing their hands, these interesting creatures begged only for their lives, and those of their babes."

After the battle of the Moskwa or Borodino, the French army marched in three columns on Moscow. It did not, however, advance with the rapidity of a triumphant army; for the distance between Borodino and Moscow is only about seventy-five miles, and the French did not enter that old capital till nine days after the battle. Napoleon was wavering and undecided, and General the Count de Segur, who attributes many of the errors of this campaign to ill health, says he was sick at the time. "The premature inclemency of autumn was singularly propitious to the Russian empire. On the 7th of September, the eve of the great battle, a hurricane announced its fatal presence. It chilled and froze Napoleon. From the night that preceded this decisive combat, it has been seen that a fever fired his blood, and confused his mind, and he was worn down by this fever during the battle. These sufferings checked his steps

and enchained his genius during the five days which followed, and thus Kutusoff was allowed time to rally his army, and entirely withdraw it from our pursuit. Napoleon remained three whole days at Mojaïsk, shut up in his bedroom, consumed by a burning fever, exhausted with business, and devoured by anxieties. By a violent cold he had lost the use of his speech. Forced to dictate to seven persons at once, and not being able to make himself heard, he wrote the heads of his despatches on different slips of paper. If any difficulties arose, he explained himself by signs.

"There was a moment on which Bessières enumerated to him all the generals that had been killed and wounded on the day of battle. This fatal nomenclature was so poignant to him, that, by a violent effort, he recovered his voice, and interrupted the marshal with this coarse and hasty exclamation: "Let us have eight days at Moscow, and the loss will not be thought of."*

Before entering Moscow, Murat made an unnecessary attack on a Russian column stationed in a strong position near Krymskoie, and rashly threw away the lives of two thousand of his men there. Marshal Mortier who had endeavoured to dissuade Murat from making the attack, was furious when he saw its result, and he wrote to the emperor to declare that he would no longer obey the orders of the King of Naples. This was far from being the only violent quarrel between the military chiefs during the ill-fated campaign of Moscow.

The Count de Segur's description of Napoleon's approach and entrance into old Moscow is exceedingly striking:

"He had too many things to think about to be able to indulge long in his feelings. His first exclamation was, 'Well, there it is at last, that famous city!' His second, 'It is high time!' Already, his eyes, fixed on that capital, expressed eager impatience: in it he fancied he saw all the Russian empire. Those walls enclosed all his hope, peace, the expenses of the war, an immortal glory: and thus his greedy glances were riveted on all its gates. When will those gates open? When will he see the deputation that shall offer him the riches, the population of Moscow, its senate, and the principal Russian nobility? By so fortunate a termination to the enterprise he had engaged in with such audacious temerity, his imprudence would acquire the name of grandeur, and be considered only as a proof of a far-sighted calculation, secure of its result. From that moment the incomplete victory of the Moskwa would be reckoned his finest action. Thus every thing which might have proved his ruin, would become his glory. The day was about to commence which would decide whether he was the greatest or the rashest man in the world; whether he had raised himself an altar, or dug for himself a grave.

"In the mean time he began to feel very uneasy. Already on

* Histoire de Napoleon et de la Grande Armée, pendant l'Année 1812.

his right and left he saw Prince Eugène and Poniatowski pouncing on the hostile city: before him Murat had reached in the midst of his *eclaireurs* the entrance of the suburbs, and yet no deputation appeared; a single officer of Miloradowitch only came to declare that that general would set fire to the town, if time was not allowed for his rear-guard to evacuate it.

"Napoleon granted every thing. For some moments the first troops of the two armies were intermingled. Murat was recognised by the Cossacks: with the familiarity of the wandering tribes of the North, and ardent as the nations of the South, they pressed around him: then by their gestures and cries, they extolled his bravery and intoxicated him by their admiration. The king took the watches of his officers, and distributed them amongst these yet barbarous warriors. One of them called him their hetman.

"For a moment, Murat was tempted to think he might find among these officers a new Mazeppa, that he might be one himself: he thought he had gained them over. On such an occasion, this moment of truce kept up the hopes of Napoleon, so necessary was it for him to delude himself. He was amused by it during two hours.

"In the mean time the day was wasting, and Moscow remained gloomy, silent, and as it were, without life. The anxiety of the emperor increased: the impatience of the soldiers became more difficult of restraint. A few officers at length penetrated into the city. 'Moscow was deserted!'

"At this sad news, which he received with evident irritation, and affected to disbelieve, Napoleon descended from the mountain called 'Of-Health,' and rode on to the Moskowa and Dorogomilow-gate. He again stopped at the entrance of that barrier. Murat pressed him to proceed. 'Well,' replied he, 'enter, then, as they will have it so.' He recommended the strictest discipline, and still hoped the best. 'Perhaps,' said he, 'these inhabitants do not understand the forms of a surrender; for here every thing is new—they are new to us, and we to them!'

"Report now succeeded to report, and all accounts agreed. Some French inhabitants of Moscow, venturing to quit their hiding-places, where during several days they had concealed themselves from the fury of the Russian populace, came out of the town and confirmed the fatal news. The emperor summoned Daru, and exclaimed, 'Moscow deserted! What an improbable event! We must enter. Go and bring me the boyards.' He thought that those noblemen, either stiffened by pride, or paralyzed by terror, would remain immovable in their homes. And how, in effect, was it possible to persuade oneself that so many sumptuous palaces, so many magnificent churches, so many rich counting-houses, had been abandoned by their possessors, just like the poor hamlets and wood huts we had just marched by? Meanwhile, however, Daru failed in his mission. Not a single

Russian presented himself; no household chimney was seen to smoke, not the least noise was heard in that immense and populous city: it seemed as if its three hundred thousand inhabitants had been suddenly struck by a mute and motionless enchantment: it was the silence of the desert!

"Such, however, was the obstinacy of Napoleon that he still indulged in his expectations, and waited for a Russian deputation. At last an officer determined to please him, and probably impressed with the notion that whatever the emperor willed, ought to be accomplished, entered into the city, seized five or six vagabonds, and drove them before his horse to the emperor's presence. He fancied he had conducted a deputation, but at the first answer of those poor wretches, Napoleon perceived that he had only a few miserable journeymen before him.

"Then, and not before, he was convinced of the entire evacuation of Moscow, and lost all the hopes he had founded upon that city. He shrugged his shoulders, and said with that air of scorn which he usually threw on whatsoever opposed his desires, 'Ah! the Russians do not yet know the effect which will be produced upon them by my taking their capital!'

"Napoleon did not enter into Moscow until nightfall. He took up his residence in one of the best houses of the town, but every thing continued silent and desolate around him. In the dead of night, a fire broke out in the Marchand palace, in the very centre of the city, and a Russian police officer informed the emperor, that a regular plan and preparations were made for the burning of all Moscow to the ground. Napoleon could not sleep that night; he was feverish and much agitated. As soon as day dawned, he ran to the fire, where he abused the young guard and the Marshal Mortier for their negligence. The conflagration had spread; dense volumes of smoke were seen issuing from fire-proof houses into which the incendiaries had penetrated. He turned away with a thoughtful air, and entered the imperial palace of the Kremlin. There his spirit revived; his ambition was flattered by that conquest, and he was heard to exclaim, 'I am then at last in Moscow, in the ancient palace of the Czars, in the Kremlin!' He then examined all the details of the vast edifice with an inquisitive and satisfied pride.

"During this day, Mortier succeeded to a considerable extent in checking the progress of the fire, but the darkness of night favoured the operations of the incendiaries, and the French troops, exhausted by the long exertions they had made, became sleepy and careless. Even some of their superior officers, only looked to the preservation of those particular parts of the town where their respective corps were stationed.

"Two officers had established themselves in an apartment of the Kremlin which commanded a view of all the north and west of Moscow. About midnight they were awakened by an extraordinary blaze of light. They looked out, and saw palace after palace taking fire, and that, driven by a strong north wind, the

MOSCOW.
General View of the Kremlin.
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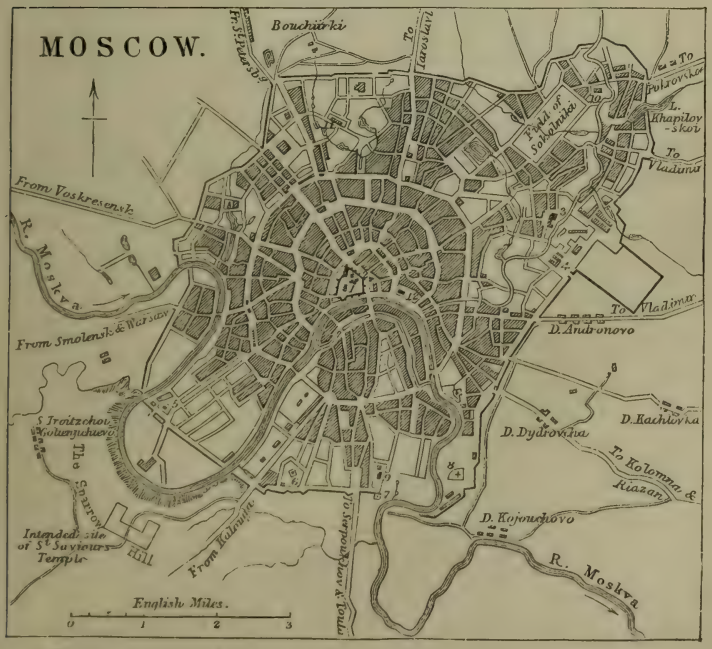

1. Kremlin.
2. Church of St. Basil.
3 Imperial Palace.
4. Military School.
5. Convent of Novo Devitchei.
6. Convent of our Lady of the Don.
7. Convent of St. Daniel.
8. Convent of Simonovskoi.
9. Hospital of St. Paul.
10. Hospital of St Catherine.
11. Institute of Alexander.
12. Foundling Hospital.

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flames were approaching the Kremlin, within whose walls reposed the *élite* of their army, and its mighty chief Napoleon. Sparks of fire, and fragments of burning matter had already begun to fly round the roofs of the Kremlin, when the wind suddenly changing from north to west, drove them in a different direction.

"In the mean time, however, a glare of horrid light burst from other quarters of the town; other flames approached the Kremlin, where the officers cursed the imprudence and the want of discipline among the French soldiery, for it was long believed that these were the causes of the disaster. But three times the wind changed, and three times those avenging flames were driven from the imperial quarters when their destruction appeared inevitable.

"At this sight, a fearful suspicion seized us. The Muscovites knowing our temerity and carelessness, have probably conceived the hope of burning with Moscow, our soldiers drunk with wine and sleep; or rather, have they dared to believe that they will envelop Napoleon in this catastrophe—that the death of that man is worth the loss of their capital—that such a result will be great enough to compensate for the entire destruction of Moscow—that Heaven, perhaps, in order to accord them so great a victory, demands as great a sacrifice—and that, finally, that immense Colossus requires as immense a funeral pyre?

"It is not positively known whether they entertained these thoughts, but nothing except the star of Napoleon could have saved us from their realization. In fact, not only did the Kremlin contain a powder magazine, then unknown to us, but there was a whole park of artillery which the careless soldiers had left unprotected close to the windows of the emperor's apartments.

"At this moment the furious flames darted from all sides—the wind increased, and sparks flew thickly round the Kremlin. The flower of our army and the emperor would have been lost, had only one of those sparks that flew over our heads, descended on one of our powder waggons! We were in this state of anxiety during several hours. At last the day, a day of gloom and desolation, dawned; it seemed to increase the grand horror, to pale it, to deprive it of its glare. A vast number of officers took refuge in the halls of the palace. The chiefs and Mortier himself, conquered by the fire they had been fighting with for thirty-six hours, came there to drop down from exhaustion and despair. They were silent, and we accused ourselves—we looked upon ourselves with a sort of disgust. The cry of horror that Europe would soon utter, terrified us. We approached one another with downcast eyes, in consternation at so frightful a catastrophe: it sullied our glory, it snatched the fruits of victory from us, it threatened our existence present and to come. We were no longer any thing but an army of criminals, upon whom

God and the civilized world would execute justice. We were only in part relieved from these agonizing thoughts by receiving reports from all sides that it was the Russians themselves who burned Moscow by order of their government. Instructions were then issued for the arrest and instant execution of all incendiaries, but it was too late. The army was presently a-foot. The old guard, that occupied one part of the Kremlin, got under arms; baggage-waggons and loaded horses filled all the courts of the palace; we were sad at heart, and overcome with despair at seeing so excellent a cantonment destined to perish. Masters of Moscow, we were obliged to go and bivouac, without provisions, beyond its gates.

"Napoleon was now walking up and down his apartment with hurried, irregular steps. His short and vehement gestures revealed the trouble of his soul. He had important and pressing work to do, but he quitted it, began again, and then again quitted it, to rush to the windows and contemplate the progress of the conflagration. Sudden and brief expressions escaped from his oppressed breast. 'What a frightful spectacle! It is their own doing! So many palaces! What extraordinary resolution! What men! These are your true Scythians!'

"At this moment the voice spread that the Kremlin was undermined. The Russians have asserted this, and several writings attest the fact. Some of the emperor's servants lost their senses through affright; the old soldiers passively awaited for Napoleon's orders; and the only answer Napoleon gave to the alarm was a smile of incredulity.

"He continued nevertheless to walk up and down convulsively, and then to stop at every window to gaze on the all-conquering element that was drawing more and more closely round the Kremlin.

"Already the air we breathed was charged with smoke and ashes. Night approached, and would add her shades to our dangers; the equinoctial wind, in alliance with the Russians, redoubled its violence. Then we saw the King of Naples and the Prince Eugène run hastily through the palace, and being joined by the Prince of Neufchâtel, they penetrated into the emperor's apartment, where, with prayers, with gesticulations, and on their knees, they implored him to leave that place of desolation. It was all in vain. He was master of the palace of the czars, and he seemed resolved to dispute possession of that proud conquest even with that conflagration, when, all at once, the cry was heard, 'The Kremlin is on fire!' The emperor went out to judge of the danger. Twice had the fire been lit and extinguished in the part of the building he occupied; but the tower of the arsenal was still in flames: a soldier of the Russian police had just been found there. He was carried before Napoleon and examined. That Russian was the incendiary of the palace: he had executed orders given him by his

chief. Thus every thing was devoted to destruction, not even excepting the ancient and sacred Kremlin. The emperor made a gesture expressive of scorn and ill-humour; they carried out the unfortunate wretch to the first court, where the furious grenadiers destroyed him with their bayonets.

"This incident decided Napoleon. He rapidly descended the great northern staircase, so famous for the massacre of the Strelitz in the time of Peter the Great, and ordered that he should be guided out of the town, about a league on the Petersburg road, towards the imperial chateau of Petrowski."*

It was not without running extreme risk that Bonaparte and his followers escaped from Moscow. At one of the most perilous passes, Davoust, who had been badly wounded in the battle of Moskowa, caused himself to be carried into the midst of the burning houses to rescue Napoleon, or to perish with him. When he found him, he threw himself into his arms with a transport of joy. The emperor received him well, but with that perfect calmness which never quitted him in moments of danger. Shortly after this meeting Napoleon had to pass a long train of powder-waggons that were defiling through the streets of the burning city: this was not the least of his dangers, but it was the last, and without any material injury to his person, he arrived at Petrowski at nightfall.

The Count de Segur's narrative of the burning of Moscow is horrible, and yet there are many traits of atrocity and wretchedness which he has omitted to relate. The following quotations from Labaume will supply some deficiencies:

"The most heart-rending scene which my imagination had ever conceived, far surpassing the saddest story in ancient or modern history, now presented itself to my eyes. A part of the population of Moscow, terrified at our arrival, had concealed themselves in cellars or secret recesses of their houses. As the fire spread around, we saw them rushing in despair from their various asylums. They uttered no imprecation, they breathed no complaint; fear had rendered them dumb; and hastily snatching up their most precious effects, they fled before the flames. Others, of greater sensibility, and actuated by the genuine feelings of nature, saved only their parents, or their infants, who were closely clasped in their arms. They were followed by their other children, running as fast as their little strength would permit, and with all the wildness of childish terror, vociferating the beloved name of mother. The old people, borne down by grief more than by age, had not sufficient power to follow their families, and expired near the houses in which they were born. The streets, the public places, and particularly the churches, were filled with these unhappy people, who,

* Segur. Hist. de Napoleon et de la Grand Armée, vol. ii

lying on the remains of their property, suffered even without a murmur. No cry, no complaint was heard. Both the conqueror and the conquered were equally hardened; the one by excess of fortune, the other by excess of misery.

"The ravages of the uncontrollable fire soon reached the finest parts of the city. Those palaces which we had admired for the beauty of their architecture, and the elegance of their furniture, were enveloped in flames. Their magnificent fronts, ornamented with bas-reliefs and statues, fell with a dreadful crash on the fragments of the pillars which had supported them. The churches, though covered with iron and lead, were likewise destroyed, and with them those beautiful steeples, which we had seen the night before, resplendent with gold and silver. The hospitals, too, which contained more than twelve thousand wounded, soon began to burn. This offered a harrowing spectacle. Almost all these poor wretches perished. A few who still lingered, were seen crawling half burnt amongst the smoking ruins; and others, groaning under heaps of dead bodies, endeavoured in vain to extricate themselves from the horrible destruction which surrounded them.

"How shall I describe the confusion and tumult when permission was granted to pillage this immense city! Soldiers, sutlers, galley-slaves, and prostitutes, eagerly ran through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and carrying away every thing which could gratify their avarice. Some covered themselves with stuffs, richly worked with gold and silk; some were enveloped in beautiful and costly furs; while others dressed themselves in women's and children's pelisses, and even the galley-slaves concealed their rags under the most splendid habits of the court. The rest crowded into the cellars, and, forcing open the doors, drank to excess the most luscious wines, and carried off an immense booty.

"This horrible pillage was not confined to the deserted houses alone, but extended to those which were inhabited, and soon the eagerness and wantonness of the plunderers, caused devastations which almost equalled those occasioned by the conflagration. Every asylum was violated by the licentious troops.

"Towards evening, when Napoleon no longer thought himself safe in a city, the ruin of which seemed inevitable, he left the Kremlin, and established himself with his suite in the castle of Petrowsky. When I saw him pass by, I could not behold without abhorrence the chief of a barbarous expedition, who evidently endeavoured to escape the decided testimony of public indignation, by seeking the darkest road. He sought it, however, in vain. On every side the flames seemed to pursue him, with their horrible and mournful glare, flashing on his guilty head, reminded me of the torches of Eumenides pursuing the destined victims of the Furies!"

"The generals likewise received orders to quit Moscow. Licentiousness then became unbounded. The soldiers, no longer restrained by the presence of their chiefs, committed every kind of excess. No retreat was safe, no place sufficiently sacred to afford protection against their rapacity. Nothing more fully excited their avarice than the church of Saint Michael, the sepulchre of the Russian emperors. An erroneous tradition had propagated the belief that it contained immense riches. Some grenadiers presently entered it, and descended with torches into the vast subterranean vaults, to disturb the peace and silence of the tomb. But instead of treasures they found only stone coffins, covered with pink velvet, and bearing a thin silver plate, on which were engraved the names of the czars, and the dates of their birth and decease. Mortified at the disappointment of their hopes, they searched the very coffins, and seized every offering which had been consecrated by piety, and chiefly valuable on account of the sentiments which had caused the offering. With all their excesses of plunder, they mingled the most degrading and horrible debauchery. Neither nobility of blood, nor the innocence of youth, nor the tears of beauty, were respected. The licentiousness was cruel and boundless; but it was inevitable in a savage war, in which sixteen different nations, opposite in their manners and their language, thought themselves at liberty to commit every crime.

"Penetrated by so many calamities, I hoped that the shades of night would cast a veil over the dreadful scene, but they contributed, on the contrary, to render the conflagration more terrible. The violence of the flames, which were strangely agitated by the wind, produced the most awful appearance on a sky which was darkened by the thickest smoke. Frequently was seen the glare of the burning torches, which the incendiaries were hurling from the tops of the highest towers, on those parts of the city which had yet escaped destruction, and which resembled at a distance so many passing meteors. Nothing could equal the anguish that absorbed every feeling heart, and which was increased in the dead of the night, by the cries of the miserable victims who were savagely murdered, or by the screams of the young females who fled for protection to their weeping mothers, and whose ineffectual struggles tended only to inflame the passion of their violators. To these dreadful groans and heart-rending cries, which every moment broke upon the ear, were added, the howlings of the dogs, which, chained to the doors of the palaces, according to the custom at Moscow, could not escape from the fire which surrounded them.

"Desirous of terminating the recital of this horrible catastrophe, I shall pass over in silence many circumstances revolting to humanity, and merely describe the dreadful confusion which arose in our army when the fire had reached every part of Moscow, and the whole city was become one immense flame.

"The different streets could no longer be distinguished, and the places on which the houses had stood were marked only by confused piles of stones, calcined and black. The wind, blowing with violence, howled mournfully, and overwhelmed us with ashes, with burning fragments, and even with the iron plates which had covered the palaces. On whatever side we turned we saw only ruins and flames. The fire raged as if it were fanned by some invisible power. The most extensive ranges of buildings seemed to kindle, to burn, and to disappear in an instant.

"A long line of carriages was perceived through the thick smoke loaded with booty. Being too heavily laden for the exhausted cattle to draw them along, they were obliged to halt at every step, when we heard the execrations of the drivers, who, terrified at the encircling flames, endeavoured to push forward with dreadful outcries. The soldiers were diligently employed in forcing open every door. They seemed to fear lest they should leave one house untouched, and as if the booty last acquired was preferable to what they had already obtained, they abandoned their former prize to seize on every new object. Some, when their carriages were laden almost to breaking down, bore the rest of their plunder on their backs. The flames filling the principal streets, often obliged them to retrace their steps. Thus, wandering from place to place through an immense town, the avenues of which they did not know, they sought in vain to extricate themselves from a labyrinth of fire. Many, instead of approaching the gates by which they might have escaped, wandered further from them, and thus became the victims of their own rapacity. The love of plunder was yet predominant, and induced our soldiers to brave every danger. They precipitated themselves into the midst of the flames. They waded in blood, treading upon the dead bodies without remorse, whilst the ruins of the houses, mixed with burning coals, fell thick on their murderous heads. They would probably all have perished, if the insupportable heat had not forced them at length to withdraw into the camp.

"The fourth corps having also received orders to leave Moscow, we proceeded (September 17th) towards Petrowsky, where our divisions were encamped. At that moment, about the dawn of day, I witnessed a spectacle, at once affecting and terrible; namely, a crowd of the miserable inhabitants drawing upon some mean vehicles all that they had been able to save from the conflagration. The soldiers, having robbed them of their horses, the men and women were slowly and painfully dragging along their little carts, some of which contained an infirm mother, others a paralytic old man, and others the miserable wrecks of half-consumed furniture. Children, half naked, followed these interesting groups. Affliction, to which their age is commonly a stranger, was impressed on their features, and, when the soldiers approached them, they ran crying into the arms of their

mothers. Without a shelter and without food, these unfortunate beings wandered in the fields, and fled into the woods; but wherever they bent their steps they met the conquerors of Moscow, who frequently ill-treated them, and sold before their eyes the goods which had been stolen from their deserted habitations."

Bonaparte remained at Petrowsky during the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th of September. Moscow continued to burn for these four days, after which the fire slackened, rain fell in torrents, and the Kremlin, after all, escaped destruction. Labaume's description of the encampment at Petrowsky is very striking:

"In the mean time the rain fell in torrents; and the houses near the *chateau* being too few in number to contain the numerous troops who were encamped there, it was almost impossible to obtain shelter: men, horses, and carriages, bivouacked in the middle of the fields. The staff-officers, placed around the *chateaux* where their generals resided, were established in the English gardens, and lodged under grottos, Chinese pavilions, or greenhouses; whilst the horses, tied under acacias or linden-trees, were separated from each other by hedges or beds of flowers. The situation of this camp rendered it truly picturesque, and the effect was still more extraordinary from the new costume adopted by the soldiers, most of whom, as some defence from the inclemency of the weather, had covered themselves with every species of apparel used by the neighbouring nations, and which had once formed the most pleasing and amusing variety on the public walks of Moscow. Thus we saw, walking in our camp, soldiers dressed *à la Tartare, à la Cosaque, à la Chinoise;* one wore the Polish cap, another the high bonnet of the Persians, the Baskirs, or the Kalmouks. In short, our army presented the image of a carnival; and it was afterwards justly said, that our retreat commenced with a masquerade, and ended with a funeral.

"The abundance which the soldiers now enjoyed made them speedily forget their fatigues. With the rain pouring on their heads, and their feet sunk in the mud, they consoled themselves with good cheer, and the advantages which they derived from trafficking in the plunder of Moscow. Although it was forbidden to enter the city, the soldiers, allured by the hope of gain, violated the order, and always returned loaded with provisions and merchandise. Under the pretence of going on marauding parties, they returned near the Kremlin, and dug amongst the ruins, where they discovered entire magazines, whence they drew a profusion of articles of every description. Our camp no longer resembled an army, but a great fair, at which each soldier, metamorphosed into a merchant, sold the most valuable articles at an inconsiderable price; and although

unsheltered in the fields, and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, he, by a singular contrast, eat off china plates, drank out of silver vases, and possessed almost every elegant and expensive article which luxury could invent.

"The neighbourhood of Petrowsky and its gardens at length became as unhealthy as it was inconvenient. Napoleon returned to establish himself at the Kremlin, which had not been burnt, and the guards and staff-officers received orders to re-enter the city (the 20th and 21st of September). According to the calculations of the engineers, a tenth part of the houses still remained. They were divided between the different corps of the grand army. We possessed the faubourg of St. Petersburg, in which we had been quartered at our first entrance into the city.

"Every one endeavoured to find quarters for himself, but rarely could we meet with houses which joined together; and to shelter a few companies, we were obliged to occupy a vast tract of land, which only offered a few habitations scattered here and there. Some of the churches, composed of less combustible materials than the other buildings, had their roofs entire, and were transformed into barracks and stables. The hymns and holy melodies which had once resounded within these sacred walls, now gave place to the neighing of horses, and the horrible blasphemies of the soldiers.

"Although the population of Moscow had almost disappeared, there still remained some of those unfortunate beings whom misery had accustomed to look on all occurrences with indifference. Most of them had become the menial servants of their spoilers, and thought themselves most happy if they were permitted to share any loathsome food which the soldiers rejected. There were also a number of unfortunate girls, and these alone derived any advantage from the plunder of Moscow. The soldiers eagerly associated with them, and when they were once introduced into our quarters, they soon became absolute mistresses of them, and squandered away all that the flames had spared. A small number, however, really merited our regard by their education, and above all by their misfortunes; for, horrible to relate, famine and misery had compelled their mothers to come and offer them to us. This immorality, under such circumstances, recoiled on those who had not sufficient virtue to resist the temptation, and who regarded with an eye of passion, the forms which hunger had emaciated, and disease had rendered dangerous and loathsome.

"There yet remained at Moscow a class of men the most contemptible of all, since they escaped the punishment due to their former crimes by consenting to commit still greater; these were the convicted felons. During the whole time of the conflagration of Moscow, they signalized themselves by the audacity

with which they executed the orders they had received. Provided with phosphorus, they lighted the fire anew, wherever it appeared to be extinguished, and even crept by stealth into the houses which were inhabited, to involve them in the general ruin.

"Several of these miscreants were arrested with torches in their hands; but their punishment, too prompt and summary, produced little effect. The people, who always detested their conquerors, regarded these executions merely as the effect of policy. In short, these victims were too obscure for the expiation of such a crime; and above all, their trial, wanting publicity and legal form, threw no light on the cause of this dreadful calamity, and could not justify us clearly in the estimation of those who persisted in believing that we were the authors of it.

"When the main body of the Russian army had taken its different positions, the proprietors of the country in the neighbourhood of Moscow, perceiving that the disasters of the war had highly exasperated the people against us, availed themselves of the popular feeling to excite a general insurrection. Many raised levies at their own expense, and put themselves at the head of the insurgent peasants. These forces, united to the Cossacks, intercepted our convoys on the great roads. But the principal aim of these military preparations was to harass our foragers, and above all to deprive them of the resources which they were still able to procure from the neighbouring villages. The different corps of our army being far separated from each other, and encamped on an immense plain covered with wood, it was impossible to guard against the destructive warfare to which we were now exposed.

"In digging under the ruins of Moscow, the soldiers often found magazines of sugar, wine, or brandy. These discoveries, although they would have been valuable in happier times, afforded no great relief to an army which had consumed all the grain of the country, and which would soon have neither bread nor meat to eat.

"Our cattle perished for want of forage, and to procure others, it was each day necessary to engage in combats always disadvantageous to us; and at so great a distance from our native country and all our resources, the smallest loss was sensibly felt.

"Our real miseries were disguised by an apparent abundance. We had neither bread nor meat, yet our tables were covered with sweetmeats, syrups, and dainties. Coffee, and every kind of wine, served in china or crystal vases, convinced us that luxury might be nearly allied to poverty. The extent and the nature of our wants rendered money of little value to us, and this gave rise to an exchange rather than a sale of commodities. They who had cloth offered it for wine; and he who had a pelisse could procure plenty of sugar and coffee."

Two little facts may be mentioned here that seem to us very characteristic of the French nation and their ruler.

On their return to the Kremlin, and in the midst of the privations just described, the soldiers fitted up a theatre, and had plays acted by performers sent from France. At the same time Napoleon composed a decree regulating the affairs of the Théâtre Français at Paris, which was dated "from the imperial head-quarters in the Kremlin."

In one of his bulletins he attempted to make the people of France believe that a miracle had been operated in his favour, and the difference of so many degrees of latitude annihilated. "The season," said he, "is very fine; it is similar to the climate of France in October, or perhaps a little colder. Every thing indicates that we must soon go into winter-quarters."

But where these quarters were to be found, was the question that perplexed the army. The commonest soldier could see they could not be at Moscow, where resources were every day more and more straitened, and where they were already feeding on horseflesh. Some spoke of going to the Ukraine—others of marching on Petersburg, but the wisest among them maintained that they ought immediately to fall back on Poland and winter at Wilna. Affairs were in this state when the news of Wellington's great victory at Salamanca reached Napoleon and spread discouragement among his troops. At the same time the two flanks of his army had been unsuccessful; and the now united army of Tormagoff and Tchichagoff, in the south, and the corps of Wittgenstein in the north, threatened to close in between Moscow and Wilna. The Russian peasants were rising every where against the French with an implacable hatred; the seasons, too, in spite of Napoleon, were keeping their usual course, and winter—the fierce winter of the north, with his snows, and ice, and tempests, was at hand. Still the obstinate Napoleon moved not. He threw away a whole month at Moscow, idly dreaming to the very last that the Emperor Alexander would negotiate with him on honourable terms. On the 18th of October, Murat, who was in advance at Vincovo, was attacked by Bennigsen, who took from him three thousand prisoners and forty pieces of artillery. Thus early, the once brilliant cavalry of Murat was almost annihilated. The strongest regiments could not muster more than one hundred famishing horses. The artillery horses had become so weak that they could hardly drag their guns after them. The cannonade of Vincovo was heard at Moscow, and on the following morning, the 19th of October, Napoleon marched out with the mass of his forces to join Murat, leaving only the young guard in the town. On the 24th, that ruined metropolis was wholly evacuated by the French. Russian troops poured in immediately after the exit of the young guard, and arrived in time to save the Kremlin, which the French had attempted to blow up. They

could not, however, preserve some of the remaining houses to which the French had set fire. As soon as the Russians re-occupied Moscow, the farmers and peasants reappeared, and the markets were soon abundantly stocked.

The bloody battle of Malo-Yarowslavetz was fought on the 24th of October, and then really began the horrible retreat which the French were obliged to make in the very direction the Russians chose for them, and which was, of course, the most unfavourable of all directions. The morning after this affair, Napoleon, while making a reconnaisance was wellnigh taken prisoner. Some loud cries were suddenly heard, and some dark masses seen in a plain between him and his army. At first the cries seemed to be "Vive l'Empereur!" but soon the wild "hourrah!" and the loose but rapid advance, showed they were not French soldiers.

"It is the Cossacks," said the faithful Rapp, seizing the em peror's rein; "you must fly!" But instead of using his spurs Napoleon drew his sword, and in the midst of his attendants stood firmly waiting the attack on a bank by the road's side. Rapp's horse was wounded and thrown down by a charging lance—a troop of Cossacks were within lance's length of the emperor, when, happily for him, these children of the desert, who were always intent on plunder, saw some carriages and baggage-waggons crossing the plain, and instantly dashing after them left Napoleon in safety, and lost an inestimable prize, which, though they knew it not, had been fairly within their reach.

A day or two after this occurrence, Napoleon, whose temper was dreadfully soured, and whose intellect really appears to have been clouded, threatened to shoot his prisoner Witzingerode, who was a German by birth, but, like many of his countrymen, a Russian by adoption, and a general in that service. "You are a leader of Cossacks," shouted Bonaparte. "The Cossacks are brigands, and I will have you instantly shot as a robber!"

"I did not command the Cossacks," replied Witzingerode, "but a part of the regular army. As a Russian soldier I am at all times prepared for a French bullet!"

Napoleon having ascertained the name and country of his prisoner then proceeded in a still more angry tone: "Who and what are you? A man without a country—you have always been my enemy—you fought in the Austrian ranks at Austerlitz—I now find you with the Russians! Nevertheless you are a native of the Confederation of the Rhine—therefore, my subject and a rebel. Seize him, gendarmes, and let the traitor be tried and shot."

Napoleon's staff, however, with all the people about him, opposed this unjustifiable and most dishonourable act, and in the end the general was sent as a prisoner of war into Poland, where he was soon rescued by a pulk of Cossacks.

The masterly sketch with which we opened this supplemen-

tary chapter will give a general notion of the battles and losses of the French on this the most disastrous retreat in ancient or modern warfare; but we will offer a few more details that must have the effect of showing how atrocious was Napoleon's ambition and remorseless rage for conquest.

As Napoleon fell back upon Mojaïsk, he burned and destroyed every thing he found on his route, and his soldiers were soon so intent on this barbarous work that they set fire even to the places which they, or the columns after them, ought to have halted in. Hence, in a short time, the mass of the French had to bivouac on the snow with the thermometer ten degrees below zero.

"(November 6th). We marched," says Labaume, "towards Smolensk with an ardour which redoubled our strength; and approaching Doroghobouï, distant from that city only twenty leagues, the thought that in three days we should reach the end of our misfortunes, filled us with the most intoxicating joy; when suddenly the atmosphere, which had hitherto been so brilliant, was clouded by cold and dense vapours. The sun, enveloped by the thickest mists, disappeared from our sight, and the snow falling in large flakes, in an instant obscured the day, and confounded the earth with the sky. The wind, furiously blowing, howled dreadfully through the forests, and overwhelmed the firs already bent down by the ice; while the country around, as far as the eye could reach, presented one white and savage appearance.

"The soldiers, vainly struggling with the snow and the wind, that rushed upon them with tempestuous violence, could no longer distinguish the road; and falling into the ditches which bordered it, there found a grave. Others pressed on towards the end of their journey, scarcely able to drag themselves along. They were badly mounted, badly clothed, with nothing to eat, nothing to drink, shivering with the cold, and groaning with pain. Becoming selfish through despair, they afforded neither succour, nor even one glance of pity to those who, exhausted by fatigue and disease, expired around them. On that dreadful day, how many unfortunate beings, perishing by cold and famine, struggled hard with the agonies of death! We heard some of them faintly bidding their last adieu to their friends and comrades. Others, as they drew their last breath, pronounced the name of their mothers, their wives, their native country, which they were never more to see. The rigour of the frost soon seized on their benumbed limbs, and penetrated through their whole frame. Stretched on the road, we could distinguish only the heaps of snow that covered them, and which, at almost every step, formed little undulations, like so many graves. At the same time vast flights of ravens, abandoning the plain to take refuge in the neighbouring forests, croaked mournfully as they passed over our heads; and troops of dogs, which had followed us from Moscow, and lived solely on our

mangled remains, howled around us, as if they would hasten the period when we were to become their prey.

"From that day the army lost its courage and its military attitude. The soldier no longer obeyed his officer. The officer separated himself from his general. The disbanded regiments marched in disorder. Searching for food, they spread themselves over the plain, burning and pillaging whatever fell in their way. No sooner had the soldiers separated from the ranks, than they were assailed by a population eager to avenge the horrors of which it had been the victim. The Cossacks came to the succour of the peasants, and drove back to the great road, already filled with the dying and the dead, those who escaped from the carnage made among them.

"Such was the situation of the army, when we arrived at Doroghobouï. This little town would have given new life to our unfortunate troops, if Napoleon had not been so far blinded by rage, as to forget that his soldiers would be the first to suffer by the devastation which he caused to be made. Doroghobouï had been burnt, its magazines pillaged, and the brandy with which they were filled, had been poured into the streets, while the rest of the army was perishing for want of it. The few houses which remained were occupied exclusively by a small number of generals and staff-officers. The few soldiers who yet dared to face the enemy, had little shelter from the rigours of the season, while the others, who had wandered from their proper corps, were repulsed on every side, and found no asylum in any part of the camp. How deplorable was the situation of these poor wretches! Tormented by hunger, we saw them run after every horse the moment it fell. They devoured it raw, like dogs, and fought among themselves for the mangled limbs. Worn out by want of sleep and long marches, they saw nothing around them but the snow; not one spot appeared on which they could sit or lie. Penetrated with the cold, they wandered on every side to find wood, but the snow had caused it entirely to disappear. If perchance they found a little, they knew not where to light it. If a spot less exposed than others was discovered, it afforded them but a momentary shelter; for scarcely had their fire kindled, when the violence of the wind, and the moisture of the atmosphere, suddenly extinguished it, and deprived them of the only consolation which remained in their extreme distress. In one place we saw a multitude of them, huddled together like beasts at the root of a beech, or pine, or under a waggon. Others were employed in tearing huge branches from the trees, or pulling down by main force, and burning the houses at which the officers lodged. Although they were exhausted by fatigue they stood erect. They wandered like spectres through the livelong night, or stood immovable around some enormous fire."

Labaume was with the 4th corps under Eugène Beauharnais;

but the state of affairs and of discipline was not much better where the emperor commanded in person. It is wonderful, however, and it ought to be remarked in proof of the deep and steady attachment Napoleon knew how to inspire in the breast of the French soldier, that in the midst of all these horrible sufferings, his men hardly ever murmured a complaint against him, but always received him with the old shout of "Vive l'Empereur," whenever he rode up to them, or passed them on the march. Some of the German and Polish auxiliaries at times wore a sulky face, and the Italian regiments would now and then cry out to him, "*Maestà, non abbiamo di che mangiare,*" or "*Maestà, non siamo pagati.*"* But this was almost all—even among the troops not French the signs of disapprobation rarely exceeded this. Even at the carnage of the Berezina the French cheered Napoleon as he crossed the bridge, with almost as much enthusiasm as they had shown in happier days at the bridges of Lodi and of Arcole.

It was on the banks of the Berezina that the emperor was joined by Victor and Oudinot with nearly fifty thousand men. This was a powerful reinforcement, but the Russians also had got an accession of strength, and in a very curious manner.

We have called the treaty of peace concluded between Russia and Turkey, through the medium of Mr. Stratford Canning, an important one, and so it proved in the event.

At the fatal passage of the Berezina Napoleon found, in station there, several Russian divisions which Alexander, owing to the peace just then concluded with the sultan, had been enabled to withdraw from the frontiers of Turkey.† It was these troops that gave the *coup de grace* to the French, who only broke through them after an immense loss, and who, being weakened and demoralized, harassed by hordes of Cossacks of the Don, the Dnieper, and the Ukraine, that had followed the Russians from the Danube and Turkey, soon after the affair of the Berezina, lost all order, spirit, and discipline, and had no longer even the semblance of a regular army.

"This treaty of peace," says M. Juchereau de Saint-Denys, "was destructive to Napoleon, for it rendered the Russian divisions of the Danube quite disengaged, and just at the most critical moment for the French army."

As soon as Napoleon got across the Berezina, he made his arrangements for leaving the sad skeleton of his army, and for flight to Paris with all possible speed.

On the 5th of December his head-quarters were at Smorgoni, and there, after talking to them in terms of hope and confidence he took an affectionate and individual farewell of each of his generals. At ten o'clock on that inclement night he stepped

* "Your Majesty, we have nothing to eat! Your Majesty, we are not paid!"

† This force is often called by different writers, the army of Moldavia.

with Caulaincourt into a sledge, which, followed by only two other sledges, drove off at speed on the road to Poland.

He had no escort—none of his faithful guards with him, and had a narrow escape from being taken on that road by a determined Russian partisan. He, however, arrived safely at Warsaw, where the famous Abbé de Pradt was residing as his minister, on the 10th of December.

The abbé, who had been distracted by the most contradictory accounts of the fate of the grand army, was surprised to see a tall gaunt figure enter his room without any ceremony. This figure was dressed in furs, stiffened by frost, and was supported by a servant. At first the abbé could not recognise his old acquaintance—it was Caulaincourt, the Duke of Vicenza.

"What! you here?" exclaimed the astonished De Pradt; "and where is the emperor?"

"At the hotel d'Angleterre, expecting you."

"Why did he not stop at the palace?"

"He travels incognito."

"Do you want any thing?"

"Some Burgundy or Malaga."

"All I have is at your service; but where are you going now?"

"To Paris."

"To Paris! But where is the army?"

"It no longer exists!" said Caulaincourt, looking upwards.

"And the victory of the Beresina—and the six thousand prisoners?"

"We got across the river, that was all; the prisoners were a few hundred men, who have escaped. We have had other business than to guard them."

The Abbé de Pradt then hastened to the hotel. In the yard he saw three sledges in a dilapidated condition. One of these was for the emperor and Caulaincourt, the second for two officers of rank, and the third for the Mameluke Rustan and another servant. He was introduced in a mysterious manner into a miserable room, where a dirty female servant was blowing a fire made of green wood that smoked abominably. And there stood Napoleon, whom the abbé had last seen at Dresden, surrounded by more than royal pomp, and by his vassal kings! He was dressed in a green pelisse, lined with furs and covered with lace, and was endeavouring to keep himself warm by walking briskly about the room. He gaily saluted "Monsieur l'Ambassadeur." The abbé was inclined to show some sympathy and tenderness, but he says, "The poor man could not understand me." He therefore only helped Napoleon to take off his cloak.

The conversation then turned upon the state of public feeling at Warsaw, when the abbé was obliged to tell the emperor that the notions of the inhabitants of the grand duchy had been

much changed since they had been induced to despair of his (Napoleon's) desire or faculty of restoring the national independence of the Poles; and that now, seeing there was small chance of their becoming free Poles, they were already devising means to reconcile themselves with their former masters, the Prussians. Here two Polish ministers entered, and checked the abbé's unsavoury communications. From that moment no one spoke but Napoleon, who in a singular monologue endeavoured to cover over his recent and tremendous failure, and to enumerate plans by which to recover all his losses. "We must levy ten thousand Poles, and check the advance of these Russians. A lance and a horse is all that's wanted." And then he added, what Tom Paine had said long before him, "There is but a step between the sublime and the ridiculous."

The ministers then congratulated him on his escape from so many dangers. He replied, "Dangers!—None in the world. I live in agitation. The more I bustle, the better I am. Let kings of cockayne grow fat in their palaces—horseback and the fields for me! From the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step. But why do I find you all so much alarmed here?"

"We cannot judge of the truth of the reports about the army."

"Bah! the army is in a superb condition. I have a hundred and twenty thousand men; I have beaten the Russians in every action; they are no longer the soldiers of Friedland and Eylau. The army will recruit at Wilna—I am going to bring up three hundred thousand men. Success will render the Russians foolhardy. I will fight them two or three times upon the Oder, and in a month I will be again upon the Niemen. It is true I quit my brave soldiers with regret; but I must watch Austria and Prussia, and I have more weight when seated on my throne than when at the head of my army. All that has just happened goes for nothing—a mere misfortune—the enemy can claim no merit in it. I beat them every where; I made a fool of that ass of an admiral (Napoleon could never pronounce the name Tchitchagoff); I had good troops and cannon; the position was superb; five hundred toises of a marsh—a river!" He repeated this, and then quoted from one of his bulletins a distinction he had drawn between men of strong and men of weak minds. He continued, "I have seen worse affairs than this. At Marengo I was beaten till six o'clock in the evening—next morning I was master of Italy! At Essling that archduke tried to stop me. He declared something or other. My army had already advanced a league and a half. I did not even condescend to make any disposition of my forces. Every body knows how such things are managed when I am in the field. I could not help the Danube rising sixteen feet in one night. Ah! had not that happened there would have been an end of the Austrian monarchy. But it was written in heaven that I

should marry an archduchess! (These last words he pronounced in a very gay manner.) Just in the same way in Russia I could not help its freezing. They kept telling me every morning that I had lost ten thousand horses by the cold during the night.—Well, farewell to you!" He bade them farewell five or six times, but each time returned to his subject. "Our Norman horses are not so hardy as the Russian horses—they fall under ten degrees of cold (beneath zero). It is the same with the men. Look at the Bavarians—there remains not one of them! Perhaps people will say I stayed too long at Moscow. That may be true; but the weather was fine—the winter came on before its time—besides, I expected peace. On the 5th of October I sent Lauriston to treat. I thought of going to St. Petersburg, and I had time enough to do so, or to go to the south of Russia, or to Smolensk. Well! we will make head at Wilna; Murat is left there. Ha! ha! ha! It is a grand political game! Nothing venture, nothing win. It is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous. The Russians have shown they have firmness of character—their emperor is beloved by the people—they have clouds of Cossacks—it is something to have such a kingdom—the peasants of the crown love their government—the nobility are all on horseback. They proposed to me that I should set the slaves at liberty, but that I would not do—they would have massacred every body. I made regular war upon the Emperor Alexander, but who could have expected such a blow as the burning of Moscow? Now, they would lay the blame on us; but it was in fact themselves who did it. Such a sacrifice would have done honour to ancient Rome!"

He then returned to his visionary project of checking the Russians by means of a large body of Polish lancers. Such a levy, however extensively made, could not have been effective against an immense army flushed with victory; but Napoleon had behaved with so much insincerity to the Poles, he had so thoroughly committed their independence and wellbeing, that they could scarcely be expected to make any very strenuous exertions in his favour.

The ministers spoke of his passage through Silesia; on which he said, "Ha! Prussia?" as if doubting the security of that route. At last he turned to depart. He interrupted the ministers who were wishing him health, by telling them that he "could not be in better health were the very devil in him." These were his last words in the hotel d'Angleterre at Warsaw. He then threw himself into his sledge, the horses went off at speed, nearly overturning the humble carriage as it passed out of the court-yard gate, and disappeared in the darkness.

During this extraordinary monologue, which is not all madness though it looks like it, the ill-lighted fire went out. Napoleon

was kept warm by the heat of his energies and the motion of walking up and down the apartment, but the unlucky ministers were respectfully still, and were almost frozen to death.

The emperor flew on towards Paris with astonishing rapidity. Years after, when a prisoner at St. Helena, he said he had a narrow escape from being arrested while crossing Silesia. "But the Prussians," he added, "passed the time in consulting which they ought to have employed in acting. They behaved like the Saxons, of whom Charles XII. said gaily, on his leaving Dresden, 'They will be deliberating to-day whether they should have arrested me yesterday.'" At Dresden, where he arrived on the 14th of December, he was affectionately received by the kind-hearted, high-minded old king, who went incognito to visit him at an hotel.

It was late in the night of the 18th of December that Napoleon arrived before the gilded gates of the Tuileries, within which he had some difficulty in obtaining admittance. With his usual short, quick steps, he hurried up stairs, and through the magnificent saloons. The empress had retired to her private apartments. In the ante-room, a lady in waiting, alarmed at seeing a man muffled up in furs rushing to her majesty's bedchamber, threw herself between him and the door. She immediately afterwards, however, recognised the imposing, never-to-be-forgotten countenance of the emperor, and shrieked aloud. Terrified at this noise, Maria Louisa rushed into the ante-room, and then into the arms of her husband, whom she had never expected to see more. This meeting is said to have been extremely affectionate on both sides.

According to Mademoiselle Avrillon, the return of Napoleon had a magical effect on the courtly atmosphere of the Tuileries, which for some time had been cloudy and doubtful, scarcely admitting one cheering ray of that bright star—the star of Napoleon's destiny, in which in former days Frenchmen had such unlimited confidence. Mademoiselle says,

"The bad news received from the army set our courtiers seriously a-thinking. The Empress Josephine, who by long habit knew the value of court affection, saw around her persons who lately exhausted themselves in protestations of devotion and fidelity, already prepared to turn sides, according as the wind might blow. For, as they reasoned, the unheard-of catastrophe of the campaign of 1812 must produce strange fruits—bringing with them the fall of the conqueror: it was therefore right that every one should take precautions, and secure himself a port in case of a storm. This is what was thought by the majority of the great dignitaries of the household, some of whom carefully concealed their ideas, while others showed them clearly enough, when lo! of a sudden, and without any preparation, at the very moment when nobody would have been astonished at

hearing of the emperor's death, a courier arrived at Malmaison to announce that his majesty had just arrived at the Tuileries.

"Then every face cleared up, as if a great victory had been obtained. Every courtier showed more earnestness, more devotion, more enthusiasm for Napoleon than ever. They were never tired of making eulogiums on that character, unique in history, on that man as great in adversity as in prosperity, and whose iron will would, sooner or later, force victory to serve him. But with poor Josephine the blow was struck, the effect produced, and she needed no second proof to appreciate the sincerity and devotion of these exalted admirers."*

It was shortly after this return that Napoleon gave a proof of that egotism, which, in the opinion of Lord Byron, did him so much injury.

"The great error of Napoleon, 'if we have writ our annals true,' was a continual obtrusion on mankind of his want of all community of feeling for or with them: perhaps more offensive to human vanity than the active cruelty of more trembling and suspicious tyranny.

"Such were his speeches to public assemblies as well as individuals; and the single expression which he is said to have used on returning to Paris after the Russian winter had destroyed his army, rubbing his hands over the fire, 'This is pleasanter than Moscow,' would probably alienate more favour from his cause than the destruction and reverses which led to the remark."†

The enormity of Napoleon's ambition will be properly estimated, if attention be given to the following statement of what were his actual power and possessions when he began the mad invasion of Russia. With all his annexations in Belgium, Holland, Italy, and elsewhere, the so called French empire reckoned one hundred and thirty departments, containing a population of forty-two millions! Besides all this, he exercised a paramount authority in the kingdom of Italy with its six millions of inhabitants; in the kingdom of Naples with its five millions; and he held the Illyrian provinces, which formed a separate government, and included Dalmatia, Carniola, and part of Croatia. In the north of Germany, he coerced Prussia, and was absolute master of the kingdom of Westphalia, the grand duchy of Berg, &c., whilst the princes of the confederation of the Rhine were his humble vassals. Yet all this was not enough for one who was not born to the property of a rood of land—for one who in his boyhood and youth positively experienced some of the bitterest pangs of poverty!—*Editor.*

* See Mémoires, vol. ii. † Notes to 3d Canto of "Childe Harold."

NOTES ON THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND, AND BONAPARTE'S TREATMENT OF THE POLES.

Napoleon's connexion with Poland was one of the very extraordinary passages of his life, and yet it has not hitherto been explained in an impartial or satisfactory manner to the English reader. We will endeavour to supply this deficiency by a recapitulation of authenticated facts, and by as few remarks as may be of our own. On the first iniquitous partition of Poland we shall say nothing.* It was after the final partition or extinction of that unhappy country, in 1794, that the name of Bonaparte became a sort of rallying-point to the Poles. We shall therefore start with those events, and follow them up to the year 1815, and the fall of Napoleon, when Poland was partially re-established as a kingdom by the Emperor Alexander

Stanislaus Augustus (Poniatowski), the last King of the Poles owed his crown to Russian favour and intrigue; but though continually distracted between his duty to his country, and the necessity of procuring the goodwill of his potent neighbour, he was animated with a reforming and patriotic spirit. His mind, however, was rather refined and generous than strong and resolute; and he came too late. The friends of humanity will still bless his name for the good he proposed, and for the benefits he really conferred, and was conferring, on his country, when the confederate powers deprived him of his throne.

Under his reign, troubled as it constantly was by Russian interference, the studies of science and literature, which had fallen so much into neglect, during the anarchical or anti-national government of his predecessors, were protected and renewed with enthusiasm. The language of the country, which had been much neglected and corrupted, was now assiduously cultivated; and the king endeavoured to raise the moral condition of the people, by establishing schools throughout the provinces. "It was now," says Oginski, "that

* The first partition of Poland was made in 1772, the partitioners being Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederic the Great of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria. In this division, however, a small part of the country was left to a dependant and almost nominal King of Poland. In the last division the spoilers left nothing.

Austria, under the rule of Maria Theresa, appears long to have held back from what the empress-queen considered a project of guilt. She did not show herself so averse to the second partition; but, according to Oginski, Jomini, (See *Histoire des Guerres de la Révolution*), and other good authorities, Austria was the last and most reluctant of the three powers in acceding to the final partition of Poland, and if she did so in 1794, it was because she saw that the catastrophe was unavoidable, and would take place even though she had no part in it. It is curious, however, and characteristic to see Austria produce the following *right* to Gallitzia, the portion allotted to her. "Gallitzia, whose principal town is Lemberg, was anciently possessed by the Kings of Hungary, who gave it to Poland in 1422-23, renouncing their rights *for the present*." This equivocal expression served as a claim, and the crown of Hungary being then held by Austria, the emperor was justified in resuming jurisdiction, &c. over the country.

Konarski organized '*Les écoles pies*,' reformed the methods of instruction, and published several useful works. Bohomolec edited an instructive journal, in which he combated many of the popular prejudices. Crasicki, the most amiable and versatile of poets, criticised, amused, and instructed. Wengierski, gifted with satirical wit, lashed the vices and foibles of the magnates, who excused his hard truths for the clever verses in which they were told. Kopczynski composed a grammar, and subjected the Polish language to fixed rules. Naruscewitz, a celebrated historian and poet, translated Horace and Tacitus, and in writing the annals of his native country, he reached the elevated style of the Roman historian. The learned Albetrandi, a distinguished antiquary, sent by the king to Stockholm and Rome, with orders to collect materials connected with the history of Poland, enriched the national archives with more than a hundred precious manuscripts, all written by his own hand. The astronomer Poczobutt, the professor of physics, Strzecki, and Sniadecki, Skrzetuski, Wyrwicz, Staszis, Kollontay, and many other learned and literary characters, seriously applied themselves to the instruction of youth, and laboured to inspire a taste for study among their countrymen.

"But nothing contributed more to destroy old prejudices, and to develop the natural disposition which the Poles have in general for study and instruction, than the organization of the Military College of Cadets, and the establishment of a commission of education. These two institutions alone might suffice to give an idea of all that the king would have been capable of, if his energy had answered to his talent, and if fortune had not always combated and hampered his best intentions. In proportion as the national schools were organized and filled, and as the beneficial effects of the new system of education were felt, every thing in Poland assumed a new aspect. Ideas and opinions visibly changed in the provinces as well as in the capital. In a short time there was no one who did not desire to learn the Polish language grammatically, to speak it purely, and to write it with precision and elegance. The national history was studied; the memory of the great men who have illustrated it was recalled; their deeds were sung in the national language; and the Poles, to *patriotize* themselves, began to wear the ancient national costume. The Polish theatre was particularly protected by the king, nor was there a dearth of good dramatic authors, such as the Prince Adam Czartoryski, Zablocki, Kniazin, Niemcewicz,* and Osinski; nor of good actors, among whom Bogulawski (who moreover enriched the dramatic repertory with many pieces, original and translated) was especially distinguished. The Polish ladies, who have always been celebrated for their wit and amiability, rivalled each other in preaching patriotism, and no longer boasted of any thing but what was national.

* The Prince Adam Czartoryski, and the Count Niemcewicz, driven on the failure of the revolution of 1830 from their native land, where all they possessed had been seized and confiscated by the Russians, have long been in England, enjoying that hospitality which the land of the free and the generous of heart can extend to them. It is honourable to us as a nation, that two such truly distinguished individuals should have chosen their place of refuge among us. The count, though far advanced in years, and burdened by many sorrows, still preserves the wit and vivacity of youth. Long may he continue to live with us!

Good society reigned every where; the assemblies were numerous and gay."*

The cause of reason and humanity had certainly made great progress during the few latter years of the reign of Stanislaus Augustus, and, though it was not without the most violent opposition (fomented probably by foreign powers), the constitution of May 1791 was definitively adopted. The following were among the most important of the changes contemplated:

1. The throne was to be declared henceforth hereditary in families.

2. Ample privileges were accorded to free towns, and the burghers' deputies were admitted to seats in the Diet. These burgher deputies, moreover, at the end of their second year might be ennobled if they chose. In the army, every man, whatever might be his original condition, on obtaining the rank of captain, was declared noble. At each Diet, thirty *bourgeois* might be ennobled at the demand of the free towns.

3. Distinct courts of justice were established for the free peasants.

4. The *liberum veto*, the source of such incalculable evils, was for ever abolished.

The constitution of May, which contained numerous other articles in the same spirit as the above-mentioned, and scarcely less important, united a variety of opinions in its favour; it was hailed as a pledge of Poland's hasty resurrection; as a sacred chart where the rights of man were vindicated; and in England the eloquence of Burke and Fox were exhausted in its praise—it was, indeed, an immense improvement on the past. Its evident tendency was to raise the *bourgeoisie* and to form that "*tiers état*," whose non-existence in Poland was the cause of half her disasters. On the passing of the articles which regarded the burghers, many of the more patriotic of the Polish nobles inscribed their names on the lists of citizens, and took up, what we should call their freedom in the different cities. But we must observe the abolition of the slavery of the cultivators of the soil is not even mentioned.†

Such as it was, the constitution of May would have regenerated Poland, had it been adopted some twenty years before; and that unhappy country, strengthened by its results and gradual improvement, might have been in a condition to brave foreign intrigues and foreign arms in 1791. But it was unfortunate, to an anomaly, in its dates for it came too early as well as too late; and the well-meaning King of Poland, during the remainder of his life, never ceased to regret—to complain, that he had been forced by the impetuosity of his subjects, to grant the new constitution, at least two years before he had matured it—before circumstances were favourable for its reception. "Did they not know," said Stanislaus, reproachfully, "that by gathering the fruits of the earth while they were yet green, they would lose the harvest? Am I to blame for the ill success of a measure whose

* Mémoires de Michel Oginski sur la Pologne et les Polonais, depuis 1788 jusqu'à la fin de 1815.

† In justice, however, we ought to attend to the following assertions of Oginski: "There is no doubt whatever, that if this diet had not been forcibly interrupted and dissolved for ever, that the slavery of the peasants would have disappeared; for the wisest measures had been taken in order to prepare for and gradually produce that crisis without occasioning any violent shock, or infringing the rights and property of the noble landholders.'—See *Memoires*, tom. i., p. 59.

adoption and date were precociously anticipated, and against my conviction and will?"

And here it is important to remember, what was indisputably the fact, that the constitution of May (essentially a revolution in itself) was hurried on by an imprudent spirit of imitation—that the effervescence of the French revolution had reached the Poles, and that the new and astounding crisis almost justified the neighbouring kings in the cry of jacobinism which they speedily raised against Poland. The sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, could not see without alarm, the rapid successes of the republican army, nor fail to be apprehensive of *every movement* that received its impulse from France; more especially at a moment, when throughout Europe, provinces and states were revolutionized either by French constraint or by their own spontaneous rising, and the *apanages* of royalty esteemed it a glory to be incorporated with the formidable democracy of France. We can enter into the feelings of Count Oginski, when he complains it is hard, that the very constitution of May, which had been strenuously opposed as placing too great power in the hands of the king, should immediately after be accused of jacobinism: we can believe with him, that the nation was free from the perilous taint, and admit his reasonings, that—

"In France, the clergy and the nobility were regarded as the enemies of the country. In Poland, on the contrary, the clergy and the nobility of themselves composed the nation, and *they* had endeavoured to form a constitution, which should ensure the individual liberty of each of them, and promote the happiness and tranquillity of the classes of society which had no part in their deliberations. In short, the Poles had shed no blood, had never attempted the life of their king; *and the 'tiers état'*, or middle classes, *which, properly speaking, had made the revolution in France, did not even exist in Poland.*" Still it remained matter of notoriety, that emissaries of the French Republic—those fanatic members of the "propaganda fidei" of a remorseless democracy—had been detected in Poland, where they disseminated by words, and by printed books and pamphlets, sentiments utterly subversive of all social order; and moreover, that a self-elected deputation of Poles then at Paris, presented themselves at the bar of the Convention, where they glorified in professing ultra-jacobin principles, and assured the French that the whole Polish nation shared their sentiments. They received the usual recompence. The Polish nobles were welcomed with the fraternal *accolade* of the democrats, and decreed the honour of seats at the august assembly.

To conclude our remarks on the constitution of May, we must add that it was madly precipitated, were we only to take into account the circumstances, that the king had neither time to recruit his army nor his exhausted finances; that the kingdom was insufficiently provided with arms, and that at the moment we speak of, the property of the Polish bankers and capitalists was chiefly locked up in the countries with which they provoked a war.*

We have just explained that the enfranchisement of the serfs was not effected by the constitution of May, which still continues to be the

* A general bankruptcy ensued, and this catastrophe accelerated the fate of Poland.

great boast of the Poles, and we must here make the important remark, that a tender of liberty to the people was only made in the last extremity. Indeed it was not until the insurrection of 1794, the proposed object of which was to establish the constitution of May, that the brave Kosciutzko, in arming the peasants with scythes and pikes (he had no better weapons to put in their hands), attempted to awaken their patriotism, and create a spirit, of which they were devoid, by presenting them with the flattering perspective of freedom. But this was later than the eleventh hour—it was far too late, to effect any great good! Men cannot pass at a step from the character of slaves to that of free men—a tardy invitation, and a promise, could not efface the degradation of ages, and the instruction of a few weeks could not remove the ignorance, the stupidity, and indifference of the Polish serfs, or even raise them to a clear comprehension of their rights as men, or their duties as citizens.

The result of the unequal struggle are matters of public history. Its bloody details, from which we shrink with horror, may be found in the Memoirs of Oginski, who fought with Kosciutzko. The final and entire partition was the catastrophe that might have been foreseen, and in 1794, the fate which Mr. Burke had augured for France, befel Poland—she was blotted out of the map of Europe.

After the murderous storming of Praga, and the surrender of Warsaw to the Russians, many of the Polish patriots, among whom was Count Oginski, retired to Venice, where the minister of the French Republic gave them countenance and protection. From the head of the Adriatic the emigrants found means of addressing and maintaining a correspondence with their friends in Poland; whilst another knot of refugees was formed at Paris, who busied themselves in soliciting the assistance of the French republic in favour of their country. The government of France had indeed promised, *on the faith of republicans*, to succour the Poles, and blandishments and fine words, that cost nothing, were lavished upon them. In April, 1795, the news of the treaty of Basle, between Prussia and France, dissipated the final delusion, and the Polish patriots learned with consternation that France had guaranteed to his Prussian majesty all the actual possessions of Prussia, in which his share of Poland was of course included. Oginski, whose faith in republican virtue was soon to be so shaken, had drawn up a remonstrance, in the name of his countrymen, the moment he heard of the negotiations which ended in the treaty of Basle. He represented to the French government how favourable was the opportunity for acting in behalf of the Poles, by imposing on the King of Prussia the condition that he should relinquish the acquisitions he had made in Poland, and co-operate with France in the re-establishment of that country, whose dismemberment had destroyed the political balance of Europe. Barrs, the Polish agent at Paris, "who," says Oginski with curious simplicity, "found my observations very just, and shared my opinion;" made his representations to the members of the French government who more particularly favoured the cause of the Poles. The answer of the republican executive, which ought not to be forgotten, was, "that the condition proposed by the Polish emigrants could not be laid before the King of Prussia, because it would delay or stop the pending negotiations—

that France had as much need of peace as the King of Prussia, in order that she might heal her wounds and recruit her exhausted finances—that, however (it was added to console the suppliant patriots), the present peace with Prussia *could not last long*, and *then*, at the opening of another war, the French republicans would certainly wrest Poland from the grasp of its usurpers, if they did not even obtain by force the restoration of her national independence.

But the bubble was now burst. The Poles had to feel, how much an oppressed people might expect from foreign arms and interference, and from the faith of republicans; whilst many of the emigrant nobles, despoiled of every thing, had to experience in their own particular case, and with all the bitterness of the Italian exile,

> Si come sa di sale,
> Lo pane altrui—e com' è duro cale
> Lo scendere e salir per altrui scale.—*Dante.*

Like drowning men who catch at straws, the Poles now turned for help, from democratic France, to despotic Turkey—from the land where the millennium of liberality, of equality of rights, and of an emancipation from every prejudice, religious as well as political, was proclaimed, to that, where all such sentiments, could they ever have penetrated, would have been treated by the dreaming Turks as aberrations of the intellect. Oginski was named to this promising embassy by his brethren at Paris, who assumed the title of "Comité de salut public," and having received long letters of instruction, addressed "*Au Citoyen, &c.*," and signed by "Citizens" who were now without a country or a home, the active Pole prepared his departure for Constantinople towards the end of 1795. The French agents, at the head of whom was Lallemant, the minister at Venice, gave encouragement and advice to Oginski, and affected to hope that he would be able to prevail on the divan, at least, to grant an asylum to the Poles in Moldavia, whence, at the first rupture with the Muscovites, they might attempt the liberation of their own country. An English passport, under a feigned name, opened the way for the Polish envoy through the Italian peninsula, and after some narrow escapes from Russian spies and emissaries, who were permitted to exercise their functions in that country against the Polish refugees, he embarked at Leghorn for the Levant.

Oginski appeared at Constantinople with a cause infinitely more desperate than that of Charles XII., the guest or the captive of Bender; and this part of the narrative is almost a counterpart of the adventures of Poniatowski, and the other agents for the mad king of Sweden at the Turkish capital. Not being accredited in any official capacity, it was by no means easy to establish a political correspondence with the Ottoman ministers, who are never very accessible. But Oginski did at last obtain an interview with Prince Moruzi, first drogoman of the Porte, and the receptacle of nearly all the political knowledge of the empire.* The Pole was astonished at the Greek's information and various talents. Moruzi seemed as well acquainted with the state of

* Oginski was introduced to the Greek prince, whose brother was then Hospodar of Wallachia, by Verninac, the minister of the French republic.

parties and factions in Poland as he was himself. After adverting to the fatal disunion of the Poles, which had brought on the catastrophe, and to many other circumstances, particularly to that of the diet in 1791, having sent to the Porte, instead of an active and prudent minister, an ambassador who had employed a whole year in his journey from Warsaw to Constantinople, and who, when at his post, had disgusted the Turks by his pomp and insolence, and by the number and unruliness of his suite, Moruzi threw out some slight hopes, that in case of a division being made by Sweden against Russia, the Turks would begin hostilities, and then the Polish patriots might co-operate with effect. Moruzi, whose talents we have often heard mentioned with great respect at Constantinople, in the course of this curious conversation, when again adverting to the differences of opinions and views of the Poles, said, "*Barthélémy, Ministre de France à Bâle, a eu raison de dire, qu'il fallait tout faire pour les Polonais, sans les Polonais.*"*

When Oginski attempted to arouse the wary Greek by a startling picture of the threatening attitude of Russia, and her well-known views on Constantinople, Moruzi replied with calmness and a smile, "*Beaucoup d'eau s'écoulera dans le Danube avant que ces évènemens sinistres peuvent être réalisés!*" (a great deal of water will flow in the Danube before these sinister projects can be realized). Oginski was obliged to promise that he would keep secret his interview with the drogoman of the Porte. But the secrets of the Polish diplomatist were not in his own keeping, for while thus engaged, the Russian minister at Constantinople received information of every step he took, and obtained copies of his letters and communications to the French and other agents. A Perote servant whom Oginski employed, repaired every morning and evening to the Russian legation, to give a report of his master's proceedings during the day. This circumstance Oginski had afterwards the satisfaction of learning from the mouth of the worthy individual himself.

Hopes so vague and distant as those which fell from the cautious drogoman could scarcely satisfy the ardent Poles, and Oginski again attempted to arm France in their favour. About this time (1796) the French had penetrated into the very heart of Italy, and were approaching the western frontiers of the Turkish empire. The eyes of the world were fixed on their youthful and astonishing leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, and to this rising star, Oginski, with many others whose fortunes were to be blighted rather than cherished by its influence, confidently turned himself. From Constantinople he addressed the following emphatic letter, which is highly characteristic of the times:

"TO THE CITIZEN BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY.

"Citizen General,—If nothing were wanting to illustrate the glory of the French name by victories and conquests; if nothing else were required to render you worthy of the title of 'Defender,' and of 'a citizen who has merited well of his country;' and if your ambition, citizen general, were confined to the throwing of your enemy to the earth, and to the making yourself admired and respected throughout

* Barthelemy, the Minister of France, at Basle, was right in saying that every thing ought to be done for the Poles, *without* the Poles.

Europe, you might already terminate your exploits, and repose in the shade of your laurels.

"Your career, as brilliant as perilous, would from this moment merit for you a distinguished place among those illustrious men of whose splendid deeds antiquity has transmitted us the memory; and you might find, in the bosom of your country and family, a sweet recompence for a hero who has fought only to ensure peace to Europe, and to consolidate the wellbeing, the glory, and the power of France.

"But there are still, citizen general, cares well worthy of you; your heart, which success has not rendered deaf to the cry of suffering humanity, groans, without doubt, at the mere recollection of so many unhappy men who still expect their salvation from France.

"Fifteen millions of Poles, once independent, now the victims of the force of circumstances, fix their eyes on you. They would fain pierce that barrier which separates them from you, to share your dangers, to crown you with new laurels, and to add to all the titles you have acquired, that of 'Father of the Oppressed.'

"Do not lose sight of the fact, citizen general, that this nation is rendered interesting by her misfortunes, and suffers only because she attempted to secure her own liberty and independence. You are one of those whose position ought to open to the Poles a way to shake off the odious and degrading yoke which they bear with impatience. You will find, as a French citizen, powerful motives for delivering them from oppression; and your patriotic zeal, seconded by your military talents, will triumph over every obstacle.

"No! As long as France exists, it shall not be said that the Poles were condemned to bear the chains of slavery! If the identity of sentiments, which draw the two nations to each other, did not guarantee this consoling certainty, would not the friendship and confidence we repose in the French obtain for us their fraternal attentions and their powerful support?

"Hasten, citizen general, to make known to the universe, that France considers her glory to consist in protecting the weak, and in assuring the happiness of all the people who claim her protection. Hasten to accomplish our hearts' desires and our hopes; re-establish the balance of power in Europe, in restoring liberty and independence to the nations that have been deprived of them; and so act, that from the centre of Italy to the sources of the Borysthenes, *the people*, repossessed of their rights, may cherish in you the friend of humanity, and respect the conquering warrior!"

Such was the language of emphasis and pedantry that was mistaken by many, at the end of the eighteenth century, for antique energy and republican simplicity. Oginski lived to blush at his having used it.* As

* He adds in a note, "The republican and emphatic style of this letter will surprise no one acquainted with the style of those times, and with the desperate position of the Poles, who could expect help only from France. I avow that, in 1796, I partook in the general enthusiasm for Bonaparte, which was inspired by the military talents of that chief of the army of Italy—talents which even his enemies cannot dispute. My enthusiasm, and still more my hopes, diminished when he made himself consul for life; and they abandoned me altogether when he proclaimed himself Emperor of the French."—See *Mémoires.*

for Bonaparte, he resorted to the same style both in speaking and writing, and even down to a much later period; but he used it merely as a sort of freemasonry pass or token with those with whom it was current, and whose confidence and goodwill he was anxious to cultivate. The romance of that extraordinary man never seems to have extended beyond an anomalous admiration of the vague and vapoury Ossian; and nothing could well be less romantic than his reply to the Polish patriot's highflown address. This answer was a verbal one, and conveyed to Oginski by Sulkowsky, an aide-de-camp of Bonaparte, who was sent on a mission to Constantinople, and who was afterwards killed in Egypt. "What can I promise?" said Bonaparte thoughtfully, after perusing the epistle. "Tell your countryman that I love and esteem the Poles. That the partition of Poland is an act of iniquity which cannot be long endured; that, after having terminated the war in Italy, I will go myself, at the head of my brave troops, and force Russia to give up Poland; *but, tell them also, that the Poles must not rely too much upon foreign assistance; that they must take up arms; annoy the Russians by every means in their power; and keep up communications with the disaffected in the interior.* All the fine words which are told them at Constantinople will come to nothing; I am acquainted with the diplomatic jargon and the indolence of the Turks. A nation oppressed by its neighbours can raise itself only by its own arms."

The Turks, of course, did nothing for the Poles, and their hopes were concentrated in the French; but when *they*, who were to carry their victorious arms beyond the Vistula, signed the treaty of peace of Campo-Formio, without even a mention of Poland, the last particle of those hopes might have died within them. A vast number of his companions satisfied themselves with commands in Bonaparte's army; but Oginski had other views and feelings; and seeing no prospect of being useful to his country by continuing a wanderer, he turned his thoughts towards home. His wife's connexions and interest procured the King of Prussia's leave for him and his family to reside in Prussian Poland.

He had closed his political correspondence, convinced that henceforth it could only endanger himself and others, and he lived tranquilly under the Prussian government until 1802, when the young Emperor Alexander was graciously pleased to permit his passing the Russian frontier as a Lithuanian subject of Russia; and after taking the oath of allegiance at Grodno, Count Oginski went on to St. Petersburg, where he certainly obtained greater benefits for his country than he would have done elsewhere. But it was at Minsk,* in White Russia, and not at St. Petersburg, that the noble Pole was first presented to the Emperor Alexander, who, from that moment, became the object of his admiration, affection, and respect. Few men have been more

* A ball was given to the emperor while at Minsk. He danced with all the ladies who were presented to him, and, in the course of the evening, made the following remark, which honours his head and his heart, to Count Oginski: "I see, with the greatest pleasure, that prejudices begin to disappear, even in this country, and that citizens' wives and daughters are admitted into the assemblies with ladies of the highest nobility. In my German provinces—in Livonia and Courland, the custom has long existed; but here it is an agreeable surprise," &c. —Vol. ii., p. 330.

enthusiastically praised, and more bitterly blamed, during their lifetime, than Alexander. Some few years are now past since he met his premature end on the shores of the Black Sea; and hate, outliving love, is still busy with his name. For ourselves, we believe the character drawn by Oginski to be mainly correct, notwithstanding the calumnies of his opponents, the horrid insinuations of Bonaparte, and the feelings of jealousy which his interference in the affairs of other countries of late years roused against him. "Tender-hearted, pleasing, accomplished, and well-disposed; a certain weakness and indecision in the earlier, a glare of vanity, and a tinge of mysticism in the latter years of his life, led him into errors with regard to foreign politics; but as a sovereign of Russia, his memory will remain in high honour among his people, and he will ever be esteemed as one of the greatest benefactors of his country."

"But," says the warm-hearted Polish noble, "besides all that I owed the Emperor Alexander personally, I was indebted to him, as a Pole, for the protection he granted to my countrymen, the generous confidence he reposed in them, the *encouragement of national education* in Poland, and, lastly, the revival of my country's name among the states of Europe."

Uninstructed by the past, and still unacquainted with the character of the French or Bonaparte, the Poles again reposed their hopes in them, when they carried their arms into Prussia, and struck a fatal blow, at Jena. Oginski was then at Wilna, and had opportunities of seeing the manœuvres of the French agents, who scattered themselves about Russian-Poland, exciting the people to rise against the Emperor Alexander, and announcing the arrival of Kosciutzko in the van of Bonaparte's army. Kosciutzko had, indeed, been invited by Napoleon to follow him in this campaign; but the Polish patriot, who *did know* his man, excused himself on the plea of bad health. Oginski attempted, but with indifferent success, to stem the popular torrent, which ran very generally in favour of the French. "By my opinions," says he, "I offended many of my countrymen, who swore only by Napoleon; and yet a few days justified my assertions. It is true, many persons in the society of Wilna thought as I did, and supported their opinions, by the coldness and distance Kosciutzko had openly shown to all the promises of Napoleon; still, however, there is no doubt that twelve thousand inhabitants of Wolhynia and Lithuania crossed the frontier to join the Polish legions; and if the French army had passed the Niemen to penetrate into Lithuania, it is probable, that all capable of bearing arms, would have readily joined it." It will immediately be seen what would have been their fate had they done so.

When Napoleon arrived at Posen the enthusiasm of the Poles was at its height; but the thirty-seventh bulletin, issued from his headquarters, was not calculated to indulge it. This bulletin, "remarkable for that oracular language which he often assumed for the purpose of veiling his designs," was a needless mystification. "Shall the throne of Poland be restored; shall this great nation start again into existence? God alone, who holds in his hands the threads of events, can resolve this great political problem; but certainly there never was a period—so important and so full of interest." But

Napoleon resolved the problem himself, and in a mode which never ought to be forgotten! He not only guaranteed to Alexander the share of Poland he already possessed, but, at their memorable meeting at Tilsit, offered to enlarge it by the addition of Warsaw and the whole of Prussian Poland. This *generous* offer was declined by Alexander, and it was then that Bonaparte formed the duchy of Warsaw, and gave it to the King of Saxony. "Although the partisans of Napoleon have thrown a doubt over this offer," says Oginski, in whom, as a man of honour in all circumstances, we are inclined to place great confidence, "still it is not the less true that the proposition was made; and of this I have since had the most authentic proofs under my own eyes. The district of Byalistok, a part of the Prusso-Polish provinces conquered, with a population of several hundred thousand inhabitants, was, however, given by Napoleon and accepted by Alexander. But this does not complete the iniquity, the infamy, of the French towards the Poles.

"The news of the treaty filled Wilna and the Polish provinces subjected to Russia with astonishment, and carried consternation into families, of which many individuals were compromised. Many young men, who with too great precipitation had quitted Lithuania and Wolhynia, to join the Polish army, had exposed their relations and friends left behind, to inquiries and persecutions. All those who only waited for the passing of the Niemen, by the armies under the orders of Napoleon, were disappointed. The treaty of Tilsit was regarded as the grave of all the hopes that had been conceived of the re-establishment of Poland; and from that period the confidence in Napoleon was considerably weakened throughout the provinces belonging to Russia. But it was yet worse, when after the treaty of Tilsit, the conferences at Erfurt brought the two emperors in closer contact, when ambassadors were reciprocally sent to Paris and Petersburg, they began to nourish those amicable relations, by communications which left to the two respective courts, nothing unrevealed, that might endanger the interior security of their states. Many of the inhabitants of Wolhynia and Lithuania, were then denounced to Russia by the very men (the insidious agents of France) who had instigated them to imprudent revolt! Happily for the Poles, the Emperor Alexander was not disposed to severity; but the more they appreciated his generous conduct, the less would they be disposed, should the case occur a second time, to be seduced by the agents of a government, who sacrificed as victims, those of whom they no longer stood in need."*

During this war of 1806, which ended in a peace so inauspicious to her, Poland had suffered most severely. According to the Baron Uklanski, the French army preyed upon her very vitals, and the expenses of maintaining thirty thousand national troops, and answering to other incidental contributions, far exceeded the revenues of the unhappy country. "All the live stock, fell a prey to French requisitions; cows, oxen, sheep, geese, turkeys, and the very guinea-pigs, were devoured by them." Nor did the formation of the duchy of Warsaw entirely answer to the expectations and desires of that portion of the Poles who were thus withdrawn from the domination of Prussia. Still adhering to his old system, Napoleon

* Oginski, vol. ii., pp. 345, 346.

employed partisans and emissaries to cajole them with brighter hopes, that what he could not do now, should be done for them when circumstances favoured. Some important benefits were however conferred. The King of Saxony, his faithful ally, whom Bonaparte aggrandized with the duchy of Warsaw, was the very prince who had been called by them to succeed to their throne, when by the constitution of May, 1791, the election of kings was abolished; and as such he was welcome to the Poles. The constitutional statute drawn up by a commission named by Bonaparte, and signed by him at Dresden on the 22d of July, 1807, contained the following clauses:

I. The religion of the state was declared to be the Roman catholic; but liberty of worship was guaranteed to all, and *all* were recognised as equal, in the eyes of the law.

The slavery of the peasants was abolished!

The dietines, combined after a new process, with departmental assemblies, elected a diet, which was divided into two chambers.

The king possessed the *initiative* in laws; the nomination of the senators, of the presidents of the dietines, and even of the presidents of the diets.

The king named also to all employments, civil and military.

The ministers formed a council of state; they could dissolve the diets; they appointed the judiciary order, and the judges exercised their functions for life.

It cannot be denied, that under this system important steps were made towards improvement, and towards the elevation of the long oppressed classes of the Poles to the dignity of men and citizens; and that good was operating in spite of many evils.

"The Poles of the duchy of Warsaw, had the satisfaction of being governed by a prince who merited their esteem and confidence; of seeing respectable citizens occupy the first posts of the state, and the brave Prince Joseph Poniatowski, at the head of the war department. But too soon did this new duchy (not sufficiently strong to oppose a barrier against Russia and Austria) feel all the weight of her new existence, in the obligation of supporting numerous troops, of contributing to the expenses of the civil list, which was excessively disproportionate to the extent or the population of the country; in being governed in civil matters by the King of Saxony, who was generally loved and esteemed, but whose circumscribed power could never resist the vexations of the military government of Napoleon; in being, in short, borne down, beneath a burden of taxes, which, after a short time, the landholders could not pay, without selling their estates, or giving them up to the administration of the public treasure."*

The duchy of Warsaw, thus ruled by a prefect king, was eighteen hundred square leagues in extent, was divided into six departments—Posen, Kalisch, Plock, Warsaw, Lomza, and Bydgoszez, and contained a population amounting to about four millions of inhabitants.

The glorious measure of the emancipation of the serfs, which in the eyes of many, will atone for every other evil, was not however confined to the duchy of Warsaw; its blessings extended to Prussian Poland, where indeed the Prussian government had for some time been as-

* Oginski, tom. ii., p. 347

siduously employed in bettering the condition of the Polish people, and was on the eve of establishing a number of schools for their instruction, in each department, when Napoleon invaded Prussia. But, it must be remarked, that every political change, effected suddenly, and *à grand coups* (to which Bonaparte was somewhat too much addicted) is sure to carry with it, a dangerous disregard of individual rights, or principles that cannot be acted upon. Thus it happened with his abolition not only of slavery, but of the task-work of the Polish serfs. "On my estates," complained the Baron Uklanski, "the peasants and colonists hold of me upwards of four thousand acres of arable land, *for which they pay no rent*, but as a compensation *cultivate without wages the grounds which I farm myself;* these *tenements* Bonaparte's constitution assigns them as their property, without allowing the least compensation to the lord, whom of course it robs of more than one-half of his possessions. Is not this glaring injustice? By this frenzied legislature I lose my best grounds, and am under the necessity of cultivating the remainder with hired people. The wages, moreover, owing to the thinness of the population, are twice as high in Poland as in Germany, &c."

The modifications, almost immediately and of necessity made to this order of things were—that the peasantry should not be held as proprietors, but tenants, who, as an equivalent for rent, should work three days in the week for their landlords. About thirteen English acres of ground were allotted to each married peasant, and, besides a cottage, his lord engaged to provide him with two or three cows, a few sheep or goats, a stock of poultry, &c. No longer serfs, they could not be sold with the estates, and at all times they were considered at liberty to transfer their labour elsewhere, and to resign the ground and stock of one master, for those of another. In this manner the nobles were not despoiled, but the aggrieved peasantry were manumitted, and a way prepared for their future improvement.

While these changes were in operation in the portions of Poland under French influence, Count Oginski* was living peacefully under the Russian government in Lithuania, where no changes of any im-

* In 1807 he travelled in Italy for his health. We shall follow him there, for the purpose of relating two or three anecdotes of Napoleon. The Pole arrived at Venice during Bonaparte's visit to that extraordinary city, and was presented, together with many other foreigners, to the conqueror. When his name was announced by one of the chamberlains, Napoleon cried in Italian, "Ah, bravo! it is a Pole!" After thanking Oginski for his visit, he said, "You are right to choose this country for your travels; I know the taste of the Poles for the fine arts, and no country can suit them better for this, than Italy." Now all this was urbane enough—but his mood changed.

"But are not these the decorations of the Polish order of the White Eagle?" inquired he hastily, looking at and even touching the insignia of the old national order, which Oginski wore; and without waiting for a reply, he added, "I am astonished that the Emperor Alexander should allow his subjects to wear it!" Oginski answered, that the emperor had not been inclined to deprive the Poles of this last remembrance of their political existence, and added, that Alexander uniformly endeavoured to please the Poles, to soften their misfortunes, and gain their affections. Napoleon frowned, and turning abruptly from him, thus addressed the Prince W——: "As for you, you are a Russian—you are right to travel in Italy and enjoy the sun, for that luminary is a stranger to your country." Many others present at this singular interview were treated with equal

portance took place, the condition of the peasantry remaining much as it had ever been, and perfectly assimilating itself to that of the Russian serfs. Oginski, at the invitation of Prince Kurakin, the Russian minister, went to Paris after the peace of Schœnbrunn, where he saw the prefect-kings and their queens doing homage to the great umpire. He saw also at reviews the soldiers of France, Italy, Holland, Germany, Spain, and Portugal defiling before Napoleon; and also, how thoroughly the nationality of all was sacrificed to the views of one! The count returned to Wilna, and his noble countrymen having intrusted him with a memorial against some vexations of the local government of Lithuania, he repaired to Petersburg, where he was kindly received by the emperor, and promised redress. But Alexander had other subjects of deep interest in his mind. The frowning shadow of Napoleon was already approaching him, and he consulted with Oginski who was so recently from the French capital. The part of the conferences which more particularly regarded our subject. Poland, was, that the emperor warned Oginski and his countrymen, not to allow themselves to be deluded by Bonaparte's cajoleries; and his promise that he would render them a more substantial good, than ever Napoleon would do or contemplate. The count returned to Wilna, but not before receiving an imperial despatch, assenting to the demands of the Lithuanians, and his own appointment to be privy councillor and senator of Russia. The noble Pole then returned to Paris, where he had left his family. On his reappearance at the Tuileries, he was met by Napoleon with increased coldness. "*Vous êtes senateur de Russie; mais vous êtes Polonais, n'est-ce pas?*" was his abrupt address, which he pronounced in a careless manner, and to which, as was his wont, he waited for no reply. Duroc was charged with the commission to feel the political pulse of Oginski, and in a curious conversation, he expressed his regret that he should have accepted place and dignity from Alexander, instead of attaching himself to Napoleon, who had ulterior views in favour of Poland. Oginski's replies were those of a loyal, spirited, and intelligent man. He had lost that hope which had so long cheered him, and as Poland could not be restored to her independence, he professed he could not see much difference between an inhabitant of the duchy of Warsaw under Napoleon, and a Lithuanian under Alexander—in short he regarded the Polish duchy as nothing but a French province, in spite of its semblance of a representative government. Duroc, who seems to have gone too far, for the purposes of his master, treated the idea of the re-establishment of Poland as an independent state, as a chimerical project, and a dream that could never be realized; and he founded his prophecy on the anarchy of the past.

It cannot be denied that Oginski did well in remaining attached to

politeness. To an Italian nobleman, but lately a widower, he observed, "You are in mourning?—for your wife—she did well to die, for she was an *intrigante*." To a deputation of Venetian Jews, who had just contributed a million of livres towards the expenses of his reception, he said in a severe tone, "You are Jews, and you are on sufferance in my States, because I tolerate all religions; but take care—don't play the part of usurers; I don't like usurers; I have them hanged!" After this alarming expression of his antipathies, he again addressed Oginski. "It is singular that I meet these Jews wherever I go; but there are nowhere else so many as among you in Poland!"

the Emperor Alexander; but he gained little credit among his countrymen at Paris, who still saw, and in no remote perspective, the crown of reunited Poland restored to more than its ancient splendour by the sword of Napoleon. Indeed, at the time, through all the varnish of diplomacy and compliment, it was evident a rupture was preparing by France; and with this conviction Oginski hastened to give his sovereign the benefit of his advice. On his arrival at Petersburg in April, 1811, the count requested an audience of the emperor. He told Alexander what he thought of Bonaparte's projects. "I am entirely of your opinion," said the emperor, "except in the idea which you attribute to him, of wishing to crush Russia; for he must have good sense enough to know the impossibility of executing any such project." The emperor was well instructed from Paris of the preparations of Napoleon — he believed they were intended against him, though nobody at Petersburg thought so: he recommended a prudent silence, and thought it more advisable rather to await the attack of his rival, whose character he said he now thoroughly knew, than to anticipate him. At the same time he said that for several months he had been making his own military preparations.

The labours of Oginski, Lubecki, Lubomirski, Plater, and other Poles, engaged at Petersburg in drawing up the plan of a constitution, were interrupted by the march of Napoleon's hosts. Here it may be expedient to turn to the movements of that extraordinary man in Poland, to show how he behaved to those whom he had so often deceived already, and what the Poles had to expect from him.*

In the month of June, 1812, the deputies of the Polish diet waited on Bonaparte, then at Wilna, and their president told him in direct terms, that "the interests of his empire, as well as the honour of France, demanded the restoration of Poland." All of his reply that was not a mistification was this: "Were I a Pole, I should think and act as you do; but situated as I am, I have many interests to conciliate, and many duties to perform. If your efforts be unanimous, you may hope to make your enemies acknowledge your rights; for in countries like these, so remote and extensive, it is only through the unanimous co-operation of the population that you can expect to

* This is De Pradt's account of the happy condition in which he found the duchy of Warsaw at the opening of the Russian campaign of 1812; and we have ground for believing there is little exaggeration in it:

"No functionary, civil or ecclesiastical, was paid. The army contractors had all fled: we supported the troops as well as we could. The unhappy minister of finance sunk under the burden, and often had to blush at the expedients he was reduced to in order to cajole his victims; for what other name can be given to those who had the boldness to contract with him. Every day fresh supplies were demanded from the city, from the country. The taxes were doubled, but nobody paid them. It was no use squeezing a dried-up and exhausted country! Our troops ran over the duchy in all directions, eating up and destroying, carrying away the peasants and their horses. Every thing was consumed, and our wants continued to increase daily. Private misery was equal to the public distress: the one always follows the other. I was confounded at the difference I found between the real state of Poland and the fancy picture that had been made to me of it: between the hopes that had been conceived and the sad realities that struck my eyes. I had scarcely arrived at Warsaw when all the enchantment vanished. I saw nothing but men ruined and groaning under their miseries."—*Histoire de l'Ambassade en Pologne.*

succeed. I held the same language to you when I first appeared among you; and I must now add, that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions, and therefore I cannot countenance any movement which might disturb his quiet possession of his present Polish territories."

Now this was all Napoleon would promise to the Poles, even at the moment when their services were required. They had hailed his war with Russia as the advent of their liberty; in the duchy of Warsaw their enthusiasm was unbounded; they fully expected to pass from their state of temporary probation to national independence and glory; they had convoked the general diet, in which the terms "the kingdom of Poland," "the body of the Polish nation," were pronounced with peculiar emphasis; and under the protecting smiles of Bonaparte's own ambassador. M. de Pradt affirms that such language was the result of a formal injunction in his instructions. Had the Duke de Bassano, the minister of foreign affairs, exceeded his orders? had he mistaken his master's sense, and given too great a latitude to the political aspirations of the Poles, or had Napoleon changed his mind after crossing the Niemen? But we scarcely need prosecute the inquiry, having given the conqueror's evasive reply to the deputation of the diet, which cooled the ardour of the Warsavians, and contributed still more to check the Lithuanians, even had they ever been inclined to favour the French with the hopes of freeing themselves from the Russians. Indeed, so far as regards the Lithuanians, the measures adopted were not of a nature to conciliate them; and this probably arose from the weak hopes that Napoleon entertained of being able to revolutionize a country which had been so many years in the peaceful possession of Russia, that an identification of feelings and interests might have ensued to a considerable extent. Before crossing the Niemen, in his order of the day, Napoleon had told his soldiers they were about to enter the enemy's country; and certainly their march in Lithuania proved they came not as friends! "A number of villages were burned to the ground, several noblemen's chateaux were pillaged, provisions and forage forcibly carried off; the corn, still green, was cut for forage; the fields and meadows were devastated; the women were insulted; the Lithuanian peasants maltreated."

Notwithstanding the shameful licence of the French army, they were not generally ill received; and if the cause of Napoleon did not gain many converts among the magnates of the land, and persons of weight and experience, he had no occasion to complain of a dearth of hairbrained youths—of the enthusiastic, the inexperienced, the idle, the dissolute. At Minsk, he was received with some demonstrations of joy, because his officers, of their own accord, or by his advice, had proclaimed the speedy re-establishment of the great ancient Polish kingdom. At Wilna, more than three hundred students of the university left their books, and followed him; here also several nobles of the highest families volunteered their services. Still, however, there reigned a mutual coldness and diffidence between Napoleon and the mass of the Lithuanian nobility; and that man of headlong volition, who had done nothing, who had promised nothing, who had declared Poland to be an enemy's country, while his troops had

treated it as such, was surprised and exasperated because the Lithuanians did not rise *en masse* and proclaim their independence.

The provinces of Podolia and Volhynia, though remote, were important: they remained perfectly quiet, and in fact Lithuania, with the slight exceptions we have mentioned, may be said to have awaited passively the events of that ever memorable campaign, at the termination of which it tranquilly relapsed under the dominion of Russia. The fate of the duchy of Warsaw, where feelings had been so differently excited, was for some time less fortunate. That confined and impoverished state had raised and supported eighty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, and when, after the disastrous affair of the Berezina, Bonaparte reappeared at Warsaw as a fugitive, followed by the disorganized fragments of an annihilated army, and the Russians and Cossacks in his rear, the duchy was called upon for fresh efforts and sacrifices. In his forward march, Napoleon, like a mighty torrent, had carried every thing with him: according to M. de Pradt, he did not leave more than twelve hundred effective men behind him in the duchy; there were not four hundred men in Warsaw, the capital, which was threatened as early as the middle of July, by a Russian corps commanded by General Tormassow. Continual efforts had been in operation ever since the month of May when Napoleon, travelling to the seat of war, had boasted, in the pride and confidence of his heart, to his applauding Préfet at Metz, that he was going to mount all Poland on horseback; but M. de Pradt, and his other agents and partisans, whether Polish or French, found the country utterly exhausted; nor could they animate the suffering people, or the beggared nobility, even when every day brought the bulletin of a victory, or of some signal success over the Russians. Certain facts were evident, but Napoleon wilfully shut his eyes to them; and it had long been the practice of all those about him to see only what he saw, and to see it in the same manner.

At the commencement of the campaign, public and private misery were at their height, in the duchy of Warsaw; the army it maintained surpassed its means of support; the taxes, enormous as they were, did not suffice for the needs of the state—the army, though it absorbed every thing, was still ill provided; the civil officers of the government were never paid. The continental system which had been enforced for some years—and here Napoleon found one of his grand theories working against himself!—had interrupted the commerce of the country and its exports of grain; and had reduced even the greatest landholders to mendicity.

"Every thing has its price," says M. de Pradt, who saw what the Poles were paying to Bonaparte for vague promises and hopes. "The Poles would willingly have seen the restoration of their country, but they would not acquire it by devastation and absolute ruin. How, indeed, could one for a moment imagine, that a great mass of men should joyfully deprive themselves of all they are worth, to procure a change in a government, under which moreover they had been prospering?

When the fugitive Napoleon, on his passage through Warsaw, said, "The duchy must raise ten thousand Polish Cossacks; a lance and a horse will be enough; they will stop the Russians with that;"

his words, if not excused as insanity, must have been taken as a mockery and an insult. It was scarcely wiser or more considerate in the council of government, a few days after, to decree a levy of from twelve to fifteen thousand irregular horse, and the calling out the *arrière-ban*.

The Poles could not do what was required of them, but they might have asked, where were the eighty thousand of their brethren who had marched to Russia under the banners of Bonaparte; how they and their families should be supported during the horrors of winter, in a country so thoroughly despoiled; how they should make head against the Russians, before whom a confederate army of four hundred thousand men had melted like snow?

On the 7th of February, 1813, the Russians took possession of Warsaw. The grand-ducal administration was dissolved, and a council formed *pro tempore*. This council was composed of Russians and Poles, who continued their functions till the conclusion of the war.

Of the benefits projected, and those conferred on the Poles as a nation by Napoleon, we have seen more than enough; we may leave them to the enjoyment of their gratitude! But if Napoleon had never had the intention of realizing their dreams of national independence, or if he had been foiled by Russia, and disappointed in the Polish people; still it might be expected, he would testify his affection and regard to the gallant Polish troops, who did not desert him in his reverses, who were faithful and brave to the last. He however was scarcely capable of this; for when the Poles, seeing him safe to the banks of the Rhine, and the frontiers of France, thought of returning home, he coldly told their officers they might do as they chose, "he had no fault to find with them; they had behaved loyally to him. But whither could they go? Their king, perhaps, had not an asylum for himself. They were at liberty to go home, if such was their intention: two or three thousand men more or less, brave as they were, could be nothing to him. But if they left him, he should have no right to speak for them or for Poland. He was still the most powerful monarch in Europe! Things might change, and if even he were obliged to give them up, they should be mentioned in the next treaty of peace, &c.

In May, 1815, the fate of Poland was once more decided for a time. By the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, the King of Saxony having signed a formal renunciation of that country, the duchy of Warsaw was annexed to the Russian crown, with the exception of the province of Posen, which was restored to Prussia, from whom it had been wrested by Bonaparte. Austria retained Gallitzia, with the salt mines of Wielicza. The city of Cracow was declared independent. The Emperor of Russia was to take the title of "King of Poland."

On the 20th of June, 1815, discharges of artillery at Warsaw announced the re-establishment of the kingdom, and the Emperor Alexander's conciliatory proclamation to the inhabitants of the duchy was read. "Poles," said he, "new ties will thus bind you still closer to a generous nation, which is of kindred origin, of the same great Sclavonian race as your own, and by old connexions worthy of you. A wise constitution and an enduring union will attach you to the fortunes of a great monarchy, too vast to need aggrandizement, and

whose government will never entertain other political rules, than those of impartial justice and of generous ideas. We could not, however, in endeavouring to replace this new link in the chain of European states, consult the interests of Poland alone. We could not favour certain local details appropriated merely to that country, which might not have harmonized with the general interests and the balance of Europe."*

On the 1st of December, 1815, the Emperor Alexander signed at Warsaw the promised constitutional charter for the kingdom of Poland. The Polish general Zaïonczek was named viceroy, with the title of highness. A ministry, composed entirely of Poles, had been already appointed; and lastly an order was given that all the Russian troops should evacuate the new kingdom.

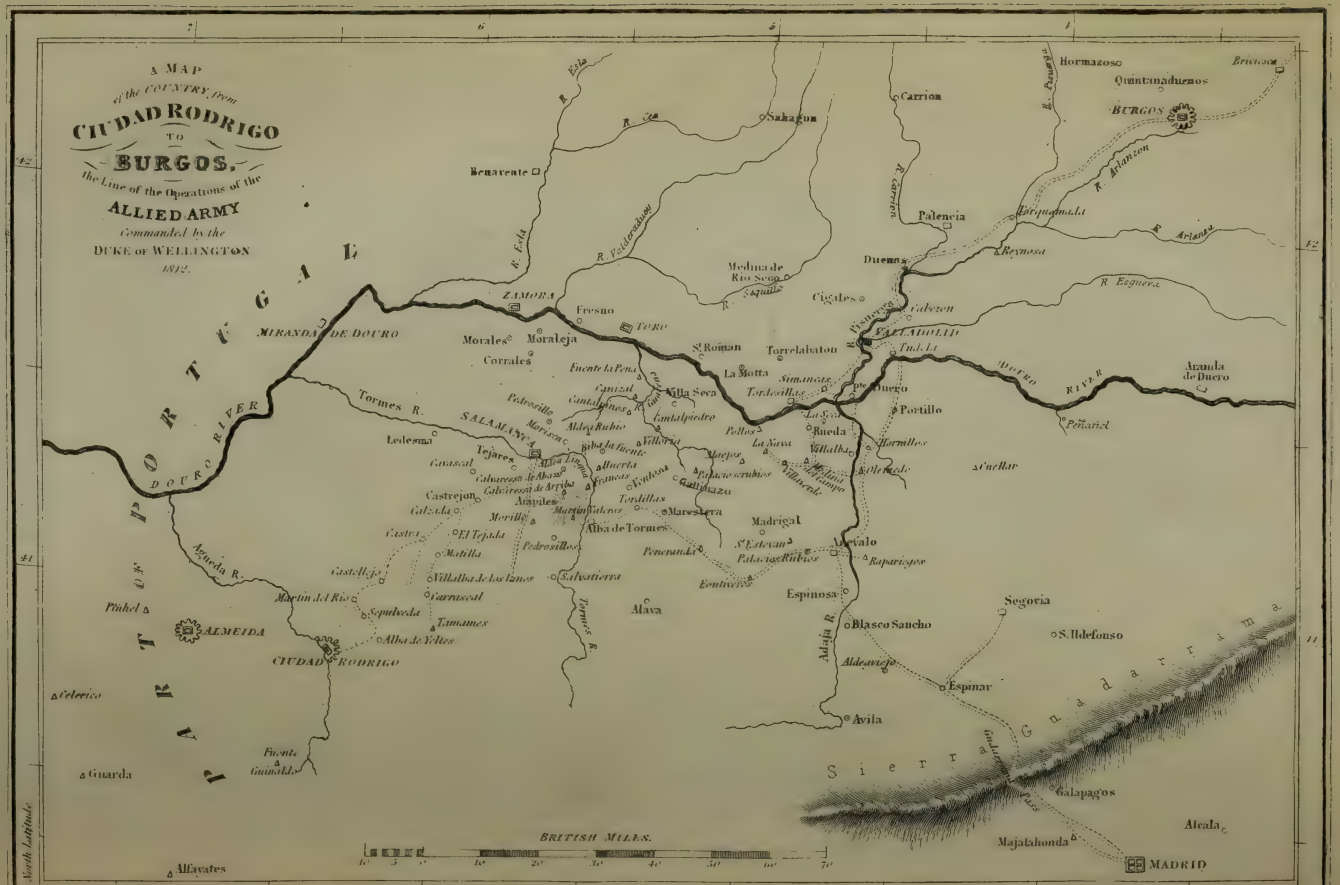
We do not know what degree of hope the Poles may have entertained as to the fulfilment of what they state was a positive promise on the part of Alexander, viz., that the Lithuanian provinces should be incorporated with those of the duchy of Warsaw, into one kingdom; but we have seen that in all these transactions, such a circumstance is not even alluded to. The veteran patriot, Kosciutzko, by letter reminded the emperor of this great omission.

"One cause of inquietude alone, checks my joy at the benefits conferred by your majesty on the Poles. I was born a Lithuanian, sire, and I have now but a few years to live; still a veil of uncertainty darkens the fate of my country, and of many other provinces of Poland. I have not forgotten the magnanimous promises which your majesty has given to me and to others of my countrymen upon this point; I do not pretend to hasten the execution of your projects, but I wish to be reassured; one word from you, sire, and I devote the whole remainder of my existence to the service of your imperial and royal majesty. I shall then be sure that all your Polish subjects will have reason to bless you for the benefits you will have conferred on them."

To this letter, it appears that Alexander never replied: and he must have felt pain had he undertaken to show to the single-hearted Polish patriot, how opposed were the interests of Austria and Prussia, the views of his own cabinet, and the whole spirit of Russian diplomacy, to the aspirations of Kosciutzko and his friends.

This melancholy subject is no further connected with Napoleon. It will be well, however, to set down two or three leading facts in relation to the fate of the Poles. The Emperor Alexander, in part

* On the 30th of April, the Emperor Alexander had addressed the following letter, the precursor of the proclamation, to Count Ostrowski, the President of the Polish Senate: "It is with peculiar satisfaction I announce to you that the fate of your country has finally been decided, by the unanimous agreement of the powers assembled in congress. In taking the title of *King of Poland*, I have desired to satisfy the wishes of the nation. The kingdom of Poland will be united to the empire of Russia, by the titles of its own constitution, on which I desire to found the happiness of the country. If the great interest of general repose has not permitted that all the Poles should be reunited under the same sceptre, I have endeavoured at least to soften as much as possible, the rigour of their separation, and to obtain for them every where, all possible enjoyment of their nationality."


A MAP
of the COUNTRY, from
CIUDAD RODRIGO
TO
BURGOS,
the Line of the Operations of the
ALLIED ARMY
Commanded by the
DUKE of WELLINGTON
1812.
PORTUGAL
TRAS OS MONTES
MIRANDA DE DOURO
ZAMORA
TORO
SALAMANCA
VALLADOLID
BURGOS
DOURO RIVER
Tormes R.
Agueda R.
Esla R.
Carrion R.
Pisuerga R.
Arlanza R.
Arlanzon R.
Esgueva R.
Duero RIVER
Adaja R.
Zapardiel R.
Sierra Guadarrama
Ledesma
Tejares
Castrejon
Alba de Tormes
Castellejo
Martin del Rio
Sepulveda
Tamames
Alba de Yeltes
CIUDAD RODRIGO
ALMEIDA
Pinhel
Celerico
Guarda
Alfayates
Benavente
Sahagun
Carrion
Palencia
Dueñas
Cigales
Fresno
Morales
Moraleja
Corrales
Medina de Rio Seco
Torrelobaton
La Motta
Simancas
Tordesillas
Rueda
Portillo
Olmedo
Arcuellar
Aranda de Duero
Penafiel
Madrigal
Arevalo
Espinosa
Segovia
S. Ildefonso
Blasco Sancho
Aldeavieja
Espinar
Avila
Alava
Galapagos
Majalahonda
Alcala
MADRID
Hormazoso
Quintanaduenos
Briviesca
Reynosa
Paredes
Torquemada
BRITISH MILES.
North Latitude.
Longitude West of Greenwich

through want of inclination, but much more through want of power, did not keep half of the promises he had made to the Polish nation. The constitution he granted scarcely merited the name of one. Still, however, as long as he lived, few overt acts of tyranny occurred in the country, the condition of which rapidly improved; but after his sudden and somewhat mysterious death on the shores of the Black Sea in 1825, the state of affairs was materially changed; the Russians excelled in tyranny and oppression, and the Archduke Constantine, who was nominally only commander-in-chief of the forces, rendered himself so odious to the Poles that a party in Warsaw rose against him in November, 1830, and attempted to assassinate him. The archduke escaped with his life: a most sanguinary warfare ensued, and after an heroic struggle for their independence, Warsaw was retaken by the Russians, and the unhappy Poles were again forced to submit to the yoke which has been made more heavy and more galling than ever.—*Editor.*

Whilst Napoleon was suffering those reverses in Russia that led to his final overthrow, Lord Wellington was pursuing a skilful strategy in the Spanish peninsula, which arrested the progress of the French arms in that country. The campaign of 1812 was opened by investing Ciudad Rodrigo, and on the 18th January the approaches were completed, and several breaches made in the walls, when, on the morning of the 19th, five columns marched to the attack, and the fortress was taken, not, however, without the loss of 1200 men on the part of the British. This success greatly perplexed the movements of Marmont; and the further reduction of Badajoz, on 6th April, compelled him to withdraw to Salamanca, from which he was forced to retire, when this post also was stormed and taken by our gallant soldiery. These decisive successes opened up to the British commander the prospect of more extended triumphs; but to assure these, and render the occupation of Salamanca decisive in its effects, it was necessary that Burgos should be reduced. The approaches to this place were in a forward state on the 19th September, when Wellington ordered the horn-works to be assaulted, and these having been gallantly carried, a battery was erected on this spot, commanding the outer works of the fortress. On the 11th October, a mine was sprung, which opened several breaches in the walls, and an entrance was attempted by escalade, but without effect, in consequence of the heavy fire, great activity, and determined opposition of the French. The importance of this position induced Wellington to continue his operations for its reduction, but he was ultimately compelled to raise the siege, and thus forego the advantages which he had obtained by the battle of Salamanca. The pusillanimity and pride of the Spaniards themselves, and the inefficient supplies sent from home, neutralized the efforts of the British leader, and nothing remained but an orderly retreat to the Portuguese frontier; not, however, before decisive evidence had been given of skilful tactics on the part of the commander, and unquestioned bravery on that of the troops under his management.

CHAPTER XXII.

1813.

Riots in Hamburg and Lubeck—Attempted suicide of M. Konning—Evacuation of Hamburg—Dissatisfaction at the conduct of General Saint Cyr—The cabinets of Vienna and the Tuileries—First appearance of the Cossacks—Colonel Tettenborn invited to occupy Hamburg—Cordial reception of the Russians—Depredations—Levies of troops—Testimonials of gratitude to Tettenborn—Napoleon's new army—Death of General Morand—Remarks of Napoleon on Vandamme—Bonaparte and Gustavus Adolphus—Junction of the corps of Davoust and Vandamme—Reoccupation of Hamburg by the French—General Hogendorff appointed governor of Hamburg—Exactions and vexatious contributions levied upon Hamburg and Lubeck—Hostages.

A CONSIDERABLE time before Napoleon left Paris to join the army, the bulk of which was in Saxony, partial insurrections occurred in many places. The interior of old France was indeed still in a state of tranquillity, but it was not so in the provinces annexed by force to the extremities of the empire, especially in the north, and in the unfortunate Hanse Towns, for which, since my residence at Hamburg, I have always felt the greatest interest. The intelligence I received was derived from such unquestionable sources, that I can pledge myself for the truth of what I have to state respecting the events which occurred in those provinces at the commencement of 1813; and subsequently, I obtained a confirmation of all the facts communicated by my correspondents, when I was sent to Hamburg by Louis XVIII., in 1815.

M. Steuve, agent from the court of Russia, who lived at Altona, apparently as a private individual, profited by the irritation produced by the measures adopted at Hamburg. His plans were so well arranged, that he was promptly informed of the route of the grand army from Moscow, and the approach of the allied troops. Aided by the knowledge and activity of Sieur Hanft, of Hamburg, M. Steuve profited by the discontent of a people so tyrannically governed, and seized the opportunity for producing an explosion. Between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th of February, 1813, an occurrence, in which the people were concerned, was the signal for a revolt. An in-

LUBECK.

The Senate-House, Market-Place, and Cathedral.

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DRESDEN.

The Bridge—Frauenkirche—Roman Catholic Church, &c.

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dividual returning to Hamburg by the Altona gate, would not submit to be searched by a fiscal agent, who, in consequence, maltreated him, and wounded him severely. The populace instantly rose, drove away the revenue guard, and set fire to the guard-house. The people also, excited by secret agents, attacked other French posts, where they committed the same excesses. Surprised at this unexpected movement, the French authorities retired to the houses in which they resided. All the respectable inhabitants who were unconnected with the tumult, likewise returned to their homes, and no person appeared out of doors.

General Carra Saint Cyr had the command of Hamburg, after Prince Eckmuhl's departure for the Russian campaign. At the first news of the revolt, he set about packing up his papers ; and Count de Chaban, M. Konning, the prefect of Hamburg, and M. Daubignose, the director of police, followed his example. It was not till about four o'clock in the afternoon that a detachment of Danish hussars arrived at Hamburg, and the populace was then speedily dispersed. All the respectable citizens and men of property assembled the next morning, and adopted means for securing internal tranquillity, so that the Danish troops were enabled to return to Altona. Search was then made for the ringleaders of the disturbance. Many persons were arrested, and a military commission, *ad hoc*, was appointed to try them. The commission, however, condemned only one individual, who, being convicted of being one of the most active rioters, was sentenced to be shot; and the sentence was carried into execution.

On the 26th of February, a similar commotion took place at Lubeck. Attempts were made to attack the French authorities. The respectable citizens instantly assembled, protected them against outrage, and escorted them in safety to Hamburg, where they arrived on the 27th. The precipitate flight of these persons from Lubeck spread some alarm in Hamburg. The danger was supposed to be greater than it was, because the fugitives were accompanied by a formidable body of troops.

But these were not the only attempts to throw off the yoke of French domination, which had become insupportable. All the left bank of the Elbe was immediately in a state of insurrection, and all the official persons took refuge in Hamburg. During these partial insurrections every thing was neglected. Indecision, weakness, and cupidity were manifested every where. Instead of endeavours to sooth the minds of the people, which had been long exasperated by intolerable tyranny, recourse was had to rigorous measures. The prisons were crowded with a host of persons declared to be suspected, upon the mere representations of the agents of the police. On the 3d of March, a special military commission condemned six householders of Hamburg, and its neighbourhood, to be shot on the glacis, for no other offence than having been led, either by chance or curiosity, to a

part of the town which was the scene of one of the riots. These executions excited equal horror and indignation, and General Carra Saint Cyr was obliged to issue a proclamation for the dissolution of the military commission by whom the men had been sentenced.

The intelligence of the march of the Russian and Prussian troops, who were descending the Elbe, increased the prevailing agitation in Westphalia, Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, and all the French troops cantoned between Berlin and Hamburg, including those who occupied the coast of the Baltic, fell back upon Hamburg. General Carra Saint Cyr, and Baron Konning, the prefect of Hamburg, used to go every evening to Altona. The latter, worn out by anxiety and his unsettled state of life, lost his reason; and on his way to Hamburg, on the 5th of May, he attempted to cut his throat with a razor. His valet-de-chambre saved his life by rushing upon him before he had time to execute his design. It was given out that he had broken a blood-vessel, and he was conveyed to Altona, where his wound was cured, and he subsequently recovered from his derangement. M. Konning, who was a native of Holland, was a worthy man, but possessed no decision of character, and but little ability.

At this juncture, exaggerated reports were circulated respecting the approach of a Russian corps. A retreat was immediately ordered, and it was executed on the 12th of March. General Carra Saint Cyr having no money for the troops, helped himself to a hundred thousand francs out of the municipal treasury. He left Hamburg at the head of the troops, and enrolled men of the custom-house service. He was escorted by the town guard, which protected him from the insults of the populace; and the good people of Hamburg never had any visiters of whom they were more happy to be rid. Such is a true statement of the facts which came to my knowledge. This sudden retreat excited Napoleon's indignation. He accused General Saint Cyr of pusillanimity, in an article inserted in the Moniteur, and afterwards copied by his order into all the journals. In fact, had General Saint Cyr been better informed, or less easily alarmed, he might have kept Hamburg, and prevented its temporary occupation by the enemy, to dislodge whom it was necessary to besiege the city two months afterwards. Saint Cyr had three thousand regular troops, and a considerable body of men in the custom-house service. General Morand could have furnished him with five thousand men from Mecklenburg. He might, therefore, not only have kept possession of Hamburg two months longer, but even to the end of the war, as General Lemarrois retained possession of Magdeburg. Had not General Saint Cyr so hastily evacuated the Elbe, he would have been promptly aided by the corps which General Vandamme soon brought from the Wesel, and afterwards by the corps with which Marshal Davoust entered Hamburg.

The events just described occurred before Napoleon quitted Paris. In the month of August all negotiation was broken off with Austria, though that power, still adhering to her fallacious policy, continued to protest fidelity to the cause of the Emperor Napoleon, until the moment when her preparations were completed, and her resolution formed. But if there was duplicity at Vienna, was there not folly, nay blindness, in the cabinet of the Tuileries? Could we reasonably rely upon Austria? She had seen the Russian army pass the Vistula, and advance as far as the Saale, without offering any remonstrance. At that moment a single movement of her troops, a word of declaration, would have prevented every thing. As, therefore, she would not avert the evil when she might have done so with certainty and safety, there must have been singular folly and blindness in the cabinet who saw this conduct and did not understand it.

I now proceed to mention the further misfortunes which occurred in the north of Germany, and particularly at Hamburg. At fifteen leagues east of Hamburg, but within its territory, is a village named Bergdorff. It was in that village that the Cossacks were first seen. Twelve or fifteen hundred of them arrived there under the command of Colonel Tettenborn. But for the retreat of the French troops amounting to three thousand, exclusive of men in the custom-house service, no attempt would have been made upon Hamburg; but the very name of the Cossacks inspired a degree of terror which must be fresh in the recollection of every one. Alarm spread in Hamburg, which being destitute of troops and artillery, and surrounded with dilapidated fortifications, could offer no defence. The senator Bartch and Doctor Know took upon themselves to proceed to Bergdorff, to solicit Colonel Tettenborn to take possession of Hamburg, observing, that they felt assured of his sentiments of moderation, and that they trusted they would grant protection to a city which had immense commercial relations with Russia. Tettenborn did not place reliance on these propositions, because he could not suppose that there had been such a precipitate evacuation; he thought they were merely a snare to entrap him, and refused to accede to them. But a Doctor Von Hess, a Swede, settled in Hamburg some years, and known to Tettenborn as a decided partisan of England and Russia, persuaded the Russian commander to comply with the wishes of the citizens of Hamburg. However Tettenborn consented only on the following conditions: That the old government should be instantly re-established; that a deputation of senators in their old costume should invite him to take possession of Hamburg, which he would enter only as a free and imperial Hanse Town;—that if those conditions were not complied with, he would regard Hamburg as a French town, and consequently hostile. Notwithstanding the real satisfaction with which the senators of Hamburg received those propositions, they were restrained by the fear of a reverse of fortune. They,

however, determined to accept them, thinking that whatever might happen, they could screen themselves by alleging that necessity had driven them to the step they took. They therefore declared their compliance with the conditions, and that night and the following day were occupied in assembling the senate, which had been so long dissolved, and in making the preparations which Tettenborn required.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th of March, a picket of Cossacks, consisting of only forty men, took possession of a town recently flourishing, and containing a population of 120,000, but now ruined and reduced to 80,000 inhabitants, by the blessing of being united to the French empire. On the following day, the 18th, Colonel Tettenborn entered Hamburg at the head of a thousand regular and two hundred irregular Cossacks. I have described the military situation of Hamburg when it was evacuated on the 12th of March, and Napoleon's displeasure may be easily conceived. Tettenborn was received with all the honours usually bestowed upon a conqueror. Enthusiasm was almost universal. For several nights the people devoted themselves to rejoicing. The Cossacks were gorged with provisions and drink, and were not a little astonished at the handsome reception they experienced.

It was not until the expiration of three or four days that the people began to perceive the small number of the allied troops. Their amount gradually diminished. On the day after the arrival of the Cossacks, a detachment was sent to Lubeck, where they were received with the same honours as at Hamburg. Other detachments were sent upon different places, and after four days' occupation there remained in Hamburg only seventy out of the twelve hundred Cossacks who had entered on the 18th of March.

The first thing their commander did, was to take possession of the post-office, and the treasuries of the different public offices. All the moveable effects of the French government and its agents were seized and sold. The officers evinced a true Cossack disregard of the rights of private property. Counts Huhn, Bussenitz, and Venechtern, who had joined Tettenborn's staff, rendered themselves conspicuous by plundering the property of M. Peyronnier, the director of the customs, and M. Gonse, the post-master, and not a bottle of wine was left in their cellars. Tettenborn laid hands upon a sum of money, consisting of upwards of 4000 louis in gold, belonging to M. Gonse, which had been lodged with M. Schwartz, a respectable banker in Hamburg, who filled the office of Prussian consul. M. Schwartz, with whom this money had been deposited for the sake of security, had also the care of some valuable jewels belonging to Mesdames Carra Saint Cyr, and Daubignose ; Tettenborn carried off these as well as the money. M. Schwartz remonstrated in his character of Prussian consul, Prussia being the ally of

Russia; but he was considered merely as a banker, and could obtain no redress. Tettenborn, like most of the Cossack chiefs, was nothing but a robber and an executioner; but the agent of Russia was M. Steuve, whose name I have already mentioned.

Orders were speedily given for a levy of troops, both infantry and cavalry, to be called Hanseatic volunteers. A man named Hanft, who had formerly been a butcher, raised at his own expense, a company of foot and one of lancers, of which he took the command. This undertaking, which cost him a hundred and thirty thousand francs, may afford some idea of the attachment of the people of Hamburg to the French government. But money, as well as men, was wanting, and a heavy contribution was imposed to defray the expense of enrolling a number of workmen out of employment, and idlers of various kinds. Voluntary donations were solicited, and enthusiasm was so general, that even servant-maids gave their mites. The sums thus collected were paid into the chest of Tettenborn's staff, and became a prey to dishonest appropriation. With respect to this money, a Sieur Oswald was accused of not having acted with the scrupulous delicacy which Madame de Staël attributes to his namesake in her romance of Corinne.

Between eight and ten thousand men were levied in the Hanse Towns and their environs, the population of which had been so greatly reduced within two years. These undisciplined troops, who had been for the most part levied from the lowest classes of society, committed so many outrages that they soon obtained the surname of the *Cossacks of the Elbe*; and certainly they well deserved it.

Such was the hatred which the French government had inspired in Hamburg that the occupation of Tettenborn was looked upon as a deliverance. On the colonel's departure the senate, anxious to give him a testimonial of gratitude, presented him with the freedom of the city, accompanied by five thousand gold Fredericks, with which he was doubtless much more gratified than with the honour of the citizenship.

The restored senate of Hamburg did not long survive. The people of the Hanse Towns learned, with no small alarm, that the emperor was making immense preparations to fall upon Germany, where his lieutenants could not fail to take cruel revenge on those who had disavowed his authority. Before he quitted Paris on the 15th of April, Napoleon had enrolled under the banners of the army one hundred and eighty thousand men, exclusive of the guards of honour, and it was evident that with such a force he might venture on a great game, and probably win it. Yet the month of April passed away without the occurrence of any event important to the Hanse Towns, the inhabitants of which vacillated between hope and fear. Attacks daily took place between parties of Russian and French troops on the territory between Lunenburg and Bremen. In one of these ren-

counters General Morand was mortally wounded, and was conveyed to Lunenburg. His brother having been taken prisoner in the same engagement, Tettenborn, into whose hands he had fallen, gave him leave on parole, to visit the general; but he arrived in Lunenburg only in time to see him die.

The French having advanced as far as Haarburg, took up their position on the Schwartzenberg, which commands that little town, and the considerable island situated in that part of the river between Haarburg and Hamburg. Being masters of this elevated point, they began to threaten Hamburg, and to attack Haarburg. These attacks were directed by Vandamme, of all our generals the most redoubtable in conquered countries. He was a native of Cassel, in Flanders, and had acquired a high reputation for severity. At the very time when he was attacking Hamburg, Napoleon said of him at Dresden, "If I were to lose Vandamme, I know not what I would give to have him back again; but if I had two such generals I should be obliged to shoot one of them." It must be confessed that one was quite enough.

As soon as he arrived, Vandamme sent to inform Tettenborn, that if he did not immediately liberate the brother and brother-in-law of Morand, both of whom were his prisoners, he would burn Hamburg Tettenborn replied, that if he resorted to that extremity, he would hang them both on the top of St. Michael's Tower, where he might have a view of them. This energetic answer obliged Vandamme to restrain his fury, or at least to direct it to other objects.

Meanwhile the French forces daily augmented at Haarburg. Vandamme, profiting by the negligence of the new Hanseatic troops, who had the defence of the great islands of the Elbe, attacked them one night in the month of May. This happened to be the very night after the battle of Lutzen, where both sides claimed the victory, and *Te Deum* was sung in the two hostile camps. The advance of the French turned the balance of opinion in favour of Napoleon, who was in fact really the conqueror on a field of battle, celebrated nearly two centuries before by the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus. The *Cossacks of the Elbe* could not sustain the shock of the French; Vandamme repulsed the troops who defended Wilhelmsburg, the largest of the two islands, and easily took possession of the smaller one, Fidden, of which the point nearest the right bank of the Elbe is not half a gun-shot distant from Hamburg. The 9th of May was a fatal day to the people of Hamburg. For it was then that Davoust, having formed his junction with Vandamme, appeared at the head of a corps of forty thousand men, destined to reinforce Napoleon's grand army. Hamburg could not hold out against the considerable French force now assembled in its neighbourhood. Tettenborn had, it is true, received a reinforcement of eight hundred Prussians, and two thousand Swedes; but still

what resistance could he offer to Davoust's forty thousand men? Tettenborn did not deceive himself as to the weakness of the allies on this point, or the inutility of attempting to defend the city. He yielded to the entreaties of the inhabitants, who represented to him that further resistance must be attended by certain ruin. He accordingly evacuated Hamburg on the 29th of May, taking with him his Hanseatic legions, which had not held out an hour in the islands of the Elbe, and accompanied by the Swedish Doctor Von Hess, whose imprudent advice was the chief cause of all the disasters to which the unfortunate city had been exposed.

Davoust was at Haarburg, where he received the deputies from Hamburg with an appearance of moderation; and by the conditions stipulated at this conference on the 30th of May, a strong detachment of Danish troops occupied Hamburg in the name of the emperor. The French made their entrance the same evening, and occupied the posts as quietly as if they had been merely changing guard. The inhabitants made not a shadow of resistance. Not a drop of blood was shed; not a threat nor an insult was interchanged. This is the truth; but the truth did not suit Napoleon. It was necessary to get up a pretext for revenge, and accordingly recourse was had to a bulletin, which proclaimed to France and Europe that *Hamburg had been taken by main force, with a loss of some hundred men.* But for this imaginary resistance, officially announced, how would it have been possible to justify the spoliations and exactions which ensued?

The Dutch general, Hogendorff, became governor of Hamburg, in lieu of Carra Saint Cyr, who had been confined at Osnabruck since his precipitate retreat. General Hogendorff had been created one of the emperor's aides-de-camp; but he was neither a Rapp, a Lauriston, nor a Duroc. The following measures were adopted at Hamburg: The inhabitants were required to pay all the arrears due to the different public offices during the seventy days that the French had been absent; and likewise all that would have been paid to the troops of the garrison, had they remained in Hamburg. Payment was also demanded of the arrears for the quartering of troops who were fifty leagues off. However, some of the heads of the government departments, who saw and understood the new situation of the French at Hamburg, did not enforce these unjust and vexatious measures. The duties on registrations were reduced. M. Peyronnier, director of the customs, aware of the peculiar difficulty of his situation, in a country where the customs were held in abhorrence, observed great caution and moderation in collecting the duties. Personal examination, which is so revolting and indecorous, especially with respect to females, was suppressed. But these modifications did not proceed from the highest quarter; they were due to the good sense of the subordinate agents,

who plainly saw that if the empire was to fall, it would not be owing to little infractions in the laws of proscription against coffee and rhubarb.

If the custom-house regulations became less vexatious to the inhabitants of Hamburg, it was not the same with the business of the post-office. The old manœuvres of that department were resumed more actively than ever. Letters were opened without the least reserve, and all the old post-office clerks, who were initiated in these scandalous proceedings were recalled. With the exception of the registrations and the customs, the inquisitorial system, which had so long oppressed the Hanse Towns, was renewed; and yet the delegates of the French government were the first to cry out, "The people of Hamburg are traitors to Napoleon: for, in spite of all the blessings he has conferred upon them, they do not say with the Latin poet, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*"

But all that passed was trifling in comparison with what was to come. On the 18th of June was published an imperial decree, dated the 8th of the same month, by virtue of which were to be reaped the fruits of the official falsehood contained in the bulletin above mentioned. To expiate the crime of rebellion, Hamburg was required to pay an extraordinary contribution of forty-eight millions of francs; and Lubec a contribution of six millions. The enormous sum levied on Hamburg was to be paid in the short space of a month, by six equal instalments, either in money, or bills on respectable houses in Paris. In addition to this, the new prefect of Hamburg made a requisition of grain and provisions of every kind, wines, sail-cloth, masts, pitch, hemp, iron, copper, steel, in short every thing that could be useful for the supply of the army and navy.

But while these exactions were made on property in Hamburg, at Dresden the liberties of individuals and even lives were attacked. On the 15th of June Napoleon, doubtless blinded by the false reports that were laid before him, gave orders for making out a list of the inhabitants of Hamburg who were absent from the city. He allowed them only a fortnight to return home, an interval too short to enable some of them to come from the places where they had taken refuge. They consequently remained absent beyond the given time. Victims were indispensable: but assuredly it was not Bonaparte who conceived the idea of hostages to answer for the men whom prudence kept absent. Of this charge I can clear his memory. The hostages were, however, taken, and were declared to be also responsible for the payment of the contribution of forty-eight millions. In Hamburg they were selected from among the most respectable and wealthy men in the city: some of them far advanced in age. They were conveyed to the old castle of Haarburg, on the left bank of the Elbe; and these men, who had been accustomed to all the comforts of life, were deprived

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even of necessaries, and had only straw to lie on. The hostages from Lubeck were taken to Hamburg: they were placed between decks on board of an old ship in the port: this was a worthy imitation of the prison ships of England. On the 24th of July there was issued a decree, which was published in the Hamburg Correspondent of the 27th. This decree consisted merely of a proscription list, on which were inscribed the names of some of the wealthiest men in the Hanse Towns, Hanover, and Westphalia.

BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

The following account of the important battle of Lutzen is derived from the interesting narrative of Lord Londonderry, who took an active part in the campaign of 1813.

"Bonaparte, in his eagerness to make a dash on Leipsic, had extended his columns along the line of march; so that, while his advance was close upon Lutzen, his rear had scarcely cleared the deep valley of Grümsbach, on the road from Weissenfels to Leipsic.

"The united armies of the allies, which had crossed the Elbe on the preceding night at Pegau, were thus manœuvring on his right flank, and may be said to have had the choice of time, place, and manner of conducting the attack. The plan was nearly as follows: The enemy occupied in force the villages of Gros-Görschen, Klein-Görschen, Rahno, and Kaya, which lie near each other, somewhat in the form of an irregular square, in the plain between Lutzen and Pegau. The advance of the allies was intended for the purpose of driving the enemy from these villages, and bringing the brunt of the attack on the right of the enemy's position, which appeared to be parallel to the main road from Weissenfels. If the endeavour to turn his right wing should prove successful, the cavalry, it was expected, would have an opportunity of acting with advantage; and the result would have been decisive, inasmuch as the line of communication with the rear would have been cut through. The plain is traversed by the deep channel of a rivulet called the Flossgraben, which was crossed by the whole combined army in small compact columns; and it served as a support to the right after these columns had deployed.

"It was now noon, and some of the Prussian troops had been for thirty-six hours on the march; a halt was therefore ordered behind the heights, about a mile and a half from Gross-Görschen. These heights afforded a view of the enemy's columns in full march towards Leipsic, by the way of Lutzen. The appearance of our battalions disconcerted this design; and their foremost troops, hastily recalled, could be observed retracing their steps, and drawing towards the villages in the centre, against which the main attack was now to be directed. The first line of the assailants was formed by the Prussians under General Blucher, the second by the corps of Russians which had been under the immediate command of Wittgenstein; the Russian guard and grenadiers were in reserve, together with the cavalry of both armies.

After an hour's rest the attack upon the villages was begun; and after a desperate resistance, Rahno and Klein-Görschen (which lie about a cannon-shot to the right and left of Gross-Görschen) were carried by two brigades of Russian infantry under General Ziethen.

"For several hours this success was maintained; and our columns pushed forward, driving the enemy before them beyond Kaya, which was in flames and evacuated by both parties. It was now about six o'clock, p. m., and the allies had gained, by hard fighting, more than a mile of ground. The village of Staarniedal, on the enemy's right wing, was evacuated, but the want of sufficient force prevented the allies from occupying it, although the second line had been brought into action."

Napoleon considered the fate of the day as resting on these villages, and they were ordered by him to be defended to the last extremity.

"By this protracted struggle the issue was, in fact, determined, as it allowed time to bring up General Bertrand's corps in support of the right of the French line; while on the left, the Viceroy of Italy, who had brought back his troops almost from the very gates of Leipsic, was in sufficient force to baffle an effort made by Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, with a corps of Prussian infantry, to turn the enemy's position by its left flank. Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg failed altogether, for instead of outflanking the enemy, he was himself outflanked, and kept his place in the line only by an exertion of the greatest bravery.

"This was the state of things when the day closed: doubtful and hard-earned success in the centre was counterbalanced by the threatening aspect of both wings of the enemy's army, which was steadily advancing, while no adequate force could be brought forward to resist them, formidable as they were both from numbers and from the comparative freshness of their troops: it thus became necessary to give up the point to which the attacks of the morning had been directed."

Before the allied troops were drawn off a gallant effort was made.

"As soon as the darkness of night afforded a cover to the attempt, the whole force of cavalry, which had scarcely been engaged at all during the day, was ordered forward with the hope of effecting a surprise, and driving the enemy from his ground at the moment when he thought himself secure in its occupation."

This bold attempt, for several reasons, did not succeed.

"Our cavalry were soon dispersed in all directions, and the allies were not only unsuccessful in their immediate object, but lost the services of their cavalry at the critical moment when it became necessary to withdraw their columns in the very front of a daring and successful enemy. The retreat was effected early in the morning of the 3d of May, upon Borne and Altenburg. Precautionary measures were immediately adopted to protect the allied army from being hurried across the Elbe. Throughout the day (2d of May) the allies certainly had an advantage; but the appearance of the viceroy, when there were no more reinforcements to bring up, changed the face of things. Night came on before any advantage was reaped, and the allies remained on the field of battle. It was observed, too, and the fact was of some importance, that the greater part of the enemy's corps actually engaged were German troops,

Westphalian and Bavarian. Some of the more sanguine calculators indulged an expectation, that these would lay down their arms, but all accounts agreed that they fought with most desperate valour."

With respect to comparative force, Lord Londonderry says—

"The most probable conclusion at which I could arrive was, that Bonaparte had brought up about 110,000 men, the viceroy 30,000, with 2500 cavalry, and 1300 artillery; making about 144,000 men. The French infantry was good, and the artillery well served; but they had no flying artillery, and very little cavalry. As to the allied troops engaged, the corps of Wittgenstein, D'Yorck, Blucher, and Winzingerode, would amount to nearly 60,000, including 20,000 cavalry: to these we must add 9000 under Bulow, 10,000 with Miloradovitch, and General Massenbourg's division of about 25,000. I had, however, reason to believe that not more than 20,000 Russians, and 50,000 Prussians, were engaged. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded did not fall short of 10,000 men, amongst whom were some names of note. Prince Leopold of Hesse Hombourg was unfortunately killed; the Prince of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and the deservedly celebrated Prussian General Scharnhorst (whose services in organizing the landwehr had been so conspicuous), were amongst the wounded. The prince died the next day at Pegau; the general lingered till the 28th of June. General Blucher himself received a slight wound. Both the allied sovereigns (the King of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander) displayed the greatest courage. Not a single piece of artillery was lost, and but few prisoners were taken. Several of the enemy's guns and tumbrels, with about six or eight hundred prisoners, were carried off as the trophies of the day."

The effect, however, of this battle, and of the advance movements of General Sebastiani and Marshal Davoust was, that the allies were obliged to abandon the line of the Elbe; nor were their affairs fully retrieved until the decisive battle of Leipsic.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

1813.

Napoleon's second visit to Dresden—Battle of Bautzen—the congress at Prague — Napoleon ill advised — Battle of Vittoria—General Moreau—Rupture of the conferences at Prague—Defection of Jomini—Battles of Dresden and Leipsic—Account of the death of Duroc—An interrupted conversation resumed a year after — Particulars respecting Poniatowski—His extraordinary courage and death—His monument at Leipsic, and tomb in the cathedral of Warsaw.

On the 2d of May Napoleon won the battle of Lutzen. A week after he was at Dresden, not as on his departure for the Russian campaign, like the sovereign of the west, surrounded by his mighty vassals: he was now in the capital of the only one of the monarchs of his creation who remained faithful to the French cause, and whose good faith eventually cost him half of his dominions. The emperor staid only ten days in Dresden, and then went in pursuit of the Russian army, which he came up with on the 19th, at Bautzen. This battle, which was followed on the two succeeding days by the battles of Wurtchen and Ochkirchen, may be said to have lasted three days—a sufficient proof that it was obstinately disputed. It ended in favour of Napoleon; but he and France paid dearly for it: while General Kirschner and Duroc were talking together, the former was killed by a cannon-ball, which mortally wounded the latter in the abdomen.

The moment had now arrived for Austria to prove whether or not she intended entirely to desert the cause of Napoleon. All her amicable demonstrations were limited to an offer of her intervention in opening negotiations with Russia. Accordingly, on the 4th of June, an armistice was concluded at Plesswitz, which was to last till the 8th of July, and was finally prolonged to the 10th of August.

The first overtures after the conclusion of the armistice of Plesswitz, determined the assembling of a congress at Prague. It was reported at the time, that the allies demanded the restoration of all they had lost since 1805; that is to say, since the campaign of Ulm. In this demand Holland and the Hanse Towns, which had become French provinces, were comprehended. But we should still have retained the Rhine, Belgium, Piedmont, Nice, and Savoy. The battle of Vittoria, which placed the whole of Spain at the disposal of the English, the

retreat of Suchet upon the Ebro,* the fear of seeing the army of Spain annihilated, were enough to alter the opinions of those councillors who still recommended war. Notwithstanding Napoleon's opposition, and his innate disposition to acquire glory by his victories, probably he would not have been inaccessible to the reiterated representations of sensible men who loved their country. France, therefore, has to reproach his advisers. At this juncture General Moreau arrived; it has been said that he came at the solicitation of Bernadotte. This is neither true nor probable. In the first place, there never was any intimacy between Bernadotte and Moreau; and, in the next, how can it be imagined that Bernadotte wished to see Moreau emperor! But this question is at once put at rest by the fact, that in the interview at Abo, the emperor of Russia hinted to Bernadotte the possibility of his succeeding Napoleon. It was generally reported at the time that the French princes of the house of Bourbon had made overtures to Moreau through the medium of General Willot, who had been proscribed on the 18th Fructidor; and I have since learned from an authentic source, that General Moreau, who was then at Baltimore, refused to support the Bourbon cause. Moreau yielded only to his desire of being revenged on Napoleon; and he found death where he could not find glory.†

At the end of July the proceedings of the congress at Prague were no further advanced than at the time of its assembling. Far from cheering the French with the prospect of a peace, the emperor made a journey to Mentz; the empress went there to see him, and returned to Paris immediately after the emperor's departure. Napoleon went back to Dresden, and the armistice not being renewed, it died a natural death on the 17th of August, the day appointed for its expiration. A fatal event immediately followed the rupture of the conferences. On the 17th of August, Austria, wishing to gain by war, as she had before gained by alliances, declared that she would unite her forces with those of the allies. On the very opening of this disastrous campaign, General Jomini went over to the enemy. Jomini belonged to the staff of the unfortunate Marshal Ney, who was beginning to execute, with his wonted ability, the orders he had received. The extraordinary conduct of Jomini excited great astonishment. Public opinion has pronounced judgment upon him.

The first actions were the battle of Dresden, which took place seven days after the rupture of the armistice, and the battle in

* The news of this decisive battle increased the difficulty of the French plenipotentiaries at Prague, and raised the claims of the allies. It also shook the confidence of those who remained faithful to us.

† Having mentioned the name of Moreau, I may take this opportunity of correcting an error into which I fell while speaking of General Lajollais in connexion with the conspiracy of Georges, &c. Some papers have fallen into my hands, proving beyond a doubt that General Lajollais was not an accomplice in the conspiracy.

which Vandamme was defeated, and which rendered the victory of Dresden unavailing. I have already mentioned that Moreau was killed at Dresden.* Bavaria was no sooner rid of the French troops than she raised the mask and ranged herself among our enemies. In October the loss of the battle of Leipsic decided the fate of France. The Saxon army, which had long remained faithful to us, went over to the enemy during the battle. Prince Poniatowski perished at the battle of Leipsic in an attempt to pass the Elster.

I will take this opportunity of relating what I know respecting the death of two men who were both deeply and deservedly regretted—Duroc and Poniatowski. Napoleon lamented Duroc, chiefly because he was very useful to him. He, however, wished to make a parade of sensibility, and, after having arranged the tragical scene of Duroc's death, he ordered a picture to be painted, to transmit the recollection of the event to posterity; with this view a suitable story was drawn up for a bulletin.

* The following is a contemporary account of the death of Moreau, whose military fame once rivalled that of Bonaparte. It is taken from a letter written by a British officer, and dated Toplitz, September 4th, 1813:

"General Moreau died yesterday. He was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia behind a Prussian battery to which two French batteries were answering, one in front and the other in flank, and Lord Cathcart and Sir R. Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg to pieces. He gave a deep groan at first, but immediately after the first agony of pain was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity, and called for a cigar. They bore him off the field on a litter made of Cossacks' pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which, however, was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, after just binding up his wounds, to remove him further off to the emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him that he must deprive him of the other leg, he observed, without showing any pain or peevishness, but in the calmest manner, that had he known that before his other was cut off, he should have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him was covered with nothing but wet straw, and a cloak drenched through with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day. They now placed more cloaks over him, and laid him more comfortably in a good litter, in which he was carried to Dippoldeswalde; but long before his arrival there he was soaked through and through. He was brought, however, safely to Laun, where he seemed to be going on well, till a long conference which took place between him and three or four of the allied generals, by which he was completely exhausted. Soon after this he became extremely sick, and hourly grew worse. Through the whole of his sufferings he bore his fate with heroism and grandeur of mind not to be surpassed, and appeared to those with whom he conversed to endure but little pain, so calm and so extremely composed was he. He died at six o'clock yesterday morning."—*Editor.*

The following letter from General Moreau to his wife, after receiving his mortal wound, has been kindly communicated to the Editor by Sir J. Philippart:

"Ma chère amie,—A la bataille de Dresde, il y a trois jours, j'ai eu les deux jambes emportées d'un boulet de canon. Ce coquin de Bonaparte est toujours heureux. On m'a fait l'amputation aussi bien que possible. Quoique l'armée ait fait un mouvement retrograde, ce n'est nullement par revers, mais pour se rapprocher du Général Blucher. Excuse mon grifonage; je t'aime et t'embrasse de tout mon cœur. Je charge Rapatel de finir."—V. M.

This bulletin contained a highflown account of the loss the emperor had sustained; and the following set phrases were put into the mouth of the dying general: "My life has been devoted to your service, and I regret its loss because it might yet be useful to you. Yes, sire, we shall one day meet again; but it will be thirty years hence, when you will have triumphed over your enemies, and realized all the hopes of your country. I have lived like an honourable man, and have nothing to reproach myself with. I leave behind me a daughter; your majesty will be a father to her." But there is not one word of truth in the bulletin account of Duroc's death. The words which he is said to have uttered in his last moments were invented like those attributed to Desaix, after the battle of Marengo. I suppose Napoleon borrowed from Homer the idea of making his heroes deliver speeches when at the point of death. The fact is, Duroc suffered the most excruciating agony, and under such circumstances a man is not likely to be very eloquent, or, indeed, inclined to speak much. I remember reading at the time a letter which came by an estafette; it was written by an individual who accompanied the emperor, and was addressed to a minister. The writer desires his friend not to place any reliance on the official account of Napoleon's visit to Duroc. He added, that the latter, being at the moment in great suffering, and finding that the emperor prolonged his visit, turned impatiently on his left side, and said to the emperor, motioning him with his right hand to withdraw, "Ah, sire, leave me to die quietly."

I will here mention a fact which occurred before Duroc's departure for the campaign of 1812. I used often to visit him at the Pavillon Marsan,* where he lodged. One forenoon, when I had been waiting for him a few minutes, he came from the emperor's apartments, where he had been engaged in the usual business. He was in his court-dress. As soon as he entered, he pulled off his coat and hat, and laid them aside:— "I have just had a conversation with the emperor about you," said he. "Say nothing to any body. Have patience, and you will be"..... He had no sooner uttered these words, than a footman entered to inform him that the emperor wished to see him immediately. "Well," said Duroc, "I must go." No sooner was the servant gone, than Duroc stamped violently on the floor, and exclaimed, "That ..... never leaves me a moment's rest. If he finds I have five minutes to myself in the course of the morning, he is sure to send for me." He then put on his coat, and returned to the emperor, saying, "Another time you shall hear what I have to tell you."

From that time I did not see Duroc until the month of January, 1813. He was constantly absent from Paris, and did not return until the end of 1812. He was much affected at the

* In the palace of the Tuileries.—*Editor.*

result of the campaign, but his confidence in Napoleon's genius kept up his spirits. I turned the conversation from this subject, and reminded him of his promise to tell me what had passed between the emperor and himself relative to me. "You shall hear," said he. "The emperor and I had been playing at billiards, and, between ourselves, he plays very badly. He is nothing at a game which depends on skill. While negligently rolling his balls about, he muttered these words: 'Do you ever see Bourrienne now?"—'Yes, sire, he sometimes dines with me on diplomatic reception-days, and he looks so droll in his court-dress, of Lyons manufacture, that you would laugh if you saw him.'—'What does he say respecting the new regulation for the court-dresses?'—'I confess, he says it is very ridiculous; that it will have no other result than to enable the Lyons manufacturers to get rid of their old-fashioned goods; that forced innovations on the customs of a nation are never successful.'—'Oh, that is always the way with Bourrienne; he is never pleased with any thing.'—'Certainly, sire, he is apt to grumble; but he says what he thinks.'—'Do you know, Duroc, he served me very well at Hamburg. He raised a good deal of money for me. He is a man who understands business. I will not leave him unemployed. Time must hang heavily on his hands. I will see what I can do for him. He has many enemies.'—'And who has not, sire?'—'Many complaints against him were transmitted to me from Hamburg; but the letter which he wrote to me in his justification, opened my eyes, and I begin to think that Savary had good motives for defending him. Endeavours are made to dissuade me from employing him; but I shall, nevertheless, do so at last. I remember that it was he who first informed me of the near approach of the war which we are now engaged in. I forget all that has been said against him for the last two years, and as soon as peace is concluded, and I am at leisure, I will think of him.'"

After relating to me this conversation, Duroc said, "You must, of course, feel assured that I said all I think of you, and I will take an opportunity of reminding him of you. But we must be patient. Adieu, my dear friend; we must set off speedily, and Heaven knows when we shall be back again!". I wished him a successful campaign, and a speedy return. Alas! I was doomed to see my excellent friend only once again.

Next to the death of Duroc, the loss most sincerely regretted, during the campaign of 1813, was Prince Poniatowski. Joseph Poniatowski, nephew of Stanislas Augustus, King of Poland, was born at Warsaw, on the 7th of May, 1763. At an early age he was remarkable for his patriotic spirit; but his uncle's influence gave him an apparent irresolution, which rendered him suspected by some of the parties in Poland. After his uncle had acceded to the confederation of Targowitz, Poniatowski left the service, accompanied by most of his principal officers. But

when, in 1794, the Poles endeavoured to repulse the Russians he again repaired to the Polish camp, and entered the army as a volunteer. His noble conduct obtained for him the esteem of his countrymen. Kosciusko gave him the command of a division, with which he rendered useful services during the two sieges of Warsaw. Immediately after the surrender of that capital, Poniatowski went to Vienna. He refused the offers of Catherine and Paul to bear arms in the service of Russia.

Poniatowski retired to his estate, near Warsaw, where he lived like a private gentleman, until the creation of the grand duchy of Warsaw revived the hopes of the Polish patriots. He then became war-minister. The Archduke Ferdinand having come, in 1809, with Austrian troops, to take possession of the duchy of Warsaw, Poniatowski, who commanded the Polish troops, which were very inferior in numbers to the Austrian force, obliged the latter, rather by dint of skilful manœuvring than by fighting, to evacuate the grand duchy. He pursued them into Galicia as far as Cracow.

After this honourable campaign, he contrived to exercise his functions as minister, until 1812. The war against Russia again summoned him to the head of the Polish army. After taking part in all the events of that war, which was attended by such various chances, Poniatowski was present at the battle of Leipsic. That battle, which commenced on the 14th of October, the anniversary of the famous battle of Ulm, and of Jena, lasted four days, and decided the fate of Europe. Five hundred thousand men fought on a surface of three square leagues.

Retreat having become indispensable, Napoleon took leave, at Leipsic, of the King of Saxony and his family, whom he had brought with him from Dresden. The emperor then exclaimed in a loud voice, "Adieu, Saxons," to the people who filled the market-place, where the King of Saxony resided. With some difficulty, and after passing through many turnings and windings, he gained the suburb of Runstadt, and left Leipsic by the outer gate of that suburb which leads to the bridge of the Elster, and to Lindenau. The bridge blew up shortly after he had passed it, and that event utterly prevented the retreat of the part of the army which was on the left bank of the Elster, and which fell into the power of the enemy. Napoleon was at the time accused of having ordered the destruction of the bridge immediately after he had himself passed it, in order to secure his own personal retreat, as he was threatened by the active pursuit of the enemy. The English journals were unanimous on this point; and to counteract this opinion, which was very general, an article was inserted in the Moniteur.

Before passing the bridge of the Elster, Napoleon had directed Poniatowski, in concert with Marshal Macdonald, to cover and protect the retreat, and to defend that part of the suburb of Leipsic which is nearest to the Borna road. For the execution of

these orders he had only two thousand Polish infantry. He was in this desperate situation when he saw the French columns in full retreat, and the bridge so choked up with their artillery and waggons, that there was no possibility of passing it. Then drawing his sword, and turning to the officers who were near him, he said, "Here we must fall with honour!" At the head of a small party of cuirassiers and Polish officers, he rushed on the columns of the allies. In this action he received a ball in his left arm: he had already been wounded on the 14th and 16th. He, nevertheless, advanced; but he found the suburb filled with allied troops. He fought his way through them, and received another wound. He then threw himself into the Pleisse, which is before the Elster. Aided by his officers, he gained the opposite bank, leaving his horse in the river. Though greatly exhausted, he mounted another, and gained the Elster by passing through M. Reichenbach's garden, which was situated on the side of that river. The moment was urgent. In spite of the steepness of the banks of the Elster at that part, the prince plunged with his horse into the river: both man and horse were drowned, and the same fate was shared by several officers, who followed Poniatowski's example. Marshal Macdonald was, luckily, one of those who escaped. Five days after, a fisherman drew the body of the prince out of the water. On the 26th of October, it was temporarily interred at Leipsic, with all the honours due to the illustrious deceased. A modest stone marks the spot where the body of the prince was dragged from the river. The Poles expressed a wish to erect a monument to the memory of their countryman in the garden of M. Reichenbach; but that gentleman declared he would do it at his own expense, which he did. The monument consists of a beautiful sarcophagus, surrounded by weeping willows. The body of the prince, after being embalmed, was sent in the following year to Warsaw; and in 1816 it was deposited in the cathedral, among the remains of the kings and great men of Poland. The celebrated Thorwaldsen was commissioned to execute a monument for his tomb. Prince Poniatowski left no issue but a natural son, born in 1790. The royal race, therefore, exists only in a collateral branch of King Stanislas, namely, Prince Stanislas, born in 1754.

BATTLE OF LEIPSIC.

Of this decisive combat, or rather series of combats, we shall subjoin two accounts: one by Lord Londonderry, who was present in that battle; the other by Savary, Duke of Rovigo.

"The battle of General Blucher, on the 16th, was followed by a complete and signal victory on the 18th, by the combined forces, over Bonaparte, at the head of his army, in the neighbourhood of Leipsic.

The collective loss of above 100 pieces of cannon, 60,000 men, and an immense number of prisoners; the desertion of the Saxon army, and also of the Bavarian and Wirtemburg troops still remaining in the French ranks, consisting of artillery, cavalry, and infantry; many generals killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, among whom were Regnier, Valberg, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston, were some of the first fruits of the glorious day of the 18th of October. These were followed by the capture by assault of the town of Leipsic; the magazines, the artillery, stores of the place, with the King of Saxony, all his court, the garrison, and the rear-guard of the French army; the whole of the enemy's wounded, the number of whom exceeded 30,000, with the complete rout of the French army, it being entirely surrounded, and endeavouring to escape in all directions: such were the prominent subjects of exultation. Bonaparte was fortunate enough to escape by rapid flight, two hours before the entry into Leipsic of the allied forces. The further results may be ascertained from a statement of the day's military manœuvres and positions, which it will here be my endeavour to give as succinctly as possible: firstly, of the general and combined operations determined upon by the imperial and royal generals; and secondly, a description of what immediately came under my own observation, namely, the movements of General Blucher, and the prince royal.

"The positions of the allied armies up to the 16th have been already detailed. It being announced by Prince Schwartzenberg, that it was the intention of their majesties, the allied sovereigns, to renew the attack upon the enemy on the 18th, and the order above detailed for the army having been issued, the armies of the north and Silesia were directed to co-operate. Napoleon's army was situated on the 18th, nearly as follows: the 8th, 2d, and 5th corps, under Murat, at Cannewitz; the right was commanded by Prince Poniatowski; Victor formed the centre at Probstheide; the left, under Lauriston, occupied Haarburg; the guards occupied Thornburg, where Bonaparte was in person; Ney was with Napoleon, Oudinot supported Poniatowski with the *jeune garde*, and Mortier was charged with the defence of Leipsic. The dispositions and orders of the grand army were as follows: the 1st column, under Barclay de Tolly, composed of Wittgenstein's corps, and the Russian and Prussian guards, were to advance to the heights of Wachan; the second column, under the Hereditary Prince of Hesse Homburg, a most gallant and skilful officer (since married to our English Princess Elizabeth, but unfortunately now no more), was composed of the divisions of Bianchi, Maurice Lichtenstein, and Weissenwolf, with the reserve, it marched on Dobitsch, with Coloredo's corps, as a further reserve; the 3d column, under Bennigsen, with the corps of Kleinau and Guthin, marched on Hatzhausen.

"Whilst the grand army was to commence the attack from the different points of assembly, on the principal villages situated upon the great roads leading to Leipsic, the armies of the north and Silesia, were jointly to attack the line of the Saale, and the enemy's position along the Partha river. General Blucher intrusted to the Prince Royal of Sweden 30,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and with this

formidable reinforcement, the northern army was to attack from the heights of Taucha; while General Blucher was to retain his position before Leipsic, and use his utmost efforts to gain possession of the place. In the event of the whole of the enemy's forces being carried against either of the armies, they were reciprocally to support each other, and concert further movements.

"That part of the enemy's force which for some time had been opposed to the Prince Royal of Sweden, and General Blucher, had taken up a very good position upon the left bank of the Partha, having its right at the strong point of Taucha, and its left towards Leipsic. To force the enemy's right, and obtain possession of the heights of Taucha, was the first operation of the prince royal's army. The corps of Russians, under General Winzingerode, and the Prussians, under General Bulow, were destined for this purpose; and the Swedish army was directed to force the passage of the river near Plosen and Mockau. The passage was effected without much opposition: General Winzingerode took about 3000 prisoners at Taucha, and some guns; and General Blucher put his army in motion, as soon as he found the grand army engaged very hotly in the neighbourhood of the villages of Stetteritz and Probstheide. The infantry of the prince royal's army had not sufficient time to make their flank movement before the enemy's infantry had abandoned the line of the river, and retired over the plain, in line and column, towards Leipsic occupying Pounsdorf, and Schönefel in strength, so as to protect their retreat. A very heavy cannonading, and some brilliant performances of General Winzingerode's cavalry, marked chiefly the events of the early part of the day; towards the close, General Count Langeron, who had crossed the river and attacked the village of Schönefel, met a determined resistance, and at first was unable to force his way: he, however, possessed himself of the village, but was driven back; when the most positive orders were sent him by General Blucher to reoccupy it at the point of the bayonet, which he accomplished before sunset. Some Prussian battalions of General Bulow's corps were warmly engaged also at Pounsdorf, and the enemy were retiring from it, when the prince royal directed the rocket brigade, under Captain Bogue, to form on the left of a Russian battery, and open upon the retiring columns. Congreve's formidable weapon had scarcely accomplished the object of paralyzing a solid square of infantry, which after our fire delivered themselves up as if panic-struck, when that estimable man, and gallant officer, Captain Bogue, of the British royal artillery, received a mortal wound in the head, which at once deprived society of a noble character, and this country of his valuable services. Lieutenant Strangeways who succeeded in the command of the brigade, received the prince royal's thanks, conveyed through me, for the important assistance they had rendered. I felt great satisfaction at witnessing during this day a species of improved warfare, the effects of which were truly astonishing; and produced an impression upon the enemy of something supernatural. During the action, twenty-two guns of Saxon artillery, with two Westphalian regiments of hussars, and two battalions of Saxons, joined us from the enemy: the former were instantly led again into the field, our artillery and ammunition not being all brought forward. The close communication was fully

established between the grand army and those of Blucher and the north. The Grand Duke Constantine, Generals Platoff, Miloradovitch, and other officers of distinction, joined the prince royal; to communicate the events carrying on in the several quarters of this great field of battle.

" The most desperate resistance was made by the enemy at Probstheide, Stetteritz, and Cannewitz. But the different columns bearing on those points, as above detailed, carried every thing before them, General Bennigsen taking the villages on the right bank, and General Giulay manœuvring 25,000 Austrians on the left bank of the Elster. General Thielman's and Prince Maurice Lichtenstein's corps moved upon the same river; and the grand result of the day was, that the enemy lost about 40,000 men in killed and wounded, sixty-five pieces of artillery, and seventeen battalions of German infantry, with all their staff and generals, who came over in a mass during the action. The armies remained during the night, upon the ground which they had so bravely conquered. The prince royal had his bivouac at Pounsdorf; General Blucher remained at Wellens; and the emperors and king at Roda.

" About the close of the day, it being reported that the enemy were retiring by Weissenfels and Naumberg, General Blucher received an order from the King of Prussia to detach in that direction. The movement of the prince royal's army completely precluded the retreat on Wittemberg; that upon Erfurt had long since been lost to them, and the line of the Saale appeared alone to remain. As both the flanks and rear would be operated upon during their march, it was difficult to say with what portion of his army the enemy could get to the Rhine.

" On the 19th, the town of Leipsic was attacked, and carried, after a short resistance, by the armies of Blucher, the prince royal, Bennigsen, and the grand army. Marmont and Macdonald commanded in the town; these, with Augereau and Victor, narrowly escaped with a small escort. Their majesties, the Emperor of Russia, and King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden, heading their respective troops, entered the town at different points, and met in the great square. The acclamations and rejoicings of the people are not to be described; handkerchiefs waving from the windows, hands clamorous in applause; and lastly, but most eloquently, tears rolling from the eyes, announced the delightful era of the liberation of the world from the tyranny of the despot to be at hand. The moment was too enthusiastically felt to be described in adequate terms, and I confess myself unequal to it. The multiplicity of brilliant achievements, the impossibility of doing full justice to the talent and prowess shown in the series of enterprises arising from the boldness of conception in our commander, Prince Field-marshal Schwartzenberg, and the other intrepid and experienced captains, will be admitted by every one, and plead an excuse for a sketch which scarcely merits the name of a description.

" I sent the account of this battle to England by my aide-de-camp and cousin, Mr. James, who most gallantly was every where in the hottest of the action, and had been distinguished for his ardour in the service since he had been with this army. In order, also, to take every measure to accomplish the transmission home of this

vitally important intelligence as speedily as possible, I was induced to avail myself of the services of Mr. Solly, a Russian gentleman, largely connected in England; who, with indefatigable zeal, and at great personal risk and inconvenience, undertook to carry a copy of my communication direct to the English government through the midst of the French armies. He embarked in an open boat, and arrived in London with this glorious intelligence in an incredibly short space of time.

"One palliating circumstance connected with my imperfect detail of this combat is, that I wrote it, nearly as I have given it above, on a stone in the field of battle, when the fire had ceased, without correction or amendment. I ought here to record the gallantry displayed, and the efficient assistance I received, from my aides-de-camp, Captain Charles, now Major, Wood, and Lieutenant-Colonel Noel Harris: the latter brave officer lost his arm, in the following year, at Waterloo.

"An officer arrived on the 19th from General Tettenborn, bringing the intelligence of the surrender of Bremen to the corps under his orders; and the keys of that town were presented by the prince royal to the Emperor of Russia in the square at Leipsic.

"The losses sustained in the last four days' combats could not with precision be stated; but they were averaged, on the part of the enemy, at 15,000 prisoners, without reckoning 23,000 sick and wounded found in the hospitals at Leipsic, 250 pieces of cannon, and 900 tumbrels. Prince Poniatowski, Generals Vial, Rochambeau, Dumoutier, Compans, and Latour-Maubourg, were killed; and Ney. Marmont, and Souham, wounded. Fifteen generals were made prisoners. The loss of the allies was equally serious. The Prussian corps of D'Yorck lost 5000 men; the Austrians enumerated no less than sixty officers of distinction killed in this sanguinary contest."*—*Editor.*

The following particulars relative to the battle of Leipsic are derived from Rovigo's Memoirs:

"The enemy attacked our army on the 18th of October, I believe, in front of Leipsic. The fire was murderous, and prodigies of valour were performed on both sides. The behaviour of the French troops was truly astonishing, as the oldest corps among them were the cohorts of the national guards, which had only been made moveable and brought into the field since the month of March. The cavalry was entirely composed of recruits. The men and the horses were equally raw and undisciplined. No part of our army was in a good state except the artillery. Nevertheless, whatever might be the advantage derived from the use of this weapon, the army could not long have resisted the vigorous attacks made upon it, had it not been for the presence of the emperor, who showed himself every where.

"The allies were so numerous, that they scarcely perceived the losses they sustained. Their masses pressed down upon us in every direction; and it was impossible that victory could fail to be with them. Their success, however, would have been less decisive, had it not been for the defection of the Saxons. In the midst of the battle, these troops having moved towards the enemy, as if intending to make an attack, turned suddenly round, and opened a heavy fire of artil-

* Marquis of Londonderry's "Narrative of the War in Germany and France."

lery and musketry on the columns by the side of which they had a few moments before been fighting. I do not know in what page of history such a transaction is recorded. This event immediately produced a great difference in our affairs, which were before in a bad enough train. I ought here to mention, that before the battle the emperor dismissed a Bavarian division, which still remained with him. He spoke to the officers in terms which will not soon be effaced from their memory. He told them, that, 'according to the laws of war, they were his prisoners, since their government had taken part against him; but that he could not forget the services they had rendered him, and that they were therefore at liberty to return home.' These troops left the army, where they were much esteemed, and marched for Bavaria.

"The desertion of the Saxons to the enemy obliged the emperor to order movements to which he would not otherwise have resorted, especially in so warm an action. These unexpected movements caused disorder, when that calmness and that cool determination by which so much may be done at the decisive moment of a battle, were most wanting. It was now necessary to think of a retreat, which had, indeed, already begun, in consequence of the physical and moral exhaustion of the troops, which had maintained the contest since the morning under marked disadvantages.

"The enemy soon perceived that our troops were retiring; but his attacks were not relaxed. The bridge of Leipsic was the only passage whereby the retreat could be effected; and it is inconceivable how the staff of the army could have neglected to build other bridges. Their construction would have been quite easy, as in such a town as Leipsic materials and workmen would have been found in abundance, if the artificers of the army had been insufficient.

"The Prince de Neufchâtel declared that he had directed bridges to be prepared: the artillery and engineer departments asserted that they had received no orders. Whether the neglect was in the issuing or the execution of the orders, the consequences were not the less disastrous.

"After nearly the whole of the left, and part of the centre had passed the Elster, the emperor himself crossed. He desired the artillery-officer who had charge of the bridge, for the destruction of which preparation had been made, not to leave the spot, and not to put the match to the train until all the troops had passed over.

"At first, the corps proceeded along the bridge without any disagreeable accident; but such was the disorder, that no one could tell whether or not his column was the last which had to pass. The enemy's sharpshooters were in advance; the pressure towards the bridge was great, and the confusion became extreme.

"The officer left in charge of the bridge not knowing what was the state of things on the enemy's side, ran towards a general officer to learn, if possible, from him how far the passage had been effected; but he was carried away by the crowd, and could not return. The artillery-men who were under his command, seeing German troops and Cossacks pushing forward, blew up the bridge without waiting for orders; and thus the right of the army, which kept the enemy's masses in check, was cut off.

"The report of this unfortunate event soon spread through the ranks. The right was in its turn thrown into disorder, and an escape was sought through fields and marshes. This completed the disaster: the troops were made prisoners of war; and Generals Lauriston and Reynier were taken with them. Prince Joseph Poniatowski, recently made marshal of France, had just at this moment gained the banks of the Elster. Though wounded, consulting only his courage, he plunged on horseback into the river, where he unfortunately perished. It was impossible to be more brave than was this prince: impetuous, magnanimous, and always amiable, he was as much esteemed by those against whom he combated, as regretted by the party whom he served.

"Thus terminated the fatal day of Leipsic: the result of which to France was the loss of a fine and numerous army and all her allies."—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXIV.

1813.

Amount of the allied forces against Napoleon—Their advance towards the Rhine—Levy of two hundred thousand men—Dreadful situation of the French at Mentz—Declaration of the allies at Frankfort—Diplomatic correspondence—The Duke de Bassano succeeded by the Duke de Vicenza—The conditions of the allies vaguely accepted—Caulaincourt sent to the head-quarters of the allies—Manifesto of the allied powers to the French people—Gift of thirty millions from the emperor's privy purse—Wish to recal M. de Talleyrand—Singular advice relative to Wellington—The French army recalled from Spain—The throne resigned by Joseph—Absurd accusation against M. Lainé—Adjournment of the legislative body—Remarks of Napoleon reported by Cambacérès.

When the war resumed its course, after the disaster of Leipsic, the allied sovereigns determined to treat with Napoleon only in his own capital, as he, four years before, had refused to treat with the Emperor of Austria, except at Vienna. The latter sovereign now completely raised the mask, and declared to the emperor, that he would make common cause with Russia and Prussia against him. In his declaration he made use of the singular remark, that the more enemies there were against him, there would be the greater chance of speedily obliging him to accede to conditions which would at length restore the tranquillity of which Europe stood so much in need. This declaration on the part of Austria was an affair of no little importance, for she had now raised an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men. An equal force was enrolled beneath the Russian banners, which were advancing towards the Rhine. Prussia had two hundred thousand men; the Confederation of the Rhine, one hundred and fifty thousand: in short, including the Swedes and

the Dutch, the English troops in Spain and in the Netherlands, the Danes, who had abandoned us, the Spaniards and Portuguese, whose courage and hopes were revived by our reverses, Napoleon had arrayed against him upwards of a million of enemies. Among them, too, were the Neapolitans, with Murat at their head.

The month of November, 1813, was fatal to the fortune of Napoleon. In all parts the French armies were repulsed, and driven back upon the Rhine, while in every direction the allied forces advanced towards that river. For a considerable time I had confidently anticipated the fall of the empire; not because the foreign sovereigns had vowed its destruction, but because I saw the impossibility of Napoleon defending himself against all Europe; and because I knew that, however desperate might be his fortune, nothing would induce him to consent to conditions which he considered disgraceful. At this time, every day was marked by a new defection. Even the Bavarians, the natural allies of France; they whom the emperor had led to victory, at the commencement of the second campaign of Vienna, they whom he had, as it were, adopted on the field of battle, were now against us, and were the bitterest of our enemies.

Even before the battle of Leipsic, the consequences of which were so ruinous to Napoleon, he had felt the necessity of applying to France for a supply of troops; as if France had been inexhaustible. He directed the empress regent to make this demand; and accordingly Maria Louisa proceeded to the senate, for the first time, in great state: but the glories of the empire were now on the decline. The empress obtained a levy of two hundred and eighty thousand troops; but they were no sooner enrolled, than they were sacrificed. The defection of the Bavarians considerably augmented the difficulties which assailed the wreck of the army that had escaped from Leipsic. They had got before us to Hanau, a town four leagues distant from Frankfort: there they established themselves, with the view of cutting off our retreat; but French valour was roused, the little town was speedily carried, and the Bavarians were repulsed with considerable loss. The French army arrived at Mentz; if, indeed, one may give the name of army to a few masses of men, destitute, dispirited, and exhausted by fatigue and privation. On the arrival of the troops at Mentz, no preparation had been made for receiving them: there were no provisions, or supplies of any kind; and, as the climax of misfortune, contagious diseases broke out amongst the men. All the accounts I received, concurred in assuring me that their situation was dreadful.

However, without counting the wreck which escaped from the disasters of Leipsic, and the ravages of disease; without including the two hundred and eighty thousand men which had been raised by a senatus consultum, on the application of Maria Louisa, the emperor still possessed a hundred and twenty thou-

sand good troops; but they were in the rear, scattered along the Elbe, shut up in fortresses such as Dantzic, Hamburg, Torgau, and Spandau. Such was the horror of our situation, that if, on the one hand, we could not resolve to abandon them, it was at the same time impossible to aid them. In France a universal cry was raised for peace, at whatever price it could be purchased. In this state of things, it may be said that the year 1813 was more fatal to Napoleon than the year 1812. The disasters of Moscow were repaired by his activity, and the sacrifices of France; but the disasters of Leipsic were irreparable.

I shall now speak of some negotiations in which, if I had chosen, I might have taken a part. After the battle of Leipsic, in which France lost, for the second time, a formidable army, all the powers allied against Napoleon declared at Frankfort, on the 9th of November, that they would never break the bonds which united them; that henceforth, it was not merely a continental peace, but a general peace that would be demanded; and that any negotiation not having a general peace for its object, would be rejected. The allied powers declared that France was to be confined within her natural limits, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. This was all that was to remain of the vast empire founded by Napoleon; but still it must be allowed it was a great deal, after the many disasters France had experienced, and when she was menaced with invasion by numerous and victorious armies. But Napoleon could not accede to such proposals,for he was always ready to yield to illusion when the truth was not satisfactory to him.

According to the proposals of the allies at Frankfort, Germany, Italy, and Spain were to be entirely withdrawn from the dominion of France. England recognised the freedom of trade and navigation, and there appeared no reason to doubt the sincerity of her professed willingness to make great sacrifices, to promote the object proposed by the allies. But to these offers a fatal condition was added, namely, that the congress should meet in a town, to be declared neutral, on the right bank of the Rhine, where the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent powers were to assemble; but "the course of the war was not to be impeded by these negotiations."

The Duke de Bassano, who was still minister for foreign affairs, replied, by order of Napoleon, to the overtures made by the allies, for a general congress; and stated that the emperor acceded to them, and wished Manheim to be chosen as the neutral town. M. Metternich replied in a note, dated Frankfort, the 25th of November, stating that the allies felt no difficulty in acceding to Napoleon's choice of Manheim, for the meeting of the congress; but as M. de Bassano's letter contained no mention of the general and summary bases I have just mentioned, and which had been communicated to M. de Saint Aignan, at Frankfort, M. Metternich stated, that the allies wished the

Emperor Napoleon to declare his determination respecting those bases, in order that insurmountable difficulties might not arrest the negotiations at their very outset. The Duke de Vicenza, who had just succeeded the Duke de Bassano, received this letter. Trusting to the declaration of Frankfort, he thought he would be justified in treating on those bases; he confidently relied on the consent of Napoleon. But the allies had now determined not to grant the limits accorded by that declaration. Caulaincourt was therefore obliged to apply for fresh powers, which being granted, he replied, on the 10th of December, that Napoleon accepted the fundamental and summary bases which had been communicated by M. de Saint Aignan. To this letter M. Metternich answered, that the Emperors of Russia and Austria were gratified to find that the Emperor of France recognised the bases judged necessary by the allies; that the two sovereigns would communicate, without delay, the official document to their allies, and that they were convinced, that immediately on receiving their reply, the negotiations might be opened, without any interruption of the war.

We shall now see the reason why these first negotiations came to no result. In the month of October, the allies overthrew the colossal edifice denominated the French Empire. When led by victory to the banks of the Rhine, they declared their wish to abstain from conquest, explained their intentions, and manifested an unalterable resolution to abide by them. This determination of the allies induced the French government to evince pacific intentions. Napoleon wished, by an apparent desire for peace, to justify, if I may so express myself, in the eyes of his subjects, the necessity of new sacrifices; which, according to his proclamations, he demanded only to enable him to obtain peace on as honourable conditions as possible. But the truth is, he was resolved not even to listen to the offers made at Frankfort. He always represented the limits of the Rhine as merely a compensation for the dismemberment of Poland, and the immense aggrandizement of the English possessions in Asia. But he wanted to gain time, and, if possible, to keep the allied armies on the right bank of the Rhine.

The immense levies made in France, one after the other, had converted the conscription into a sort of press.* Men employed in agriculture and manufactures were dragged from their labours; and the people began to express their dissatisfaction at the measures of government more loudly than they had hitherto ventured to do; yet all were willing to make another effort, if they could have persuaded themselves that the emperor would henceforth confine his thoughts to France alone. Napoleon sent Caulaincourt to the head-quarters of the allies; but

* The reader will find some notes on the conscription at a subsequent part of the volume.—*Editor.*

that was only for the sake of gaining time, and inducing a belief that he was favourably disposed to peace.

The allies having learned the immense levies of troops which Napoleon was making, and being well acquainted with the state of feeling in France, published the famous manifesto, addressed to the French people, which was profusely circulated, and may be referred to as a warning to subjects, who trust to the promises of governments.

The good faith with which the promises in the manifesto were kept, may be judged of from the treaty of Paris. In the mean time the manifesto did not a little contribute to alienate from Napoleon those who were yet faithful to his cause; for, by believing in the declarations of the allies, they saw in him the sole obstacle to that peace which France so ardently desired. On this point, too, the allies were not wrong, and I confess that I did not see without great surprise that the Duke de Rovigo, in that part of his Memoirs where he mentions this manifesto, reproaches those who framed it for representing the emperor as a madman, who replied to overtures of peace only by conscription levies. After all, I do not intend to maintain that the declaration was entirely sincere; with respect to the future it certainly was not. Switzerland was already tampered with, and attempts were made to induce her to permit the allied troops to enter France by the bridge of Bâle. Things were going on no better in the south of France, where the Anglo-Spanish army threatened our frontiers by the Pyrenees, and already occupied Pampeluna; and at the same time the internal affairs of the country were no less critical than its external position. It was in vain to levy troops; every thing essential to an army was wanting. To meet the most pressing demands, the emperor drew out thirty millions from the immense treasure which he had accumulated in the cellars and galleries of the Pavilion Marsan at the Tuileries.* These thirty millions were speedily swallowed up. Nevertheless, it was an act of generosity on the part of Napoleon, and I never could understand on what ground the legislative body complained of the outlay; because, as the funds did not proceed from the budget, there needed no financial law to authorize their application. Besides, why did these rigid legislators, who, while fortune smiled on Bonaparte, dared not utter a word on the subject, demand, previously to the gratuitous gift just mentioned, that the three hundred and fifty millions in the emperor's privy purse, should be transferred to the imperial treasury, and carried to the public accounts? Why did they wink at the accumulation in the Tuileries of the contributions and exactions levied in conquered countries? The answer is plain; because there would have been danger in opposing it.

* This hoarding of money shows Napoleon's ignorance of all that relates to finance, since money has no value except in circulation.

Amidst the difficulties which assailed the emperor, he cast his eyes on M. de Talleyrand. But it being required as a condition of his receiving the portfolio of foreign affairs, that he should resign his office of vice-grand-elector, M. de Talleyrand preferred a permanent post to a portfolio, which the caprice of a moment might withdraw. I have been informed that, in a conversation with the emperor, M. de Talleyrand gave him the extraordinary advice of working upon the ambition of the English family of Wellesley; and to excite in the mind of Wellington, the lustre of whose reputation was now dawning, ambitious projects, which would have embarrassed the coalition. Napoleon, however, did not adopt this proposition, the issue of which he thought too uncertain, and, above all, too remote, in the urgent circumstances in which he stood. Caulaincourt was then made minister for foreign affairs, in lieu of M. Maret, who was appointed secretary of state; an office much better suited to him.

Meanwhile the emperor was wholly intent on the means of repelling the attack which was preparing against him. The critical circumstances in which he was placed, seemed to restore the energy which time had in some measure robbed him of. He turned his eyes towards Spain, and resolved to bring the army from that country, to oppose the allies, whose movements indicated their intention of entering France by Switzerland. An event occurred connected with this subject, calculated to have a decided influence on the affairs of the moment, namely, the renunciation of Joseph, King of Spain, of all right to the crown, to be followed by the return, as had been agreed on, of Ferdinand to his dominions. Joseph made this sacrifice at the instigation of his brother. The treaty was signed, but an inconceivable delay occurred in its execution; while the torrent, which was advancing upon France, rushed forward so rapidly, that the treaty could not be carried into execution. Ferdinand, it is true, reascended his throne, but from other causes.

On the 19th of December, the legislative body was convoked. It was on a Wednesday. M. Lainé was vice-president under M. Regnier. A committee was appointed to examine and report on the communications of the emperor. The report and conclusions of the committee were not satisfactory; it was alleged that they betrayed a revolutionary tendency, of which M. Lainé was absurdly accused of having been one of the promoters; but all who knew him must have been convinced of the falsehood of the charge. The emperor ordered the report to be seized, and then adjourned the legislative body. Those who attentively observed the events of the time, will recollect the stupor which prevailed in Paris on the intelligence of this seizure, and the adjournment of the legislative body. A thousand conjectures were started, as to what new occurrences had taken place abroad; but nothing satisfactory was learned.

The members of the adjourned legislative body went, as usual, to take leave of the emperor, who received them on a Sunday, and after delivering to them the speech, which is very well known, dismissed *the rebels* with great ill-humour, refusing to hear any explanation. In after conversations, he said of the legislative body, that "its members never came to Paris but to obtain some favours. They importuned the ministers from morning till night; and complained if they were not immediately satisfied. When invited to dinner, they burn with envy at the splendour they see before them." I heard this from Cambacérès, who was present when the emperor made these remarks.

NAPOLEON'S SPEECH TO THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

"I have suppressed your address," he began abruptly: "it was incendiary.—I called you round me to do good—you have done ill. Eleven-twelfths of you are well intentioned, the others, and above all M. Lainé, are factious intriguers, devoted to England, to all my enemies, and corresponding through the channel of the advocate Désege with the Prince Regent. Return to your departments, and feel that my eye will follow you; you have endeavoured to humble me, you may kill me, but you shall not dishonour me. You make remonstrances; is this a time, when the stranger invades our provinces, and 200,000 Cossacks are ready to overflow our country? There may have been petty abuses; I never connived at them. You, M. Renouard, you said that Prince Massena robbed a man at Marseilles of his house.—*You lie!* The general took possession of a vacant house, and my minister shall indemnify the proprietor. Is it thus that you dare affront a marshal of France who has bled for his country, and grown gray in victory? Why did you not make your complaints in secret to me? I would have done you justice. We should *wash our dirty linen* in private, and not drag it out before the world. You call yourselves representatives of the nation. It is not true; you are only deputies of the departments; a small portion of the state, inferior to the senate, inferior even to the council of state. The representatives of the people! I am alone the representative of the people. Twice have twenty-four millions of French called me to the throne—which of you durst undertake such a burden? It had already overwhelmed (*écrasé*) your Assemblies, and your Conventions, your Vergniauds and your Goudets, your Jacobins and your Girondins.—They are all dead! What, who are *you?* nothing—all authority is in the throne; and what is the throne? this wooden frame covered with velvet?—no, I am the throne. You have added wrong to reproaches. You have talked of concessions—concessions that even my enemies dared not ask. I suppose if they asked Champaigne, you would have had me give them La Brie besides; but in four months I will conquer peace, or I shall be dead.—You advise! how dare you debate of such high matters (*de si graves intérêts*)! You

have put me in the front of the battle as the cause of war—it is infamous *(c'est une atrocité)*. In all your committees you have excluded the friends of government—extraordinary commission—committee of finance—committee of the address, all, all my enemies. M. Lainé, I repeat it, is a traitor; he is a wicked man, the others are mere intriguers. I do justice to the eleven-twelfths; but the factions I know, and will pursue. Is it, I ask again, is it while the enemy is in France that you should have done this? But nature has gifted me with a determined courage—nothing can overcome me. It cost my pride much too—I made that sacrifice; I—but I am above your miserable declamations. I was in need of consolation, and you would mortify me—but, no, my victories shall crush your clamours: in three months we shall have peace, and you shall repent your folly. *I am one of those who triumph or die.*

"Go back to your departments. If any one of you dare to print your address, I shall publish it in the Moniteur with notes of my own. Go, France stands in more need of me than I do of France. I bear the eleven-twelfths of you in my heart—I shall nominate the deputies to the two series which are vacant, and I shall reduce the legislative body to the discharge of its proper duties. The inhabitants of Alsace and Franche Comté, have a better spirit than you; they ask me for arms, I send them, and one of my aides-de-camp will lead them against the enemy."

Having delivered this speech with the rapidity and violence approaching to fury, he dismissed the insulted representatives of France, and hastened to his own destruction in the continuance of the war.—*Editor.*

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.

The reader will see in our account of the rupture between Bonaparte and Murat, how important a cause in producing that effect was the maritime war with England, coupled with the insane decrees of Berlin and Milan. It was the same every where. In rising against the thraldom of France, almost the first step taken by Prussia was to renounce the continental system. That Prussia should now (in 1836) be attempting to create a sort of continental system of her own, is matter for melancholy reflection. We allude, of course, to the German custom-house league, of which she is at the head. The following is a decree against the system of Bonaparte in 1813:

"*Prussian Edict, concerning the Abolition of the so-called Continental System, and the Duties to be collected on Goods hereafter imported by Sea.*

"We, Frederick William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c., having found cause to withdraw ourselves from the alliance with France, likewise deem it necessary herewith to declare, that all restraints under which commerce has hitherto suffered in our states, in

consequence of the so-denominated continental system, are abolished, and that the ships and goods of all friendly and neutral nations shall be freely permitted to enter in our harbours and territories, without any exception or difference. All French goods, either produce or manufactures, are, on the contrary, herewith totally prohibited, not only for use, but likewise to pass through our territories, or those occupied by our armies. The so-denominated continental impost is taken off, and exclusive of the consumption-excise to be especially paid on all foreign goods entered inwards by sea for home-consumption, there shall be levied the heretofore-established moderate impost and transit duty, as it was previous to the establishment of the continental impost in the year 1810; which duty shall be collected on the gross weight; but only continue so long as the increased expenses arising from the war carrying on for the liberation of Germany, shall render it necessary.

"We give to our privy councillor of state, and chief of the Inward Customs Department, M. von Heydebreck, full and uncontrolled power to make what further alterations he may see fit in the whole of the forementioned temporary import-duties, &c., and to put them in a fitter proportion; as likewise to reduce, or entirely take off, at his own judgment, the consumption-excise, on such articles where the collecting the full consumption-excise, together with the import-duty, would fall too heavily on the home consumption.

"All our public officers whom this matter concerns are directed to pay due attention hereto.

"Given at Breslau, March 20, 1813.

"(Signed) FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"Hardenberg."

CHAPTER XXV.

1813.

The flag of the army of Italy and the eagles of 1813—Entrance of the allies into Switzerland—Summons to the minister of the police—My refusal to accept a mission to Switzerland—Interviews with M. de Talleyrand and the Duke de Vicenza—Offer of a dukedom and the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour—Definitive refusal—The Duke de Vicenza's message to me in 1815—Commencement of the siege of Hamburg—Death of Vandamme—A bridge two leagues long—Executions at Lubeck—Scarcity of provisions in Hamburg—Banishment of the inhabitants—Men bastinadoed, and women whipped—Hospitality of the inhabitants of Altona.

I AM now arrived at the most critical period in Napoleon's career. What reflections must he have made, if he had had leisure to reflect, in comparing the recollections of his rising glory with the sad picture of his falling fortune? What a contrast presents itself when we compare the famous flag of the army

of Italy, which the youthful conqueror, Bonaparte, carried to the Directory, with those drooping eagles who had now to defend the aerie whence they had so often taken flight to spread their triumphant wings over Europe! Here we see the difference between liberty and absolute power! Napoleon, the son of liberty, to whom he owed every thing, had disowned his mother, and was now about to fall. Those glorious triumphs were now over, when the people of Italy consoled themselves for defeat, and submitted to the magical power of that liberty which preceded the republican armies.* Now, on the contrary, it was to free themselves from a despotic yoke that the nations of Europe had taken up arms, and were preparing to invade France.

With the violation of the Swiss territory by the allied armies, after the consent of the cantons, is connected a fact of great importance in my life, and which, if I had chosen, might have made a great difference in my destiny. On Tuesday, the 28th of December, I dined with my old friend, M. Pierlot, and, on leaving home, I was in the habit of telling where I might be found in case I should be wanted. At nine o'clock at night an express arrived from the minister of police, desiring me to come immediately to his office. I confess, considering the circumstances of the times, and knowing the emperor's prejudices against me, such a request, coming at such an hour, made me feel some uneasiness, and I expected nothing less than a journey to Vincennes. The Duke de Rovigo, by becoming responsible for me, had as yet warded off the blow, and the supervision to which the emperor had subjected me, thanks to the good offices of Davoust, consisted in going three times a week to show myself to Savary.

I accordingly repaired to the hotel of the minister of the police. I was ushered into a well-lighted room, and when I entered I found Savary waiting for me. He was in full costume, from which I concluded he had just come from the emperor. Advancing towards me with an air which showed he had no bad news to communicate, he thus addressed me: "Bourrienne, I have just come from the emperor, who asked we where you were? I told him that you were in Paris, and that I saw you often. 'Well,' continued the emperor, 'bid him come to me, I want to employ him. It is three years since he has had any thing to do. I wish to send him as minister to Switzerland, but he must set off directly. He must go to the allies. He understands German well. The King of Prussia expressed by letter satisfaction at his conduct towards the Prussians, whom the war forced to retire to Hamburg. He knows Prince Wittgenstein, who is the friend of the King of Prussia, and probably is at

* We repeat that the Italian *people* were hardly ever to be considered as belligerents. It was Austria and a few old dynasties that were conquered in Italy.—*Editor.*

Lorrach.* He will see all the Germans who are there. I confidently rely on him, and believe his journey will have a good result. Caulaincourt will give him his instructions.' "

Notwithstanding my extreme surprise at this communication, I replied without hesitation, that I could not accept the mission; that it was offered too late. "It, perhaps, is hoped," said I, "that the bridge of Bâle will be destroyed, and that Switzerland will preserve her neutrality. But I do not believe any such thing; nay, more, I am convinced of the contrary. I can only repeat, the offer comes much too late."—"I am very sorry for this resolution," observed Savary, "but Caulaincourt will perhaps persuade you. The emperor wishes you to go to the Duke de Vicenza to-morrow at one o'clock; he will acquaint you with all the particulars, and give you your instructions."—"He may acquaint me with whatever he chooses, but I will not go to Lorrach."—"You know the emperor better than I do, he wishes you to go, and he will not pardon your refusal."—"He may do as he pleases, but no consideration shall induce me to go to Switzerland."—"You are wrong: but you will reflect on the matter between this and to-morrow morning. Night will bring good counsel. At any rate, do not fail to go to-morrow at one o'clock to Caulaincourt, he expects you; and directions will be given to admit you immediately."

Next morning, the first thing I did was to call on M. Talleyrand. I told him what had taken place, and as he was intimately acquainted with Caulaincourt, I begged him to speak to that minister in favour of my resolution. M. de Talleyrand approved of my determination not to go to Switzerland, and at one o'clock precisely I proceeded to M. de Caulaincourt's. He told me all he had been instructed to say. From the manner in which he made the communication, I concluded that he himself considered the proposed mission a disagreeable one, and unlikely to be attended by any useful result. I observed that he must have heard from Savary, that I had already expressed my determination to decline the mission which the emperor had been pleased to offer me. The Duke de Vicenza then, in a very friendly way, detailed the reasons which ought to induce me to accept the offer; and did not disguise from me, that by persisting in my determination, I ran the risk of raising Napoleon's doubts as to my opinions and future intentions. I replied, that having lived for three years as a private man, unconnected with public affairs, I should have no influence at the head-quarters of the allies, and that whatever little ability I might be supposed to possess, *that* would not counterbalance the difficulties of my situation, and the opinion that I was out of favour. I added, that I should appear at the head-quarters without any decoration,

* Lorrach is a village two miles from Bâle, the place fixed on for the starting-point of the Austro-Russian army.

without even that of the cordon of the Legion of Honour, to which the emperor attached so much importance, and the want of which would almost have the appearance of disgrace; and I added, that these trifles, however slightly valued by reasonable men, were not, as he well knew, without their influence on the men with whom I should have to treat. "If that be all," replied Caulaincourt, "the obstacle will speedily be removed. I am authorized by the emperor to tell you, that he will create you a duke, and give you the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour."

After these words I thought I was dreaming, and I was almost inclined to believe that Caulaincourt was jesting with me. However, the offer was serious, and I will not deny that it was tempting; yet I nevertheless persisted in the refusal I had given. At length, after some further conversation, and renewed, but useless, entreaties on the part M. de Caulaincourt, he rose, which was a signal that our interview was terminated. I acknowledge I remained for a moment in doubt how to act, for I felt we had come to no understanding. M. de Caulaincourt advanced slowly towards the door of his cabinet. If I went away without knowing his opinion, I had done nothing; addressing him, therefore, by his family name, "Caulaincourt," said I, "you have frequently assured me that you would never forget the services I rendered to you and your family, at a time when I possessed some influence. I know you, and therefore speak to you without disguise. I do not now address myself to the emperor's minister, but to Caulaincourt. You are a man of honour, and I can open my heart to you frankly. Consider the embarrassing situation of France, which you know better than I do. I do not ask you for your secrets, but I myself know enough. I will tell you candidly, that I am convinced the enemy will pass the Rhine in a few days.* The emperor has been deceived: I should not have time to reach my destination, and I should be laughed at. My correspondents in Germany have made me acquainted with every particular. Now, Caulaincourt, tell me honestly, if you were in my place, and I in yours, and I should make this proposition to you, what determination would you adopt?"

I observed from the expression of Caulaincourt's countenance, that my question had made an impression on him, and affectionately pressing my hand, he said, "I would do as you do: Enough. I will arrange the business with the emperor." This reply seemed to remove a weight from my mind, and I left Caulaincourt with feelings of gratitude. I felt fully assured that he would settle the business satisfactorily, and in this conjecture I was not deceived, for I heard no more of the matter.

* I spoke thus to M. de Caulaincourt on a Wednesday. On the following Friday the allied troops passed the Rhine.

I will here go forward a year to relate another occurrence in which the Duke de Vicenza and I were concerned. When, in March, 1815, the king appointed me prefect of police, M. de Caulaincourt, sent to me a confidential person to inquire whether he ran any risk in remaining in Paris, or whether he had better remove. He had been told that his name was inscribed in a list of individuals, whom I had received orders to arrest. Delighted at this proof of confidence, I returned the following answer by the Duke de Vicenza's messenger: "Tell M. de Caulaincourt that I do not know where he lives. He need be under no apprehension: I will answer for him."

During the campaign of 1813, the allies, after driving the French out of Saxony, and obliging them to retreat towards the Rhine, besieged Hamburg, where Davoust was shut up with a garrison of thirty thousand men, resolutely determined to make it a second Sarragosa. From the month of September, every day augmented the number of the allied troops, who were already making rapid progress on the left bank of the Elbe. Davoust endeavoured to fortify Hamburg on so extended a scale, that, in the opinion of the most experienced military men, it would have required a garrison of sixty thousand men to defend it in a regular and protracted siege. At the commencement of the siege Davoust lost Vandamme, who was killed in a sortie at the head of a numerous corps, which was inconsiderately sacrificed. It is but justice to admit that Davoust displayed great activity in his erroneous and useless system of defence: he began by laying in large supplies. General Bertrand was directed to construct a bridge to form a communication between Hamburg and Haarburg, by joining the islands of the Elbe to the continent, along a total distance of about two leagues. This bridge was to be built of wood; and Davoust seized upon all the timber-yards to supply materials for its construction. In the space of eighty-three days the bridge was finished. It was a very magnificent structure, its length being two thousand five hundred and twenty-nine fathoms, exclusive of the lines of junction, formed on the two islands.*

The inhabitants were dreadfully oppressed, but all the cruel measures and precautions of the French were ineffectual; for the allies advanced in great force, and occupied Westphalia, which movement obliged the governor of Hamburg to recal to the town the different detachments scattered round Hamburg.

At Lubeck the departure of the French troops was marked by blood. Before they evacuated the town, an old man, and a butcher named Prahl, were condemned to be shot. The butcher's

* After the general peace, and the final return of the Bourbons to France, the senate of Hamburg caused this bridge to be destroyed, on the ground that it was a dangerous medium of communication with the town. But the enormous expense necessary for keeping the bridge in repair, was a consideration which had great weight in the determination of the senate.

HAMBURG.
The Great Canal, with Spire of the Church of St. Catherine.

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1. St. Peter's Church.
2. St. Nicholas' Church.
3. St. Michael's Church.
4. St. Catherine's Church.
5. St. James's Church.
6. English Church.
7. Rath-haus (townhall).
8. Exchange.
9. Johanneum.
10. Great Hospital
11. Stadt Theatre.
12. Thalia Theatre.
13. Tivoli Theatre.
14. Observatory.
15. Elbe Pavilion.
16. Elbe-hohe.
17. Railway Station.
18. Hafer Gate.
19. Millern Gate.
20. Damm Gate.
21. Ferdinand Gate.
22. Stein Gate.
23. Deich Gate.
24. Brook Gate.
25. Sand Gate.
26. Lübeck Gate.
27. Berlin Gate.
28. Gross Neumarkt.

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crime consisted in having said, in speaking of the French, "Der teufel hohle sie" (the devil take them). The old man fortunately escaped his threatened fate; but, notwithstanding the entreaties and tears of the inhabitants, the sentence upon Prahl was carried into execution. The garrison of Hamburg was composed of French, Italian, and Dutch troops. Their number at first amounted to thirty thousand; but sickness made great havoc among them. From sixty to eighty perished daily in the hospitals. When the garrison evacuated Hamburg in May, 1814, it was reduced to about fifteen thousand men.

In the month of December provisions began to diminish, and there was no possibility of renewing the supply. The poor were first of all made to leave the town, and afterwards all persons who were not usefully employed. It is no exaggeration to estimate at fifty thousand the number of persons who were thus exiled. The colonel commanding the gendarmerie at Hamburg, notified to the exiled inhabitants, that those who did not leave the town within the prescribed time would receive fifty blows with a cane, and afterwards be driven out. But if penance may be commuted with priests, so it may with gendarmes. Delinquents contrived to purchase their escape from the bastinado by a sum of money; and French gallantry substituted with respect to females the whip for the cane. I saw an order directing all female servants to be examined as to their health, unless they could produce certificates from their masters. On the 25th of December, the governor granted twenty-four hours longer to persons who were ordered to quit the town; and two days after this indulgence, an ordinance was published, declaring that those who should return to the town, after once leaving it, were to be considered as rebels, and accomplices of the enemy, and as such, condemned to death by a prevotal court. But this was not enough. At the end of December, people, without distinction of sex or age, were dragged from their beds, and conveyed out of the town, on a cold night, when the thermometer was between sixteen or eighteen degrees; and it was affirmed that several old men perished in this removal. Those who survived were left on the outside of the Altona gates. At Altona they all found refuge and assistance. On Christmas-day, seven thousand of these unfortunate persons were received in the house of M. Rainville, formerly aide-de-camp to Dumouriez, and who left France together with that general. His house, which was at Holstein, was usually the scene of brilliant entertainments; but it was converted into the abode of misery, mourning, and death. All possible attention was bestowed on the unfortunate outlaws; but few profited by it, and, what is worse, the inhabitants of Altona suffered for their generosity. Many of the unfortunate persons were infected with the epidemic disease, which was raging in Hamburg, and which, in consequence, broke out at Altona.

All means of raising money in Hamburg being exhausted, a seizure was made of the funds of the bank of that city, which yet contained from seven to eight millions of marks. Were those who ordered this measure not aware, that to seize on the funds of some of the citizens of Hamburg was an injury to all foreigners who had funds in the bank? Such is a brief statement of the vexations and cruelties which long oppressed this unfortunate city. Napoleon accused Hamburg of Anglomania, and by ruining her he thought to ruin England. Hamburg, feeble, and bereft of her resources, could only complain, like Jerusalem when besieged by Titus: "*Plorans, ploravit in nocte.*"

[The following additional facts relating to the cruel fate of Hamburg, and the infamous conduct of Davoust, rest on good authority, and will not be read without a melancholy interest.

Marshal Davoust, in Bonaparte's peerage Duke of Auerstädt and Prince of Eckmühl, was one of the least scrupulous of all the French commanders. He was with Napoleon in Egypt and Syria, and dyed his hands in the foul slaughter at Jaffa. He afterwards made himself known and dreaded throughout Germany, and his appointment to be governor of Hamburg was a sure sign to the unhappy citizens that they were to be treated without mercy. His brutal insolence and harshness were almost without a parallel even in those days of violence. Only Vandamme could compete with Davoust. In direct violation of the laws of nations, he arrested M. Becker, a German author, and counsellor of the court of Gotha, and threw him into a dungeon at Magdeburg! The Duke of Weimar interceded for his subject, and declaring M. Becker to be guilty of no offence, begged he might be released. The marshal replied with insulting scorn, and after refusing the duke's request, added, "Besides, the Germans are altogether a stubborn people, and they will hardly become tame and docile until I have made some striking examples, by hanging up on one tree a German prince, a man of letters, and a merchant, as a warning to the rest."*

He compelled the daughters of the best families in Hamburg to work at the fortifications, among common labourers and galley-slaves, as a punishment for their having embroidered the standard of the Hanseatic Legion! A physician of Hamburg, a man of science and general acquirements, appealed to the marshal, who had ordered him to quit his house within half an hour, that it might be converted into a hospital for the soldiery. He represented that his library, his valuable physical apparatus, his anatomical collection, &c., could not be removed in so short

* Life and Campaigns of Field-marshal Prince Blucher

a time; that if they were left they would be destroyed by the soldiers; and that in those things consisted all the property he had in the world. "Property!" roared Davoust; "How, sir! your property! where can you have property?" And, catching hold of a button of the doctor's coat, he continued, "Not even this button can be called your property—it belongs to the emperor. You must turn out of your house within half an hour. Begone!" On the east side of Hamburg there was a large and pleasant village called Hamm, which was chiefly inhabited by the respectable merchants. In the middle of December Davoust ordered that forty houses in the village should be burnt and levelled with the ground. This was the fourth destruction of the sort which had taken place within fourteen days, on the plea that such measures were necessary for the defence of the city. He promised to allow eight-and-forty hours for the removal of furniture and property; but, before thirty hours had elapsed, the French pioneers, with their matches in their hands, burst into these houses in the night, and burnt or pillaged whatever they found there. The mayor wrote to Davoust, reminding him that he had promised a respite of forty-eight hours, and informing him that this promise had been disregarded. The letter continued, "The remaining inhabitants of Hamm earnestly beseech you to inform them how far the burning of the village may yet extend, as they only request time and notice to remove their effects. I entreat to be favoured with a word of consolation to this effect, that I may communicate it to the distressed parishioners." Ten days after writing this letter the mayor received a verbal message, authorizing him to announce to the inhabitants of Hamm that it was not the marshal's intention to destroy any more houses there. And yet three weeks had hardly elapsed before an order was issued to burn every remaining house in Hamm that very evening! The inhabitants could scarcely remove any of their effects; they were turned out upon the highway in the midst of winter, *without shelter and without bread;* their comfortable homes were consumed in their sight, and they saw their furniture used as fuel in the watch-fires of the French. If any unhappy families clung to the spot, they were forced away at the bayonet's point; if any refused to open their doors, they were fired upon. The ruffianly soldiers went about this cruel work with *gaieté de cœur,* singing and dancing from house to house. Military men have said that this destruction was not even useful as a means of defence, but was committed from mere malignity of heart. In the depth of a most severe winter Davoust turned out of Hamburg all the inhabitants who had not been born in the city, or were not stocked with provisions for six months: no less than thirty thousand were thus driven from their homes. Davoust next ordered the public hospital for the insane and infirm to be cleared out in a few hours for the use of his army. Nearly

four hundred miserable patients of both sexes — idiots and maniacs, the halt, the blind, and the bedridden, were thrust forth and driven together into a field covered with snow! The marauders of Europe, the executioners of these atrocious orders, laughed while they executed them. "Their fits of convulsive laughter, the shouts of the mad," says a German writer, "their weeping, their curses, and their prayers, were alike the subject of mockery for the French; and more than thirty of them were found dead next morning."

According to an official estimate, it appears that the losses which Davoust occasioned to the city and its environs amounted to thirteen millions sterling; that he reduced the population from one hundred and twenty thousand to forty thousand; that he burnt or otherwise destroyed more than fifteen hundred houses; and that in the depth of a German winter he turned out more than sixteen hundred families, whom he had robbed of every thing, to beg their bread or to starve! These were Marshal Davoust's deeds at Hamburg.—*Editor.*]

CHAPTER XXVI.

1813—1814.

Prince Eugène and the affairs of Italy—The army of Italy on the frontiers of Austria—Eugène's regret at the defection of the Bavarians—Murat's dissimulation and perfidy—His treaty with Austria—Hostilities followed by a declaration of war—Murat abandoned by the French generals—Proclamation from Paris—Murat's success—Gigantic scheme of Napoleon—Napoleon advised to join the jacobins—His refusal—Armament of the national guard—The emperor's farewell to the officers—The congress of Châtillon—Refusal of an armistice—Napoleon's character displayed in his negotiations—Opening of the congress—Discussions—Rupture of the conferences.

I SHALL now proceed to notice the affairs of Italy, and the principal events of the viceroyalty of Eugène. In order to throw together all that I have to say about the viceroy, I must anticipate the order of time.

After the campaign of 1812, when Eugène revisited Italy, he was promptly informed of the more than doubtful dispositions of Austria towards France. He then made preparations for raising an army capable of defending the country which the emperor had committed to his safeguard. Napoleon was fully aware how much advantage he would derive from the presence, on the northern frontiers of Italy, of an army sufficiently strong to harass Austria, in case she should draw aside the transparent veil which still covered her policy. Eugène did all that depended on him to meet the emperor's wishes; but, in spite of

his efforts, the army of Italy was, after all, only an imaginary army to those who could compare the number of men actually enrolled, with the numbers stated in the lists. When, in July, 1813, the viceroy was informed of the turn taken by the negotiations at the shadow of a congress assembled at Prague, he had no longer any doubt of the renewal of hostilities; and foreseeing an attack on Italy, he resolved, as speedily as possible, to approach the frontiers of Austria. He had succeeded in assembling an army composed of French and Italians, and amounting to forty-five thousand infantry, and five thousand cavalry. On the renewal of hostilities, the viceroy's head-quarters were at Udina. Down to the month of April, 1814, he succeeded in maintaining a formidable attitude, and in defending the entrance of his kingdom, by dint of that military talent, which was to be expected in a man bred in the great school of Napoleon, and whom the army looked up to as one of its most skilful generals.

During the great and unfortunate events of 1813, all eyes had been fixed on Germany and the Rhine; but the defection of Murat, for a time, diverted attention to Italy. That event did not so very much surprise me; for I had not forgotten my conversation with the King of Naples, in the Champs-Elysées, with which I have made the reader acquainted. At first, Murat's defection was thought incredible by every one, and it highly excited Bonaparte's indignation. Another defection, which occurred about the same period, deeply distressed Eugène; for, though raised to the rank of a prince, and almost a sovereign, he was still a man, and an excellent man. He was united to the Princess Amelia of Bavaria, who was as amiable, and as much beloved, as he; and he had the deep mortification to count the subjects of his father-in-law among the enemies whom he would probably have to combat. Fearing lest he should be harassed by the Bavarians on the side of the Tyrol, Eugène commenced his retrograde movement in the Autumn of 1813. He at first fell back on the Tagliamento, and successively on the Adige. On reaching that river, the army of Italy was considerably diminished, in spite of all Eugène's care of his troops. About the end of November, Eugène learned that a Neapolitan corps was advancing upon Upper Italy, part taking the direction of Rome, and part that of Ancona. The object of the King of Naples was to take advantage of the situation of Europe, and he was duped by the promises held out to him as the reward of his treason. Murat seemed to have adopted the artful policy of Austria; for not only had he determined to join the coalition, but he was even maintaining communications with England and Austria; while, at the same time, he was making protestations of fidelity to his engagements with Napoleon.

When first informed of Murat's treason by the viceroy, the emperor refused to believe it. "No," he exclaimed to those about him, "it cannot be! Murat, to whom I have given my

sister! Murat, to whom I have given a throne! Eugene must be misinformed. It is impossible that Murat has declared himself against me!" It was, however, not only possible, but true. Gradually throwing aside the dissimulation beneath which he had concealed his designs, Murat seemed inclined to renew the policy of Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the art of deceiving was deemed by the Italian governments the most sublime effort of genius. Without any declaration of war, Murat ordered the Neapolitan general who occupied Rome to assume the supreme command in the Roman states, and to take possession of the country. General Miollis, who commanded the French troops in Rome, could only throw himself, with his handful of men, into the Castle of St. Angelo, the famous mole of Adrian, in which was long preserved the treasury of Sixtus V.: the French general soon found himself blockaded by the Neapolitan troops, who also blockaded Civita-Vecchia and Ancona.

The treaty concluded between Murat and Austria was definitively signed on the 11th of January, 1814. As soon as he was informed of it, the viceroy, certain that he should soon have to engage with the Neapolitans, was obliged to renounce the preservation of the line of Adige, the Neapolitan army being in the rear of his right wing. He, accordingly, ordered a retrograde movement on the side of the Mincio, where his army was cantoned. In this position Prince Eugène, on the 8th of February, had to engage with the Austrians, who had come up with him, and the victory of the Mincio arrested, for some time, the invasion of the Austrian army, and its junction with the Neapolitan troops. It was not until eight days after, that Murat officially declared war against the emperor; and immediately several general and superior officers, and many French troops, who were in his service, abandoned him, and repaired to the head-quarters of the viceroy. Murat made endeavours to detain them: they replied, that as he had declared war against France, no Frenchman who loved his country could remain in his service. "Do you think," returned he, "that my heart is less French than yours? On the contrary, I am much to be pitied. I hear of nothing but the disasters of the grand army. I have been obliged to enter into a treaty with the Austrians, and an arrangement with the English, commanded by Lord Bentinck, in order to save my kingdom from a threatened landing of the English and the Sicilians, which would infallibly have excited an insurrection."

There could not be a more ingenuous confession of the antipathy which Joachim knew the Neapolitans to entertain towards his person and government.* His address to the French was ineffectual. It was easy to foresee what would ensue. The vice-

* This is not quite correct: the Neapolitans, as a mass, did not entertain an antipathy towards Murat. For an account of these proceedings we refer the leader to notes at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

roy soon received an official communication from Napoleon's war-minister, accompanied by an imperial decree, recalling all the French who were in the service of Joachim, and declaring that all who were taken with arms in their hands should be tried by a court-martial as traitors to their country. Murat commenced by gaining advantages which could not be disputed. His troops almost immediately took possession of Leghorn and the citadel of Ancona, and the French were obliged to evacuate Tuscany.

But, to return to the affairs of France at the end of 1813. The defection of Murat overthrew one of Bonaparte's gigantic conceptions. He had planned that Murat and Eugène, with their combined forces, should march on the rear of the allies, while he, disputing the soil of France with the invaders, should multiply obstacles to their advance; the King of Naples and the Viceroy of Italy were to march upon Vienna and make Austria tremble in the heart of her capital before the timid million of her allies, who measured their steps as they approached Paris, should pollute, by their presence, the capital of France. When informed of the vast project, which however was but the dream of a moment, I immediately recognised that eagle glance, that power of discovering great resources in great calamities, so peculiar to Bonaparte.

Napoleon was yet Emperor of France; but he who had imposed on all Europe treaties of peace no less disastrous than the wars which had preceded them, could not now obtain an armistice; and Caulaincourt, who was sent to treat for one at the camp of the allies, spent twenty days at Luneville before he could even obtain permission to pass the advanced posts of the invading army. In vain did Caulaincourt entreat Napoleon to sacrifice, or at least to resign temporarily, a portion of that glory acquired in so many battles, and which nothing could efface in history. Napoleon replied, "I will sign whatever you wish. To obtain peace I will exact no condition; but I will not dictate my own humiliation." This concession, of course, amounted to a determination not to sign or to grant any thing.

In the first fortnight of January, 1814, one-third of France was invaded, and it was proposed to form a new congress, to be held at Châtillon-sur-Seine. The situation of Napoleon grew daily worse and worse. He was advised to seek extraordinary resources in the interior of the empire, and was reminded of the fourteen armies which rose, as if by enchantment, to defend France at the commencement of the revolution. Finally, a reconciliation with the jacobins, a party who had power to call up masses to aid him, was recommended. For a moment he was inclined to adopt this advice. He rode on horseback through the suburbs of Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marceau, courted the populace, affectionately replied to their acclamations, and he thought he saw the possibility of turning to account the attach-

ment which the people evinced for him. On his return to the palace some prudent persons ventured to represent to him, that instead of courting this absurd sort of popularity it would be more advisable to rely on the nobility and the higher classes of society:—"Gentlemen," replied he, "you may say what you please, but in the situation in which I stand, my only nobility is the rabble of the faubourgs, and I know of no rabble but the nobility whom I have created." This was a strange compliment to all ranks, for it was only saying that they were all rabble together.

At this time the jacobins were disposed to exert every effort to serve him; but they required to have their own way, and to be allowed freely to excite and foster revolutionary sentiments. The press, which groaned under a most odious and intolerable censorship, was to be wholly resigned to them. I do not state these facts from hearsay. I happened by chance to be present at two conferences, in which were set forward projects infected with the odour of the clubs; and these projects were supported with the more assurance, because their success was regarded as certain. Though I had not seen Napoleon since my departure for Hamburg, yet I was sufficiently assured of his feeling towards the jacobins to be convinced that he would have nothing to do with them. I was not wrong. On hearing of the price they set on their services, he said, "This is too much, I shall have a chance of deliverance in battle; but I shall have none with these furious blockheads. There can be nothing in common between the demagogic principles of 93 and the monarchy: between clubs of madmen and a regular ministry; between a committee of public safety and an emperor; between revolutionary tribunals and established laws. If fall I must, I will not bequeath France to the revolutionists, from whom I have delivered her."*

* Lucien Bonaparte indignantly and eloquently contradicts the assertion that his brother, to preserve his power, was willing to ally himself with the fierce jacobins.

"General Lamarque says with reason, that it was the jacobins that the emperor feared. Yes, without doubt he feared them, but it was on account of France.—He knew that the fanaticism of those men of heart and hand was the more redoubtable because it proceeded from a sincere conviction. But liberty, virtue, philosophy, religion, what can they all do with men when they are steeped in blood and dirt? Ought the world to recognise Minerva under the mask of the Furies? To mutilate a political body in order to make it march; to burn it in order to illuminate it; to overturn it in order to sustain it?—Is not this the sad result of the jacobin democracy? Was it not to this frightful system that the French republic owed her fall? and has she not, through unjust prejudice, been held accountable in the eyes of the world for the crimes of the system that destroyed her, and for all the horrors committed under the anti-republican regime of the Reign of Terror?—Yes, it is that regime of fatal memory that has retarded the constitutional reform of Europe by half a century. In subduing that hydra, Napoleon gained his most useful victory; he felt he should dishonour his name if he ever entered into compact with, or encouraged the errors of that faction. Ah! may all the enlightened and generous minds of the youths of France often repeat to themselves, that to dig up the liveries and the examples of the Reign of Terror,

These were golden words, and Napoleon thought of a more noble and truly national mode of parrying the danger which threatened him. He ordered the enrolment of the national guard of Paris, which was placed under the command of Marshal Moncey. A better choice could not have been made; but the staff of the national guard was a focus of hidden intrigues, in which the defence of Paris was less thought about than the means of taking advantage of Napoleon's overthrow. I was made a captain in this guard, and, like the rest of the officers, I was summoned to the Tuileries, on the 21st of January, when the emperor took leave of the national guard, previous to his departure from Paris to join the army. Napoleon entered with the empress. He advanced with a dignified step, leading by the hand his son, who was not yet three years old. It was long since I had seen him. He had grown very corpulent, and I remarked on his pale countenance an expression of melancholy and irritability. The habitual movement of the muscles of his neck was more decided and more frequent than formerly. I shall not attempt to describe what were my feelings during this ceremony, when I again saw, after a long separation, the friend of my youth, who had become master of Europe, and was now on the point of sinking beneath the efforts of his enemies. There was something melancholy in this solemn and impressive ceremony. I

is to serve the cause of despotism; that to evoke the names of Robespierre, Marat, St. Just, is to make humanity, which is now advancing, retrograde by bounds into the shades of the past. We ought never to cease in our efforts to repulse every one of these jacobin provocations or stimulants, by universal and vigorous reprobation; for they are all (though some of them may be well intentioned) the most mortal enemies of social progress. All those who have still present to their minds the crimes that stained France in a former generation, ought to repeat them to the generations which follow, whenever, in their imprudent heat, men seem inclined to forget them in order to attach themselves to speculative truths that were also professed by the men of 1793, even while they were slaughtering a world of victims. Were those men thinking of juries when they judged and executed on the bloody decrees of the public prisons? Were they occupied with liberal ideas when in the same cart they carried to the scaffold the three generations of the Malesherbes, when old men, children, young and handsome women, could no longer find on the soil of France one single support to defend them, a single mouth bold enough to pity them! When they coined money in the reeking square of the revolution! When kings, queens, the nobles, the learned, artisans, warriors, and men of the people, fell *pêle-mêle* under the scythe of the great Moloch!—All this, *we* have seen, and we ought to repeat it incessantly to our children. Every thing is preferable to this demagogic fanaticism, ay even an Oriental despotism. For if the East has at times, after a great battle, shown us pyramids of human heads, the jacobin marriages (they were not republican) of the Loire, the mitraillades, the butcheries in the prisons, the *glacières*, are more horrible than the pyramids of Tamerlane. No sword kills so many at one time as the tyranny of the mob. Its field of battle, instead of being circumscribed like that of a conqueror, embraces all cities, all towns and villages, and multiplies itself into forty thousand fields of battle, where those who have been betrayed by victory are struck without pity. Far from us, and for ever, be the sacrilegious admiration of the days of terror. My brother would never have worked with such instruments as the jacobins."— *Réponse de Lucien Bonaparte, Prince de Canino, aux Mémoires du Général Lamarque.* (*Editor.*)

have rarely witnessed such profound silence in so numerous an assembly. At length, Napoleon, in a voice as firm and sonorous as when he used to harangue his troops, in Italy or in Egypt, but without that air of confidence which then beamed on his countenance, delivered to the assembled officers an address, which was published in all the journals of the time. At the commencement of this address, he said, "I set out this night to take the command of the army. On quitting the capital, I confidently leave behind me my wife and my son, in whom so many hopes are centred." I listened attentively to Napoleon's address, and though he delivered it firmly he either felt, or feigned emotion. Whether or not the emotion was sincere on his part, it was shared by many present; and, for my own part, I confess, that my feelings were deeply moved when he uttered the words, "I leave behind me my wife and my son." At that moment, my eyes were fixed on the young prince; and the interest with which he inspired me was equally unconnected with the splendour which surrounded, and the misfortunes which threatened him. I beheld in the interesting child not the King of Rome, but the son of my old friend.

It may be worth while to remind those who are curious in comparing dates, that Napoleon, the successor of Louis XVI., and who had become the nephew of that monarch, by his marriage with the neice of Marie-Antoinette, took leave of the national guard of Paris on the anniversary of the fatal 21st of January, after twenty-five years of successive terror, fear, hope, glory, and misfortune.

Meanwhile, a congress was opened at Châtillon-sur-Seine, at which were assembled the Duke de Vicenza, on the part of France; Lords Aberdeen, Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart,* as the representatives of England; Count Razumowsky, on the part of Russia; Count Stadion, for Austria; and Count Humboldt, for Prussia. Before the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, in conformity with the emperor's orders, demanded an armistice, which is almost invariably granted during negotiations for peace; but it was now too late: the allies had long since determined not to listen to any such demand. They therefore answered the Duke de Vicenza's application, by requiring that the propositions for peace should be immediately signed. But these were not the propositions of Frankfort. The allies established as their basis the limits of the old French monarchy. They conceived themselves authorized in so doing by their success, and by their situation.

To estimate rightly Napoleon's conduct during the negotiations for peace, which took place in the conferences at Châtillon, it is necessary to bear in mind the organization he had received

* Now the Marquis of Londonderry. His lordship has published an interesting account of this congress. It will be found at the end of this chapter. —*Editor.*

from nature, and the ideas with which that organization had imbued him at an early period of life. If the last negotiations of his expiring reign be examined with due attention and impartiality, it will appear evident that the causes of his fall arose out of his character. I cannot range myself among those adulators who have accused the persons about him with having dissuaded him from peace. Did he not say at St. Helena, in speaking of the negotiations at Châtillon, "A thunderbolt alone could have saved us: to treat, to conclude, was to yield foolishly to the enemy." These words forcibly portray Napoleon's character. It must also be borne in mind how much he was captivated by the immortality of the great names which history has bequeathed to our admiration, and which are perpetuated from generation to generation. Napoleon resolved that his name should resound in ages to come, from the palace to the cottage. To live without fame appeared to him an anticipated death. How often in the days of my intimacy with Bonaparte, has he not said to me, "Who knows the names of those kings who have passed from the thrones on which chance, or birth, seated them? They lived and died unnoticed. The learned, perhaps, may find them mentioned in old archives, and a medal or a coin dug from the earth may reveal to antiquarians the existence of a sovereign, of whom they had never before heard. But, on the contrary, when we hear the names of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Mahomet, Charlemagne, Henry IV., and Louis XIV., we are immediately among our intimate acquaintance." I must add, that when Napoleon thus spoke to me in the gardens of Malmaison, he only repeated what had often fallen from him in his youth; for his character and his ideas never varied; the change was in the objects to which they were applied.

From his boyhood Napoleon was fond of reading the history of the great men of antiquity; and what he chiefly sought to discover, was the means by which those men had become great. He remarked, that military glory secures more extended fame than the arts of peace and the noble efforts which contribute to the happiness of mankind. History informs us, that great military talent and victory often give the power, which, in its turn, procures the means of gratifying ambition. Napoleon was always persuaded that that power was essential to him, in order to bend men to his will, and to stifle all discussions on his conduct. It was his established principle never to sign a disadvantageous peace. To him a tarnished crown was no longer a crown. He said one day to M. de Caulaincourt, who was pressing him to consent to sacrifices, "Courage may defend a crown, but infamy never." In all the last acts of Napoleon's career, I can retrace the impress of his character, as I had often recognised in the great actions of the emperor the execu-

tion of a thought conceived by the general-in-chief of the army of Italy.

On the opening of the congress, the Duke de Vicenza, convinced that he could no longer count on the natural limits of France, promised at Frankfort by the allies, demanded new powers. Those limits were doubtless the result of reasonable concessions, and they had been granted even after the battle of Leipsic; but it was now necessary that Napoleon's minister should show himself ready to make further concessions if he wished to be allowed to negotiate. The congress was opened on the 5th of February, and on the 7th the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers declared themselves categorically. They inserted in the protocol, that after the successes which had favoured their arms, they insisted on France being restored to her old limits, such as they were during the monarchy before the revolution; and that she should renounce all direct influence beyond her future limits.

This proposition appeared so extraordinary to M. Caulaincourt, that he requested the sitting might be suspended, since the conditions departed too far from his instructions to enable him to give an immediate answer. The plenipotentiaries of the allied powers acceded to his request, and the continuation of the sitting was postponed till eight in the evening. When it was resumed, the Duke de Vicenza renewed his promise to make the greatest sacrifices for the attainment of peace. He added, that the amount of the sacrifices necessarily depended on the amount of the compensations, and that he could not determine on any concession or compensation without being made acquainted with the whole. He wished to have a general plan of the views of the allies, and he requested that their plenipotentiaries would explain themselves decidedly respecting the number and description of the sacrifices and compensations to be demanded. It must be acknowledged, that the Duke de Vicenza perfectly fulfilled the views of the emperor in thus protracting and gaining time by subtle subterfuges, for all that he suggested had already been done.

On the day after this sitting, some advantages gained by the allies, who took Châtillon-sur-Marne and Troyes, induced Napoleon to direct Caulaincourt to declare to the congress, that if an armistice were immediately agreed on, he was ready to consent to France being restored to her old limits. By securing this armistice, Napoleon hoped that happy chances might arise, and that intrigues might be set on foot; but the allies would not listen to any such proposition.

At the sitting of the 10th of March, the Duke de Vicenza inserted in the protocol, that the last courier he had received had been arrested and detained a considerable time by several Russian general-officers, who had obliged him to deliver up his

despatches, which had not been returned to him till thirty-six hours after at Chaumont. Caulaincourt justly complained of this infraction of the law of nations and established usage, which, he said, was the sole cause of the delay in bringing the negotiations to a conclusion. After this complaint he communicated to the congress the ostensible orders of Napoleon, in which he authorized his minister to accede to the demands of the allies. But in making this communication, M. de Caulaincourt took care not to explain the private and secret instructions he had also received. The allies rejected the armistice, because it would have checked their victorious advance; but they consented to sign the definitive peace, which of all things was what the emperor did not wish.

In 1813, Napoleon might have obtained the natural limits of France. Why, then, did he not accept them? Why did he allow himself to be driven to the extremity of discussing about the limits of the old monarchy? He wished to have more than the boundary of the Rhine; of this his letter of the 8th of March is a proof. But could he deceive himself respecting the difference of his situation at Frankfort in November, 1813, and at Châtillon in March, 1814; and in spite of the few advantages acquired in his admirable campaign, could he be blind to his future fate? Could he be ignorant that his obstinate delay had forced the allied sovereigns to sign at Chaumont, on the 1st of March, a treaty by which Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, pledged themselves to continue the war with unrelaxed vigour, until France should be restored to her old limits. Alas! we did not even obtain so much.

Napoleon at length determined to make sacrifices, and the Duke de Vicenza submitted new propositions to the congress. The allies replied, in the same sitting, that these propositions contained no distinct and explicit declaration on the project presented by them on the 17th of February; that having on the 28th of the same month demanded a decisive answer within the term of ten days, they were about to break up the negotiations. Caulaincourt then declared verbally—

1st. That Napoleon was ready to renounce all pretension or influence whatever in countries beyond the boundaries of France.

2d. To recognise the independence of Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, and that as to England, France would make such concessions as might be deemed necessary in consideration of a reasonable equivalent.

Upon this, the sitting was immediately broken up without a reply. It must be remarked, that this singular declaration was verbal, and consequently, not binding, and that the limits of France were mentioned without being specified. It cannot be doubted that Napoleon meant the limits conceded at Frankfort, to which he was well convinced the allies would not consent;

for circumstances were now changed. Besides, what could be meant by the *reasonable equivalent* from England? Is it astonishing that this obscurity and vagueness should have banished all confidence on the part of the plenipotentiaries of the allied powers? Three days after the sitting of the 10th of March, they declared they could not even enter into a discussion of the verbal protocol of the French minister. They requested that M. de Caulaincourt would declare whether he would accept or reject the project of a treaty presented by the allied courts,* or offer a counter-project.

The Duke de Vicenza, who was still prohibited, by secret instructions, from coming to any conclusion on the proposed basis, inserted in the protocol of the sitting of the 13th of March a very ambiguous note. The plenipotentiaries of the allies, in their reply, insisted upon receiving another declaration from the French plenipotentiary, which should contain an acceptance or refusal of their project of a treaty presented in the conference of the 7th of February, or a counter-project. After much discussion, Caulaincourt agreed to draw up a counter-project, which he presented on the 15th, under the following title: "Project of a definitive Treaty between France and the Allies." In this extraordinary project, presented after so much delay, M. de Caulaincourt, to the great astonishment of the allies, departed in no respect from the declarations of the 10th of March. He replied again to the ultimatum of the allies, or what he wished to regard as such, by defending a multitude of petty interests, which were of no importance in so great a contest; but in general the conditions seemed rather those of a conqueror dictating to his enemies, than of a man overwhelmed by misfortune. As it may readily be imagined, they were, for the most part, received with derision by the allies.

Every thing tends to prove that the French plenipotentiary had received no positive instructions from the 5th of February, and that, after all the delay which Napoleon incessantly created, Caulaincourt never had it in his power to answer, categorically, the propositions of the allies. And why? Because Napoleon never intended to make peace at Châtillon on the terms proposed. He always hoped that some fortunate event would enable him to obtain more favourable conditions.

On the 18th of March, that is to say, three days after the presentation of this project of a treaty, the plenipotentiaries of the allies recorded in the protocol their reasons for rejecting the extraordinary project of the French minister. For my part, I was convinced, for the reasons I have mentioned, that the emperor would never agree to sign the conditions proposed in the ultimatum of the allies, dated the 13th of March, and I remember having expressed that opinion to M. de Talleyrand.

* The conditions of this treaty were, the boundaries of France before the revolution.

I saw him on the 14th, and found him engaged in perusing some intelligence he had just received from the Duke de Vicenza, announcing, as beyond all doubt, the early signature of peace. Caulaincourt had received orders to come to a conclusion. Napoleon, he said, had given him a *carte blanche* to save the capital, and avoid a battle, by which the last resources of the nation would be endangered. This seemed pretty positive, to be sure; but even this assurance did not, for a moment, alter my opinion. The better to convince me, M. de Talleyrand gave me Caulaincourt's letter to read. After reading it, I confidently said, "He will never sign the conditions." M. de Talleyrand could not help thinking me very obstinate in my opinion; for he judged of what the emperor would do by his situation, while I judged by his character. I told M. de Talleyrand that Caulaincourt might have received written orders to sign, for the sake of showing them to the plenipotentiaries of the allies; but that I had no doubt he had been instructed to postpone coming to a conclusion, and to wait for final orders. I added, that I saw no reason to change my opinion, and that I continued to regard the breaking up of the congress as nearer than appearances seemed to indicate. Accordingly, three days afterwards, the allies grew tired of the delay, and the conferences were broken up. Thus Napoleon sacrificed every thing rather than his glory. He fell from a great height, but he never, by his signature, consented to any dismemberment of France.

The plenipotentiaries of the allies, convinced that these renewed difficulties and demands had no other object but to gain time, stated that the allied powers, faithful to their principles, and in conformity with their previous declarations, regarded the negotiations at Châtillon as terminated by the French government. This rupture of the conferences took place on the 19th of March, six days after the presentation of the ultimatum of the allied powers. The issue of these long discussions was thus left to be decided by the chances of war, which were not very favourable to the man who boldly contended against armed Europe. The successes of the allies during the conferences at Châtillon had opened to their view the road to Paris; while Napoleon shrunk from the necessity of signing his own disgrace. In these circumstances was to be found the sole cause of his ruin, and he might have said, "*Tout est perdu, fors la gloire.*" His glory is immortal.

THE DEFECTION OF MURAT.

"While the Neapolitans began to lose their affection for King Joachim, and the fortunes of France declined more and more, the Emperor of Austria, in the name of the allied sovereigns, offered him his friendship. Already in the fields of Ullendorf, on the

banks of the Ilm, in the midst of so many examples of inconstancy, the Count de Mier, an Austrian envoy, had made overtures to Murat, who had listened to him without displeasure. And here I must reveal the truth, that the king, by nature or by art, was inclined to cunning and duplicity, which he called policy, and believed to be a necessity of government. He boasted of his ability in this way, but, as it generally happens to the rulers of small states, he was duped by others and by his own very arts. Being doubtful of the future, he took counsel of all those Neapolitan ministers and generals in whom he had most confidence. Opinions were divided, one party recommending him to join the allies, and the other to remain faithful to his brother-in-law, Napoleon, who had made him a king."

Murat seeing that fortune was utterly abandoning the standards of the French, that the neutrality of Switzerland was on the point of being violated, that an Austrian army was already on the Adige, that Venice was blockaded, inclined to the Austrian alliance. Just at this moment of indecision the astute and treacherous Fouché arrived at Naples, and had many and long private audiences with Joachim, who was as timid in the cabinet as he was brave in the field. Fouché is said to have been sent by Napoleon to act as a spy on Murat, and discover his intentions. To do this he acted the part of a disgraced and revengeful minister, and joined Murat in his abuse of his brother-in-law.

"Fouché had scarcely departed for Rome, in the middle of December, 1813, when Count Neipperg, another Austrian envoy, arrived and concluded a treaty with the Duke di Gallo, who acted for Naples. This treaty was signed on the 11th of January, 1814. The principal scope of it was the continuation of the war against France for the re-establishment of the political balance in Europe; and, as means to obtain this, Austria was to maintain 150,000 troops, of which 60,000 were to act in Italy, and Naples was to furnish 30,000 men. Fresh levies were to be added by each contracting party, in case of need. The King of Naples was to have the chief command of the confederated forces in Italy, but in case of his absence the command was to fall to an Austrian general of the highest rank.

"The Emperor of Austria recognised the dominion and sovereignty of the states actually possessed by the King of Naples; and the King of Naples recognised the emperor's right to Lombardy, and all the states he had formerly possessed in Italy.

"They agreed to conclude no peace or truce except by mutual consent. The emperor promised to use his good offices to reconcile Naples with England, and the potentates of Europe confederated with Austria.

"By secret articles it was established that the Emperor of Austria would pledge himself to obtain from King Ferdinand, the Bourbon, the cession of the throne of Naples in favour of Joachim Murat; who, on his side, would renounce all preten-

sions to Sicily, and co-operate, at the general peace, with the other sovereigns of Europe, in obtaining an indemnity to King Ferdinand for his ceded throne of Naples. And as another fruit of this alliance, Joachim was to receive certain territories in the States of the Church, with a population of 400,000 souls."

It was proved, by the event, that Murat was quite capable of breaking faith; but we think it equally certain that Austria contemplated deception in this extraordinary treaty, several articles of which were wholly inexecutable. However, on the 26th of January, the Duke of Gallo and Lord W. Bentinck concluded an armistice, after which hostilities ceased, and a free trade was allowed between Sicily, England, and Naples. At the end of the same month Murat, at the head of a finely-appointed Neapolitan army, marched upon Upper Italy, where, shortly after, he co-operated with the Austrians against the French and northern Italians under the Viceroy Eugène Beauharnais. In April the Neapolitans, fighting with great bravery, defeated the forces of Eugène at Reggio, on the Taro, at Firenzuola, at San Lazzaro, and shortly after, on the arrival of the news that the allies had taken Paris, Eugène was forced to treat, and finally to evacuate all Upper Italy.

More than a year before Murat's secession from the cause of Bonaparte, matters had wellnigh come to extremities between them. They had never been friends since the fatal retreat from Moscow, and they had written the most violent and insulting letters to each other. It will be remembered, that when Napoleon fled from the Niemen to Paris, he left the supreme command of his ruined, demoralized army to Murat, who did his duty until the French were comparatively safe beyond the Oder, and active warfare with the Russians had almost ceased. He then, naturally enough, thought of his pleasant kingdom, his wife, and his children, whom he tenderly loved, and transmitting the command to Eugène Beauharnais, he repaired to Naples.

"As soon as Bonaparte heard that Murat had left the camp, he published the fact in the Moniteur, adding severe censure of Joachim and high praises of Eugène. This was the more cutting, as there had long been envy and enmity between Murat and Beauharnais. Not satisfied with this public revenge, Bonaparte wrote to his sister, the Queen of Naples, calling her husband, Joachim, a defaulter, an ungrateful traitor, incapable of sound policy, unworthy of his relationship, deserving of public and severe chastisement. The king answered this letter directly, saying, among other things—

"'The wound to my honour is already inflicted, and it is not in the power of your majesty to cure it. You have insulted and calumniated an old companion in arms, faithful to you in your dangers, not a small means of your victories, the support of your greatness, the reanimator of your lost courage on the 18th Brumaire.

"'Your majesty says that when a man has the honour of

belonging to your *illustrious family*, he ought to do nothing that may endanger its interests, or cloud its splendour. And I, sire, tell you in reply, that your family received as much honour as it gave when it united me in marriage with Caroline.

"'A thousand times, although a king, have I sighed for those days in which, as a plain soldier, I had my superiors but no master. I became a king; but in this supreme rank I have been tyrannized over by your majesty—domineered over in my family, and I have felt more than ever a longing after independence—a thirst of liberty. Thus do you afflict, thus do you sacrifice to your suspicion those who have been the most faithful to you—the men who have best aided you in the stupendous march of your fortunes. Thus Fouché was sacrificed to Savary, Talleyrand to Champagny, Champagny himself to Bassano, and Murat to Beauharnais—to Beauharnais, who has with you the merit of a mute obedience, and that more grateful one (because the more servile) *of having gaily announced to the senate of France the repudiation and divorce of his own mother.*

"'I can no longer deny my people the restoration of trade, seeing the fatal injuries that the maritime war inflicts upon them.

"'From what I have said your majesty must conclude that our old and mutual faith and confidence are diminished. You may do what you like best; but whatever harm you do me, I am still your brother, and faithful brother-in-law, Joachim.' "*

THE CONFERENCES AT CHATILLON SUR SOANE.

"I shall now briefly recal the reader to that part of my narrative which touched incidentally upon the great diplomatic transactions in progress at this period, and those negotiations which led to the conferences at Châtillon. The principal secretary of state for foreign affairs having received his majesty's command, to repair to the head-quarters of the allied sovereigns, arrived in the month of January, and immediately entered into the strictest communication with the state-ministers of the allied powers. And here I cannot, in natural feeling, refrain from inserting a paragraph of Lord Burghersh's Memoirs, which states as follows: "The decision now taken in England was to depute one of the cabinet ministers to represent Great Britain in the congress, which appeared now likely to be held for the final arrangement of a secure and lasting peace. Lord Harrowby is understood to have been first thought of for this mission: Lord Castlereagh, however, undertook the charge, and in the beginning

* Il Generale Colletta: Storia del Reame di Napoli. See also, Carlo Botta: Storia d'Italia. (*Editor.*)

of January joined the head-quarters of the sovereigns. No measure was ever wiser, or productive of greater benefits. Lord Castlereagh, by the manliness of his conduct, by the talent which he displayed under the most difficult circumstances, secured more solid advantages, not only to England, but to Europe, than perhaps will ever be generally known or acknowledged. In the various changes of fortune which attended the operations of the campaign of 1814, the steady course with which he pursued the general objects of the alliance, being never led aside from them either by reverses or success, placed him in triumphant contrast with others, who, elated or depressed by the events of each succeeding period, would have ruined their cause, as much by overstrained pretensions in one alternative, as by a conduct totally the reverse in the other. Lord Castlereagh is understood to have left England with instructions to negotiate for peace upon conditions honourable to France, but differing from those proposed at Frankfort, which the change of circumstances had rendered totally inapplicable." The consequence resulting from M. de St. Aignan's early mission from Frankfort, was the appointment of the Duke de Vicenza, Caulaincourt, as French plenipotentiary to treat for a general peace with the allied plenipotentiaries assembled at Châtillon for this great object."

"The ministers met in the middle of February; Lord Aberdeen, Lord Cathcart, and Sir Charles Stewart, having been named plenipotentiaries on the part of Great Britain; Count Razumoffski on the part of Russia; Count Stadion for Austria; and Baron Von Humboldt for Prussia. These plenipotentiaries continued to assemble and hold repeated conferences until the middle of March; and during the whole of this period the military operations were carried on. I was prevented by my diplomatic duties from witnessing, and consequently detailing any personal observations on the military movements during the same interval; but the British government were accurately informed of the course of the operations by Colonel Lowe's and Lord Burghersh's very able communications.

"The time may possibly arrive when I shall think myself justified in giving the history of the diplomatic transactions of this little congress at this period. I retain my own minutes of every minister's remarks on all the subjects of discussion, from which a summary might be drawn up, not uninteresting to posterity. It may not here, however, be irrelevant to remark, that it was easy to perceive from the first discussions, as to the terms of peace for Europe, that the most serious difficulties presented themselves; and while the statesmanlike views of the ministers were influenced by the peculiar feelings of their sovereigns on the spot, it was hardly possible to predict how any ultimate good could be accomplished.

"To prove more strongly the truth of what I have asserted, I

shall now relate a non-official conversation I held about this period with the Emperor Alexander. His imperial majesty's known condescension of character, and the marked kindness and good-nature he invariably showed me, penetrated me with sincere attachment and devotion to his person, and on various occasions he honoured me by communicating his observations and sentiments. At this period, one of the most difficult and interesting points for adjustment at a general peace, was the fate of the Polish nation, and this peace now began confidently to be looked for. In one of my interviews with the emperor, his imperial majesty dwelt at great length on the immense sacrifices of Russia, and putting these foremost in his statement, he declared how doubly necessary it became him, on the eve of a settlement of Europe, to look to the permanent interests of his own empire. His imperial majesty stated, that his moral feelings, however, and every principle of justice and right called upon him to use all his power to restore such a constitution to Poland as would secure the happiness of so fine and so great a people. The abandonment of seven millions of his subjects, were he to relinquish his Polish provinces in any general arrangement, without a sufficient guarantee to his country for the great utility and advantage of the measure, would be more than his imperial crown was worth. But the consolidating these provinces with the duchy of Warsaw, under such a king, and such a constitutional administration as Russia would name, would be productive of the happiest effects. His imperial majesty continued to observe that his character was well known, and ought to give full confidence to Europe. I remarked in reply, that Europe could not ensure herself at all times an Alexander on the throne. To which his imperial majesty rejoined, that the Grand Duke Constantine partook entirely of his own sentiments, as well as his two brothers. He was happy also to believe that the proposition he had started, and the mode in which he viewed it, were seen by Austria in the same light. That he had a very long conversation with Prince Metternich a day or two since, in which the whole of his majesty's plan had been opened, and that the prince had nothing to say against it (*n'avait rien contre*), or words to this purpose.

"I was considerably struck at the time with so extraordinary a declaration from his majesty; and I ventured not only to express my surprise, but to assure his majesty that Prince Metternich had held a very different language to me, and that I never could suppose he would leave to England the task of being the only power which would oppose itself to his imperial majesty's views in case they should not meet with general concurrence, when they were of so much more vital interest to Austria and Prussia.

"His imperial majesty next alluded, rather in a menacing manner, to his power of taking military occupation of Poland,

and seemed to be certain of the facility with which he could obtain his end; and I doubted much, from the firm and positive manner in which he expressed himself, whether he would ever be diverted from the purpose he now declared. This *exposé* of a great monarch's mind was deeply interesting at the moment it was communicated; and later events showed (notwithstanding the complex character of this question), how sedulously the Emperor of Russia's efforts were thus early directed towards it.

"But confining myself at present to my military narrative, I shall only now insert in the Appendix the declaration of the allied plenipotentiaries, which after much fruitless delay and manœuvring on the part of the French plenipotentiary to gain time, ended by dissolving the congress, and by the return of the ministers to their respective head-quarters. Averse as I had ever been to the whole arrangements and negotiations with M. de St. Aignan, followed up as they were by the conferences at Châtillon, I sincerely rejoiced at their termination; and it was soon indeed perceptible, that the Duke de Vicenza neither talked the language, nor was kept *au courant* of the projects of Napoleon; and that the only desire the latter had was to protract an idle negotiation to cover his own deeper designs and objects. The allies were too long trifled with; and to have permitted it to be spun out longer, would have been unpardonable. I must do Caulaincourt the justice to record, that if it had depended upon him, he was sincerely desirous of obtaining a peace for his emperor, whose predicament he evidently saw was becoming daily more perilous.

"To the memory of these interesting days I must add, that the conviviality and harmony that reigned between the ministers, made the society and intercourse at Châtillon most agreeable. The diplomatists dined alternately with each other; M. de Caulaincourt liberally passing for all the ministers, through the French advanced posts, convoys of all the good cheer, in epicurean wines, &c., that Paris could afford; nor was female society wanting to complete the charm, and banish *ennui* from the Châtillon congress, which I am sure will be long recollected with sensations of pleasure by all the plenipotentiaries there engaged."

DECLARATION OF THE ALLIED PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Châtillon, February 28, 1814.

"Many days having elapsed since the project of the preliminaries of a general peace was presented by the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts to Monsieur the French plenipotentiary, and no reply having been given either in the form of an acceptance, or in the form of a modification of the said project, their majesties, imperial and royal, have thought fit to demand from the French plenipotentiary a distinct

and explicit declaration from his government on the project in question. The plenipotentiaries of the allied courts are of opinion that there is so much the less motive for delay on the part of the French government with respect to a decision on the preliminaries proposed, since the project presented by them is, in substance, based on an offer made by the plenipotentiary of France in his letter to the Prince of Metternich, dated the 9th of this month, which the prince has submitted to the allied courts. Moreover, the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts are charged to declare in the name of their sovereigns, who fully adhere to the substance of the demands contained in these conditions, which they regard as being as essential to the security of Europe, as necessary to the arrangement of a general peace, that they could not interpret any ulterior delay of an answer to their propositions in any other sense than as a refusal on the part of the French government.

"In consequence, the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts, ready to act in concert with Monsieur the French plenipotentiary as to the time indispensably necessary to communicate with his government, have orders to declare, that if, at the expiration of the term judged necessary no answer shall have arrived, the negotiation must be regarded as finished, and the plenipotentiaries of the allied courts will return to head-quarters."—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

1814.

Curious conversation between General Reynier and the Emperor Alexander—Napoleon repulses the Prussians—The Russians at Fontainebleau—Battle of Brienne—Sketch of the campaign of France—Supper after the battle of Champ-Aubert—Intelligence of the arrival of the Duke d'Angoulême and the Count d'Artois in France—The battle of the ravens and the eagle—Battle of Craonne—Departure of the pope and the Spanish princes—Capture of a convoy—Macdonald at the emperor's head-quarters—The inverted cipher.

I WAS always persuaded, and every thing I have since seen has confirmed my opinion, that the allies entering France had no design of restoring the house of Bourbon, or of imposing any government whatever on the French people. They came to destroy and not to found. That which they wished to destroy from the commencement of their success was Napoleon's supremacy; in order to prevent the future invasions with which they believed Europe would still be constantly threatened. If, indeed, I had entertained any doubt on this subject, it would have been banished by the account I heard of General Reynier's con-

versation with the Emperor Alexander. That general, who was made prisoner at Leipsic, was exchanged, and returned to France. In the beginning of February, 1814, he passed through Troyes, where the Emperor Alexander then was. Reynier expressed a desire to be allowed to pay his respects to the emperor, and to thank him for having restored him to liberty. He was received with that affability of manner, which was sometimes affected by the Russian monarch. On his arrival at Paris, General Reynier called at the Duke de Rovigo's, where I had dined that day. He related in my hearing the conversation to which I have alluded, and stated that it had all the appearance of sincerity on the emperor's part. Having asked Alexander whether he had any instructions for Napoleon, as the latter, on learning that he had seen his majesty, would not fail to ask him many questions, he replied that he had nothing particular to communicate to him. Alexander added that he was Napoleon's friend, but that he had, personally, much reason to complain of his conduct; that the allies would have nothing more to do with him; that they had no intention of forcing any sovereign upon France; but that they would no longer acknowledge Napoleon as Emperor of the French. "For my part," said Alexander, "I can no longer place any confidence in him. He has deceived me too often." In reply to this, Reynier made some remarks, dictated by his attachment and fidelity to Bonaparte. He observed that Napoleon was acknowledged as sovereign of France by every treaty. "But," added Reynier, "if you should persist in forcing him to resign the supreme power, whom will you put in his place?"—"Did you not choose him; why then can you not choose another to govern you? I repeat that we do not intend to force any one upon you: but we will have no more to do with him."

Several generals were then named; and after Reynier had explained the great difficulties which would oppose any such choice, Alexander interrupted him, saying, "But, general, there is Bernadotte. Has he not been voluntarily chosen Prince Royal of Sweden; may he not also be raised to the same rank in France? He is your countryman; surely then you may choose him, since the Swedes took him, though a foreigner." General Reynier, who was a man of firm character, started some objections, which I thought at the time well founded; and Alexander put an end to the conversation by saying, rather in a tone of dissatisfaction, "Well, general, the fate of arms will decide."

The campaign of France forced Napoleon to adopt a kind of operations quite new to him. He had been accustomed to attack; but he was now obliged to stand on his defence, so that instead of having to execute a previously conceived plan, as when, in the cabinet of the Tuileries, he traced out to me the field of Marengo, he had now to determine his movements ac-

cording to those of his numerous enemies. When the emperor arrived at Chalons-sur-Marne, the Prussian army was advancing by the road of Lorrain. He drove it back beyond Saint-Dizier. Meanwhile, the grand Austro-Russian army passed the Seine and the Yonne at Montreau; and even sent forward a corps which advanced as far as Fontainebleau. Napoleon then made a movement to the right in order to drive back the troops which threatened to march on Paris; and, by a curious chance, he came up with the troops in the very place where he passed the boyish years in which he cherished what then seemed wild and fabulous dreams of his future fate. What thoughts and recollections must have crowded on his mind, when he found himself an emperor and a king, at the head of a yet powerful army, in the chateau of the Count de Brienne, to whom he had so often paid his homage! It was at Brienne that he had said to me, thirty-four years before, "I will do these Frenchmen all the harm I can." Since then he had certainly changed his mind; but it might be said that fate persisted in forcing the man to realize the design of the boy in spite of himself. No sooner had Napoleon revisited Brienne, as a conqueror, than he was repulsed and hurried towards his fall, which became every moment more certain.

I shall not enter into any details of the campaign of France, because the description of battles forms no part of my plan.* Still I think it indispensable briefly to describe Napoleon's miraculous activity, from the time of his leaving Paris, to the entrance of the allies into the capital. Few successful campaigns have enabled our generals and the French army to reap so much glory as they gained during this great reverse of fortune. For it is possible to triumph without honour, and to fall with glory. The chances of the war were not doubtful; but certainly the numerous hosts of the allies could never have counted on so long and brilliant a resistance. The theatre of the military operations soon approached so near to Paris, that the general eagerness for news from the army was speedily satisfied; and when any advantage was gained by the emperor, his partisans saw the enemy already repulsed from the French territory. I was not for a moment deceived by these illusions, as I well knew the determination and the resources of the allied sovereigns. Besides, events were so rapid and various in this war of extermination, that the guns of the Invalides announcing a victory, were sometimes immediately followed by the distant rolling of artillery, denoting the enemy's near approach to the capital.

The emperor left Paris on the 25th of January, at which time the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia,

* An engagement took place at Brienne; and Napoleon, with fifteen thousand men, kept eighty thousand Russians in check for twelve hours.

were assembled at Langres. Napoleon rejoined his guard at Vitry-le-Français. On the second day after his departure he drove before him the Prussian army, which he had forced to evacuate Saint-Dizier. Two days after this the battle of Brienne was fought; and on the 1st of February between seventy and eighty thousand French and allied troops stood face to face. On this occasion the commanders on both sides were exposed to personal danger; for Napoleon had a horse killed under him, and a Cossack fell dead by the side of Marshal Blucher.

A few days after this battle Napoleon entered Troyes, where he stayed but a short time, and then advanced to Champ-Aubert. At the latter place was fought the battle which bears its name. The Russians were defeated, General Alsufieff was made prisoner, and two thousand men and thirty pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French. After this battle, the emperor was under such a delusion as to his situation, that while supping with Berthier, Marmont, and his prisoner, General Alsufieff, the emperor said, "Another such victory as this, gentlemen, and I shall be on the Vistula." Finding that no one replied, and reading in the countenances of his marshals that they did not share his hopes, "I see how it is," he added, "every one is growing tired of war; there is no more enthusiasm. The sacred fire is extinct." Then rising from the table, and stepping up to General Drouot, with the marked intention of paying him a compliment, which should at the same time convey a censure on the marshals, "General," said he, patting him on the shoulder, "we only want a hundred men like you, and we should succeed." Drouot replied, with great presence of mind and modesty, "Rather say a hundred thousand, sire." This anecdote was related to me by the two principal persons who were present on the occasion."

Napoleon soon began to have other subjects of disquietude besides the fate of battles. He was aware, that since the beginning of February, the Duke d'Angoulême had arrived at Saint-Jean-de-Luz, whence he had addressed a proclamation to the French armies in the name of his uncle, Louis XVIII.; and he speedily heard of the Count d'Artois's arrival at Vesoul, on the 21st of February, which place he did not leave until the 16th of March following.

Meanwhile hostilities were maintained with increased vigour over a vast line of operations. How much useless glory did not our soldiers gain in these conflicts! In spite of prodigies of valour the enemy's masses advanced, and approximated to a central point, so that this war might be compared to the battles of the ravens and the eagle in the Alps. The eagle slays hundreds of his assailants, every blow of his beak is the death of an enemy; but still the ravens return to the charge, and press upon the eagle until they destroy him.

As the month of February drew to its close, the allies were in

retreat on several points; but their retreat was not a rout. After experiencing reverses they fell back without disorder, and retired behind the Aube, where they rallied and obtained numerous reinforcements, which daily arrived, and which soon enabled them to resume the offensive.

Still Napoleon continued astonishing Europe, leagued as it was against him. At Craonne, on the 7th of March, he destroyed Blucher's corps, in a severe action; but the victory was attended by great loss to the conqueror. Marshal Victor was seriously wounded, as well as Generals Grouchy and Ferrière.

While Napoleon was resisting the numerous enemies assembled to destroy him, it might be said that he was his own enemy, either from false calculation, or from negligence with respect to his illustrious prisoners, who, on his departure from Paris, had not yet been sent to their states. The pope was then at Fontainebleau, and the princes of Spain at Valencey. The pope, however, was the first to be allowed to depart. Surely Bonaparte could never have thought of the service which the pope might have rendered him at Rome, into which Murat's troops would never have dared to march had his holiness been present there. With regard to the Spanish princes, Napoleon must have been greatly blinded by confidence in his fortune to have so long believed it possible to retain in France those useless trophies of defeated pretensions. It was, besides, so easy to get rid of the residents of Valencey, by sending them back to the place from whence they had been brought! It was so natural to recal with all speed the troops from the south, when our armies in Germany began to be repulsed on the Rhine, and even driven into France! With the aid of these veteran troops, Napoleon and his genius might have again turned the scale of fortune. But Napoleon reckoned on the nation, and he was wrong; for the nation was tired of him. His cause had ceased to be the cause of France.

The latter days of March were filled up by a series of calamities to Napoleon. On the 23d the rear guard of the French army suffered considerable loss. To hear of attacks on his rear guard must indeed have been mortifying to Napoleon, whose advanced guards had been so long accustomed to open the path of victory! Prince Schwartzenberg soon passed the Aube, and marched upon Vitry and Chalons. Napoleon, counting on the possibility of defending Paris, threw himself, with the velocity of the eagle, on Schwartzenberg's rear, by passing by Doulevant and Bar-sur-Aube. He pushed forward his advanced guards to Chaumont, and there saw the Austrian army make a movement, which he took to be a retreat; but it was no such thing. The movement was directed on Paris, while Blucher, who had reoccupied Chalons-sur-Marne, marched to meet Prince Schwartzenberg, and Napoleon, thinking to cut off their

retreat, was himself cut off from the possibility of returning to Paris. Every thing then depended on the defence of Paris; or, to speak more correctly, it seemed possible, by sacrificing the capital, to prolong for a few days the existence of the phantom of the empire which was rapidly vanishing. On the 26th was fought the battle of Fère Champenoise, where valour yielding to numbers, Marshals Marmont and Mortier were obliged to retire upon Sezanne, after sustaining considerable loss.

It was on the 26th of March, and I beg the reader to bear this date in mind, that Napoleon suffered a loss, which, in the circumstances in which he stood, was irreparable. At the battle of Fère Champenoise, the allies captured a convoy, consisting of nearly all the remaining ammunition and stores of the army; a vast quantity of arms, cassoons, and equipage of all kinds. The whole became the prey of the allies, who published a bulletin, announcing this important capture. A copy of this order of the day fell into the hands of Marshal Macdonald, who thought that such news ought immediately to be communicated to the emperor. He therefore repaired himself to the head-quarters of Napoleon, who was then preparing to recover Vitry-le-Français, which was occupied by the Prussians. The marshal, with the view of dissuading the emperor from what he considered a vain attempt, presented him with the bulletin.

This was on the morning of the 27th; Napoleon would not believe the news. "No!" said he to the marshal, "you are deceived, this cannot be true." Then perusing the bulletin with more attention—"Here," said he, "look yourself. This is the 27th, and the bulletin is dated the 29th. You see the thing is impossible. The bulletin is forged!" The marshal, who had paid more attention to the news than to its date, was astounded. But having afterwards shown the bulletin to Drouot, that general said, "Alas! marshal, the news is but too true. The error of the date is merely a misprint, the 9 is a 6 inverted!" On what trifles sometimes depend the most important events. An inverted cipher sufficed to flatter Bonaparte's illusion, or, at least, the illusions which he wished to maintain among his most distinguished lieutenants, and to delay the moment when they should discover that the loss they deplored was too certain. On that very day the empress left Paris.

The grand total of the Austrian army assembled at Dijon, in 1814, was—infantry, 199,000, cavalry, 34,920.

This imposing force was divided into five corps.

The first under Count Colloredo and General Lederer.

The second under Prince Hohenzollern.

The third under the Crown Prince of Wirtemberg and Prince Philip of Hesse Homburg.

The fourth, composed wholly of Bavarians, and amounting to 65,000, under Field-marshal the Prince Wrede.

And the reserve corps under the Archduke Ferdinand and the Prince of Hesse Homburg.

The grand total of the army of Prussians, Russians, &c., was about 120,000.

The whole armed force of Napoleon did not exceed 125,000.

In this defensive campaign of 1814, the genius of Bonaparte displayed itself with wonderful brilliancy. According to the Marquis of Londonderry—

"Napoleon, after the battles of Brienne and La Rothiere, displayed, by his masterly movements with an inferior against *two* superior armies, and by braving his accumulated difficulties, that undoubted science in war which his bitterest enemies must accord to his genius. In proportion as his embarrassments increased, he seemed to rise superior as an individual. During his adverse fortune on the Elbe he appeared fluctuating and irresolute; and his lengthened stay in untenable and disadvantageous positions, was the cause of his fatal overthrow at Leipsic, and of subsequent misfortunes. But now he appeared once more to have burst forth with all his talent, and all his energies and mental resources."*

At the battle of La Rothiere Napoleon exhibited great personal courage:

"Bonaparte was seen to encourage his troops, and expose his person fearlessly during the combat; and Marshal Blucher's movement of his cavalry, which he himself led on, was spoken of in the highest terms. Napoleon, who, at this period, scarcely acted, in any instance, on common military calculation, drew up his army on the 1st of February in two lines, on the great plain before La Rothiere, occupying the villages, and neglecting much stronger ground in his rear about Brienne, evidently showing that he meant to play a desperate game. He led on *la jeune garde* in person against Marshal Blucher's army, to wrest the village of La Rothiere from the gallant corps of Sacken; but three repeated efforts were ineffectual. All agreed that the enemy fought with great intrepidity. Bonaparte seemed to have set his political existence on a die, as he exposed himself every where: his horse was shot under him, and he had the mortification of witnessing the capture of a battery in charge of *la jeune garde*. Had Marshal Blucher not previously immortalized himself, this day would have crowned him in the annals of fame; for whatever were the well-grounded apprehensions entertained by many for the result of the Prince of Wirtemberg's attack on the right, the marshal dauntlessly effected those combinations upon which the result of the day depended. The Russian artillery were spoken of in the highest terms: the ground was covered with snow, and so deep,

* See Narrative of the War in Germany and France in 1813 and 1814.

that they were obliged to leave one half of their guns in the rear. Yet by harnessing double teams to the other half, they contrived to bring those forward and get a sufficient number into action. The allies brought about 70 or 80,000 men into this battle; the other corps of the army were not yet in line: the French were supposed to have about the same strength. The enemy's last attack on the village of La Rothiere was at two o'clock on the morning of the 2d, immediately after which they commenced their retreat. Passing the Aube river, they took up a very strong rear-guard position in the neighbourhood of Lesmont."*—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1814.

The men of the revolution and the men of the empire—The council of regency—Departure of the empress from Paris—Marmont and Mortier—Joseph's flight—Meeting at Marmont's hotel—Capitulation of Paris—Marmont's interview with the emperor at Fontainebleau—Colonels Fabvier and Denys—The royalist cavalcade—Meeting at the hotel of the Count de Morfortaine—M. de Chateaubriand and his pamphlet—Deputation to the Emperor Alexander—Entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris—Alexander lodged in M. Talleyrand's hotel—Meetings held there—The Emperor Alexander's declamation—My appointment as postmaster-general.

The grandees of the empire, the first subjects of Napoleon, were divided into two classes, totally distinct from each other. Among these patronized men were many who had been the first patrons of Bonaparte, and had favoured his accession to consular power. This class was composed of his old friends and former companions in arms. The others, who may be called the children of the empire, did not carry back their thoughts to a period which they had not seen. They had never known any thing but Napoleon and the empire, beyond which the sphere of their ideas did not extend; while among Napoleon's old brothers-in-arms it was still remembered that there was once a country, a France, before they had helped to give it a master To this class of men France was not confined to the narrow circle of the imperial head-quarters, but extended to the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the two oceans.

On the other hand, numbers of ardent and adventurous young men, full of enthusiasm for Bonaparte, had flown from the school to the camp. They were entirely opposed to Napoleon's downfal, because, with his power would vanish those dreams of glory and fortune which had captivated their imaginations. These young men, who belonged to the class which I have deno-

* Lord Londonderry.

minated children of the empire, were prepared to risk and commit every thing to prolong the political life of their emperor.

The distinction I have drawn between what may be called the men of France and the men of the empire, was not confined to the army, but was equally marked among the high civil functionaries of the state. The old republicans could not possibly regard Napoleon with the same eyes as those whose elevation dated only from Napoleon; and the members of assemblies anterior to the 18th Brumaire, could not entertain the same ideas as those whose notions of national franchises and public rights were derived from their seats as auditors in the council of state. I know not whether this distinction between the men of two different periods has been before pointed out; but it serves to explain the conduct of many persons of elevated rank during the evenst of 1814. With regard to myself, convinced as I was of the certainty of Napoleon's fall, I conceived that the first duty of every citizen was claimed by his country; and although I may incur censure, I candidly avow that Napoleon's treatment of me during the four last years of his power was not without some influence on my prompt submission to the government which succeeded his. I, however, declare that this consideration was not the sole, nor the most powerful, motive of my conduct. Only those who were in Paris at the period of the capitulation can form an idea of the violence of party feeling which prevailed there both for and against Napoleon, but without the name of the Bourbons ever being pronounced. They were almost unknown to the new generation, forgotten by many of the old, and feared by the conventionalists; at that time they possessed only the frail support of the coteries of the Faubourg St. Germain, and some remains of the emigration. But as it is certain that the emigrants could offer only vain demonstrations and wishes in support of the old family of our kings, they did little to assist the restoration of the Bourbons. Another thing equally certain is, that they alone, by their follies and absurd pretensions, brought about the return of Bonaparte, and the second exile of Louis XVIII. in the following year.

On the 28th of March was convoked an extraordinary council of regency, at which Maria Louisa presided. The question discussed was, whether the empress should remain in Paris, or proceed to Blois. Joseph Bonaparte strongly urged her departure, because a letter from the emperor had directed, that in case of Paris being threatened, the empress-regent, and all the council of regency, should retire to Blois. The arch-chancellor, and the majority of the council, were of the same opinion; but one of the most influential members of the council observed to Joseph, that the letter referred to had been written under circumstances very different from those then existing; and that it was important the empress should remain in Paris, where she would, of course, obtain from the emperor, her father, and the

allied sovereigns, more advantageous conditions than if she were fifty leagues from Paris. The adoption of this opinion would only have retarded, for a few days, a change which had become inevitable; nevertheless it might have given rise to great difficulties. It must be admitted, that for the interests of Napoleon it was the wisest counsel that could be suggested. However, it was overruled by Joseph's advice.

On the departure of the empress, many persons expected a popular movement in favour of a change of government; but the capital remained tranquil. Many of the inhabitants, indeed, thought of defence, not for the sake of preserving Napoleon's government, but merely from that ardour of feeling which belongs to our national character. Strong indignation was excited by the thought of seeing foreigners masters of Paris—a circumstance of which there had been no example since the reign of Charles VII. Meanwhile the critical moment approached. On the 29th of March, Marshals Marmont and Mortier fell back to defend the approaches to Paris. During the night the barriers were consigned to the care of the national guard, and not a foreigner, not even one of their agents, was allowed to enter the capital.

At daybreak, on the 30th of March, the whole population of Paris was awakened by the report of cannon; and the plain of St. Denis was soon covered with allied troops, who were debouching upon it from all points. The heroic valour of our troops was unavailing against such a numerical superiority. But the allies paid dearly for their entrance into the French capital. The national guard, under the command of Marshal Moncey, and the pupils of the Polytechnic school, transformed into artillery men, behaved in a manner worthy of veteran troops. The conduct of Marmont, on that day alone, would suffice to immortalize him. The corps he commanded was reduced to between seven and eight thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry; with whom, for the space of twelve hours, he maintained his ground against an army of fifty-five thousand men, of whom it is said fourteen thousand were killed, wounded, and taken. Marshal Marmont put himself so forward in the heat of the battle, that a dozen of men were killed by the bayonet at his side, and his hat was perforated by a ball. But what was to be done against overwhelming numbers!

In this state of things the Duke de Ragusa made known his situation to Joseph Bonaparte, who authorized him to negotiate.

Joseph's answer is so important, in reference to the events which succeeded, that I will transcribe it here:

If the Dukes of Ragusa and Treviso can no longer hold out, they are authorized to negotiate with Prince Schwartzenberg and the Emperor of Russia, who are before them.

They will fall back on the Loire. JOSEPH.

Montmartre, March 30, 1814;
¼ past 12 o'clock.

It was not until a considerable time after the receipt of this formal authority that Marmont and Mortier ceased to make a vigorous resistance against the allied army; for the suspension of arms was not agreed upon until four in the afternoon. It was not waited for by Joseph; at a quarter past twelve, that is to say, immediately after he had addressed to Marmont the authority just alluded to, Joseph repaired to the Bois-de-Boulogne to regain the Versailles road, and from thence to proceed to Rambouillet. The precipitate flight of Joseph astonished only those who did not know him. I know for a fact, that several officers attached to his staff were much dissatisfied at his precipitate flight.

In these circumstances what was to be done but to save Paris, which there was no possibility of defending two hours longer. Methinks I still see Marmont, when, on the evening of the 30th of March, he returned from the field of battle to his hotel in the Rue de Paradis, where I was waiting for him, together with about twenty other persons; among whom were MM. Perregaux and Lafitte. When he entered, he was scarcely recognizable: he had a beard of eight days' growth; the great-coat which covered his uniform was in tatters, and he was blackened with powder from head to foot. We considered what was best to be done, and all insisted on the necessity of signing a capitulation. The marshal must recollect, that the exclamation of every one about him was, "France must be saved." MM. Perregaux and Lafitte delivered their opinions in a very decided way; and it will readily be conceived how great was the influence of two men who were at the head of the financial world. They alleged, that the general wish of the Parisians, which nobody had a better opportunity of knowing than themselves, was decidedly averse to a protracted conflict, and that France was tired of the yoke of Bonaparte. This last declaration gave a wider range to the business under consideration. The question was no longer confined to the capitulation of Paris; but a change in the government was thought of, and the name of the Bourbons was pronounced for the first time. I do not recollect which of us it was who, on hearing mention made of the possible recal of the old dynasty, remarked how difficult it would be to bring about a restoration without retrograding to the past. But I think I am perfectly correct in stating, that M. Lafitte said, "Gentlemen, we shall have nothing to fear if we have a good constitution which will guarantee the rights of all. The majority of the meeting concurred in this wise opinion, which was not without its influence on Marshal Marmont.

During this miserable meeting an unexpected incident occurred. One of the emperor's aides-de-camp arrived at Marmont's. Napoleon being informed of the advance of the allies on Paris, had marched with the utmost speed from the banks of the Marne on the road of Fontainebleau. In the evening he was in person at Froidmanteau, whence he despatched his envoy

to Marshal Marmont. From the language of the aide-de-camp it was easy to perceive that the state of opinion at the imperial head-quarters was very different from that which prevailed among the population of Paris. The officer expressed indignation at the very idea of capitulating, and he announced with inconceivable confidence the approaching arrival of Napoleon in Paris, which he yet hoped to save from the occupation of the enemy. The officer informed us that Napoleon trusted to the people rising in spite of the capitulation, and that they would unpave the streets to stone the allies on their entrance. I ventured to dissent from this absurd idea of defence, and I observed, that it was madness to suppose that Paris could resist the numerous troops who were ready to enter on the following day; that the suspension of arms had been consented to by the allies only to afford time for drawing up a more regular capitulation; and that the armistice could not be broken without trampling on all the laws of honour. I added, that the thoughts of the people were directed towards a better future; that the French were tired of a despotic government, and of the distress to which continual war had reduced trade and industry; "for," said I, "when a nation is sunk to such a state of misery, its hopes can only be directed towards the future; it is natural they should be so directed, even without reflection." Most of the individuals present concurred in my opinion, and the decision of the meeting was unanimous. Marshal Marmont has since said to me, "I have been blamed, my dear Bourrienne: but you were with me on the 30th of March. You were a witness to the wishes expressed by a portion of the principal inhabitants of Paris. I acted as I was urged to do only because I considered the meeting to be composed of men entirely disinterested, and who had nothing to expect from the return of the Bourbons."

Such is a correct statement of the facts which some persons have perverted with the view of enhancing Napoleon's glory. With respect to those versions which differ from mine, I have only one comment to offer, which is, that I saw and heard what I describe.

The day after the capitulation of Paris, Marmont went in the evening to see the emperor at Fontainebleau.* He supped with

* THE CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

Art. 1. The corps of the marshals the Dukes of Treviso and Ragusa (Mortier and Marmont) will evacuate the city of Paris on the 31st of March, at seven in the morning.

Art. 2. They will carry away with them arms and baggage, and the *matériel* of their army.

Art. 3. Hostilities are not to recommence until two hours after the evacuation of Paris, *i. e.* not till nine o'clock in the morning of the 3d of May.

Art. 4. All the arsenals, manufactories of arms, military edifices, and magazines will remain in the state they were found in immediately before this capitulation.

Art. 5. The national or urban militia is entirely separated from the troops of

him. Napoleon praised his defence of Paris. After supper the marshal rejoined his corps at Essonne, and, six hours after, the emperor arrived there to visit the lines. On leaving Paris, Marmont had left Colonels Fabvier and Denys to direct the execution of the capitulation. These officers joined the emperor and the marshal as they were proceeding up the banks of the river of Essonne. They did not disguise the effect which the entrance of the allies had produced in Paris. At this intelligence the emperor was deeply mortified, and he returned immediately to Fontainebleau, leaving the marshal at Essonne.

At daybreak on the 31st of March, Paris presented a novel and curious spectacle. No sooner had the French troops evacuated the capital, than the principal streets resounded with cries of "Down with Bonaparte!"—"No conscription!"—"No consolidated duties (*droits réunis*)!" With these cries were mingled that of "The Bourbons for ever!" but this latter cry was not repeated so frequently as the others: in general I remarked that the people gaped and listened with a sort of indifference. As I had taken a very active part in all that had happened during some preceding days, I was particularly curious to study what might be called the physiognomy of Paris. This was the second opportunity which had offered itself for such a study, and I now saw the people applaud the fall of the man whom they had received with enthusiasm after the 18th Brumaire. The reason was, that liberty was then hoped for, as it was hoped for in 1814. I went out early in the morning to see the numerous groups of people who had assembled in the streets. I saw women tearing their handkerchiefs, and distributing the fragments as the emblems of the revived lily. That same morning I met on the Boulevards, and some hours afterwards on the Place Louis XV., a party of gentlemen who paraded the streets of the capital proclaiming the restoration of the Bourbons and shouting, "Vive le Roi!" and "Vive Louis XVIII.!" At

the line. It will be maintained, disarmed, or dismissed as the allied sovereigns shall think necessary.

Art. 6. The corps of the municipal gendarmerie will share in all things the destiny of the national guards.

Art. 7. The wounded and marauders who are found in Paris seven hours after, will be made prisoners of war.

Art. 8. The city of Paris is recommended to the generosity of the high allies.

Done at Paris the 31st of March, 1814, at two o'clock in the morning.

(Signed)

The Colonel Count Orloff,
Aide-de-camp of H. M. the Emperor of Russia.
The Colonel Count Paar,
Aide-de-camp general of H. E. the Field-marshal Prince of Schwartzenberg.
The Colonel Fabvier,
Attached to the staff of H. E. the Marshal Duke of Treviso.
The Colonel Denys,
First aide-de-camp of H. E. the Marshal Duke of Ragusa.

Editor.

their head I recognised MM. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, Count de Froissard, the Duke de Luxembourg, the Duke de Crussol, Seymour, &c. The cavalcade distributed white cockades in passing along, and was speedily joined by a numerous crowd who repaired to the Place Vendome. The scene that was acted there is well known, and the enthusiasm of popular joy could scarcely excuse the fury that was directed against the effigy of the man whose misfortunes, whether merited or not, should have protected him from such outrages.* These excesses served, perhaps, more than is generally supposed, to favour the plans of the leaders of the royalist party, to whom M. Nesselrode had declared, that before he would pledge himself to second their views, he must have proofs that they were seconded by the population of Paris.

I was afterwards informed by an eyewitness of what took place on the evening of the 31st of March in one of the principal meetings of the royalists, which was held in the hotel of the Count de Morfontaine, who acted as president on the occasion. Amidst a chaos of abortive propositions and contradictory motions, M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld proposed that a deputation should be immediately sent to the Emperor Alexander to express to him the wish of the meeting. This motion was immediately approved, and the mover was chosen to head the deputation. On leaving the hotel, the deputation met M. de Chateaubriand, who had that very day been, as it were, the precursor of the restoration, by publishing his admirable manifesto, entitled "Bonaparte and the Bourbons." He was invited to join the deputation: but nothing could overcome his diffidence and induce him to speak. On arriving at the hotel in the Rue Saint-Florentine, the deputation was introduced to Count Nesselrode, to whom M. Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld briefly explained its object; he spoke of the wishes of the meeting, and of the manifest desire of Paris and of France. He represented the restoration of the Bourbons as the only means of securing the peace of Europe; and observed, in conclusion, that as the exertions of the day must have been very fatiguing to the emperor, the deputation would not solicit the favour of being introduced to him; but would confidently rely on the good faith of his imperial majesty. "I have just left the emperor," replied M. Nesselrode, "and can pledge myself for his intentions. Return to the meeting, and announce to the French people, that in compliance with their wishes, his imperial majesty will use all his influence to restore the crown to the legitimate monarch: his Majesty, Louis XVIII., shall reascend the throne of France." With this gratifying intelligence, the deputation returned to the meeting in the Rue d'Anjou.

* Among other things the people dragged down from the triumphal column in the Place Vendome, the statue of Napoleon.—*Editor.*

There is no question that great enthusiasm was displayed on the entrance of the allies into Paris. It may be praised or blamed; but the fact cannot be denied. I closely watched all that was passing, and I observed the expression of a sentiment which I had long anticipated, when, after his alliance with the daughter of the Cæsars, the ambition of Bonaparte increased in proportion as it was gratified: I clearly foresaw Napoleon's fall. Whoever watched the course of events during the four last years of the empire, must have observed, as I did, that from the date of Napoleon's marriage with Maria Louisa, the forms of the French government became daily more and more tyrannical and oppressive. The intolerable height which this evil had attained is evident from the circumstance, that at the end of 1813, the legislative body, throwing aside the mute character which it had hitherto maintained, presumed to give a lesson to him who had never before received a lesson from any one. On the 31st of March, it was recollected what had been the conduct of Bonaparte on the occasion alluded to, and those of the deputies who remained in Paris, related how the gendarmes had opposed their entrance into the hall of the assembly. All this contributed wonderfully to irritate the public mind against Napoleon. He had become master of France by the sword, and the sword being sheathed, his power was at an end; for no popular institution identified with the nation the new dynasty which he hoped to found. The nation admired, but did not love Napoleon; for it is impossible to love what is feared, and he had done nothing to claim the affections of France.

I was present at all the meetings and conferences which were held at M. de Talleyrand's hotel, where the Emperor Alexander had taken up his residence. Of all the persons present at these meetings, M. de Talleyrand was most disposed to retain Napoleon at the head of the government, with restrictions on the exercise of his power. In the existing state of things, it was only possible to choose one of three courses: first, to make peace with Napoleon, with the adoption of proper securities against him; second, to establish a regency; and third, to recal the Bourbons.

On the 13th of March, I witnessed the entrance of the allied sovereigns into Paris; and after the procession had passed the Rue Neuve du Luxembourg, I repaired straight to M. de Talleyrand's hotel, which I reached before the Emperor Alexander, who arrived at a quarter past one. When his imperial majesty entered M. de Talleyrand's drawing-room, most of the persons assembled, and particularly the Abbé de Pradt, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and General Dessolles, urgently demanded the restoration of the Bourbons. The emperor did not come to any immediate decision. Drawing me into the embrasure of a window, which looked to the street, he made some observations,

which enabled me to guess what would be his determination:—"M. de Bourrienne," said he, "you have been the friend of Napoleon, and so have I. I was his sincere friend; but there is no possibility of remaining at peace with a man of such bad faith. We must have done with him." These last words opened my eyes; and when the different propositions which were made came under discussion, I saw plainly that Bonaparte, in making himself emperor, had made up the bed for the Bourbons.

A discussion ensued on the three possible measures which I have above mentioned, and which were proposed by the Emperor Alexander himself. I thought, if I may so express myself, that his majesty was playing a part, when, pretending to doubt the possibility of recalling the Bourbons, which he wished above all things, he asked M. de Talleyrand what means he proposed to employ for the attainment of that object? Besides the French, there were present at this meeting, the Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzenberg, M. Nesselrode, M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, and Prince Lichtenstein. During the discussion, Alexander walked about with some appearance of agitation:—"Gentlemen," said he, addressing us in an elevated tone of voice, "you know that it was not I who commenced the war; you know that Napoleon came to attack me in my dominions. But we are not drawn here by the thirst of conquest, or the desire of revenge. You have seen the precautions I have taken to preserve your capital, the wonder of the arts, from the horrors of pillage, to which the chances of war would have consigned it.* Neither my allies nor myself are engaged in a war of reprisals; and I should be inconsolable if any violence were committed on your magnificent city. We are not waging war against France; but against Napoleon, and the enemes of French liberty. William, and you Prince (here the emperor turned towards the King of Prussia and Prince Schwartzenberg, who represented the Emperor of Austria), you can both bear testimony that the sentiments I express are yours." Both bowed assent to this observation of Alexander, which his majesty several times repeated in different words. He insisted that France should be perfectly free; and declared, that as soon as the wishes of the country were understood, he and his allies would support them, without seeking to favour any particular government.

The Abbé de Pradt then declared, in a tone of conviction, that we were all royalists, and that the sentiments of France

* One day the Emperor Alexander said, "History will record that Napoleon visited my capital, and that I have visited *his*." The contrast between the fate of Moscow, and that of Paris, was indeed striking, and calculated to flatter Alexander. In 1814, however, Paris was treated much too mildly, and this treatment was not attributed by the French to the mildness but to the *fears* of the allies.—*Editor.*

concurred with ours. The Emperor Alexander, adverting to the different governments which might be suitable to France, spoke of the maintenance of Bonaparte on the throne, the establishment of a regency, the choice of Bernadotte, and the recal of the Bourbons. M. de Talleyrand next spoke, and I well remember his saying to the Emperor of Russia, "Sire, only one of two things is possible. We must either have Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Bonaparte, if you can support him; but you cannot, for you are not alone. . . . . We will not have another soldier in his stead. If we want a soldier, we will keep the one we have; he is the first in the world. After him any other who may be proposed, would not have ten men to support him. I say again, Sire, either Bonaparte or Louis XVIII. Any thing else is an intrigue." These remarkable words of the Prince de Benevento, produced on the mind of Alexander all the effect we could hope for. Thus, the question was simplified; that is to say, it became twofold instead of threefold; and, as it was evident that Alexander would have nothing to do with either Napoleon or his family, it was reduced to the single proposition of the restoration of the Bourbons. On being pressed by us all, with the exception of M. de Talleyrand, who still wished to leave the question undecided between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII., Alexander at length declared, that he would no longer treat with Napoleon. When it was represented to him that that declaration referred only to Napoleon personally, and did not extend to his family: he added, "Nor with any member of his family." Thus, as early as the 31st of March, the restoration of the Bourbons might be considered as decided. Of all the propositions which were then agitated, the most mischievous appeared to me that which would have for its object a regency. In that hypothesis, every thing would have been kept in suspense.

At the close of the meeting, the Emperor Alexander signed the following declaration:

If the conditions of peace required strong guarantees, when the object was to restrain the ambition of Bonaparte, they ought to be more favourable when, by a return to a wise government, France herself shall offer the assurance of repose. The sovereigns proclaim, that they will no longer treat with Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family. They respect the integrity of the French territory, as it existed under the legitimate monarchy: they may even go further, since they adopt the principle that France must be great and powerful. They will recognise and guarantee any constitution of which the French nation may make choice. They consequently invite the senate immediately to appoint a provisional government, to manage the business of the state, and to prepare the constitution which may be agreeable to the wishes of the people. The sentiments herein expressed are shared by all the allied powers.

I cannot omit mentioning the hurry with which Lahorie, whom

M. de Talleyrand appointed secretary to the provisional government, rushed out of the apartment as soon as he got possession of the Emperor Alexander's declaration. He got it printed with such expedition, that in the space of an hour it was posted on all the walls in Paris; and it certainly produced an extraordinary effect. As yet nothing warranted a doubt that Alexander would not abide by his word. The treaty of Paris could not be anticipated; and there was reason to believe that France, with a new government, would obtain more advantageous conditions, than if the allies had treated with Napoleon. But this illusion speedily vanished.

On the evening of the 31st of March, I returned to M. de Talleyrand's. I again saw the Emperor Alexander, who, stepping up to me, said, "M. de Bourrienne, you must take the superintendence of the post-office department." I could not decline this precise invitation on the part of the emperor; and besides, Lavalette having departed on the preceding day, the business would have been, for a time, suspended; a circumstance which would have been extremely prejudicial to the restoration which we wished to favour.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1814.

Composition of the provisional government—Mistake respecting the conduct of the Emperor of Austria—Caulaincourt's mission from Napoleon—His interview with the Emperor Alexander—Alexander's address to the deputation of the senate—M. de Caulaincourt ordered to quit the capital—Situation of Bonaparte during the events of the 30th and 31st of March—His arrival at Fontainebleau—Plan of attacking Paris—Arrival of troops at Fontainebleau—The Emperor's address to the guard—Forfeiture pronounced by the senate—Letters to Marmont—Correspondence between Marmont and Schwartzenberg—Macdonald informed of the occupation of Paris—Conversation between the emperor and Macdonald at Fontainebleau—Beurnonville's letter—Abdication on condition of a regency—Napoleon's wish to retract his act of abdication—Macdonald, Ney, and Caulaincourt sent to Paris—Marmont released from his promise by Prince Schwartzenberg.

The most important point to be obtained from the Emperor Alexander, was the declaration noticed in the preceding chapter. After that it was obvious that all the rest would naturally follow. A provisional government was established, of which M. de Talleyrand was appointed president. The other members were General Beurnonville, Count François de Jaucourt, the Duke Dalberg, who had married one of Maria Louisa's ladies of honour, and the Abbé de Montesquiou. The place of chancellor of the Legion of Honour was given to the Abbé de Pradt. Thus there were two abbés among the members of the provisional govern-

ment, and by a singular chance they happened to be the same who had officiated at the mass which was performed in the Champ de Mars on the day of the first federation.

Those who were dissatisfied with the events of the 31st of March, now saw no hope but in the possibility that the Emperor of Austria would separate from his allies, or at least not make common cause with them in favour of the re-establishment of the Bourbons. But that monarch had been brought up in the old policy of his family, and was imbued with the traditional principles of his cabinet. I know for a fact that the sentiments and intentions of the Emperor of Austria perfectly coincided with those of his allies. Anxious to ascertain the truth on this subject, I ventured, when in conversation with the Emperor Alexander, to hint at the reports I had heard relative to the cause of the Emperor of Austria's absence. I do not recollect the precise words of his majesty's answer, but it enabled me to infer with certainty that Francis II. was in no way averse to the overthrow of his son-in-law, and that his absence from the scene of the discussions was only occasioned by a feeling of delicacy natural enough in his situation.

Caulaincourt, who was sent by Napoleon to the head-quarters of the Emperor Alexander, arrived there on the night of the 30th of March. He, however, did not obtain an interview with the emperor until after his majesty had received the municipal council of Paris, at the head of which was M. de Chabrol. At first Alexander appeared somewhat surprised to see the municipal council, which he did not receive exactly in the way that was expected; but this coldness was merely momentary, and he afterwards addressed the council in a very gracious way, though he dropped no hint of his ulterior objects.

Alexander, who entertained a personal regard for Caulaincourt, received him kindly in his own character, but not as the envoy of Napoleon:—"You have come too late," said the emperor. "It is all over. I can say nothing to you at present. Go to Paris, and I will see you there." These words perfectly enlightened Caulaincourt as to the result of his mission. His next interview with the Emperor Alexander at M. de Talleyrand's, did not take place until after the declaration noticed in my last chapter. The emperor had besides dropped observations which pretty clearly indicated his wishes. Even admitting that Alexander had no fixed determination relative to the restoration of the house of Bourbon, is it possible to deny his project of changing the dynasty of France?* On Caulaincourt's audience with

* At this period the language of Alexander was consistent and unvarying To the deputation from the senate, who presented the list of the individuals composing the provisional government, he said, "A man calling himself my ally, came to my dominions as an unjust aggressor. I make war against him, and not against France. I am the friend of the French people, and what they have done increases my friendly sentiments. It is just, it is wise, to give to France powerful and liberal institutions in unison with the spirit of the age. My allies and I came only to protect your decisions."

the Emperor Alexander, he was not ignorant of the sentiments of the monarch, nor of the words he had uttered. The conversation they had together remained a secret, for neither Alexander nor the Duke of Vicenza mentioned it; but there was reason to infer from some words which fell from the Emperor Alexander, that he had received Caulaincourt rather as a private man* than as the ambassador of Napoleon, whose power, indeed, he could not recognise after his declaration. The provisional government was not entirely pleased with Caulaincourt's presence in Paris, and a representation was made to the Russian emperor on the subject. Alexander concurred in the opinion of the provisional government, which was expressed through the medium of the Abbé de Pradt. He therefore enjoined M. de Caulaincourt to quit Paris, declaring that the allies had no reply to make to the communications with which the Emperor Napoleon might have intrusted him. M. de Caulaincourt, therefore, returned to the emperor, who was then at Fontainebleau.

On the morning of the 30th of March, while the battle before the walls of Paris was at its height, Bonaparte was still at Troyes. He quitted that town at ten o'clock, accompanied only by Bertrand, Caulaincourt, two aides-de-camp and two orderly officers. He was not more than two hours in travelling the first ten leagues, and he and his feeble escort performed the journey without changing horses, and without even alighting. They arrived at Sens at one o'clock in the afternoon. Every thing was in such confusion, that it was impossible to prepare a suitable mode of conveyance for the emperor. He was therefore obliged to content himself with a wretched cariole, and in this equipage, about four in the morning, he reached Froidmanteau, about four leagues from Paris. It was there that the emperor

* The following account confirms the statements made by Bourrienne:

"The Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia dined on the 31st, incognito, with M. de Talleyrand. The latter was some time before he took his decision; but he did it in the end in a most decided manner. The proclamation directing the formation of a provisional government was hardly sufficiently known at this juncture to judge of its effects. M. de Talleyrand was to be at the head of this government. M. Barthelemy, the Duc d'Alberg, and some others were to be members. M. de Caulaincourt was at Paris during the battle of the 30th. The following morning he came out, certainly in a most unaccountable manner, to the Emperor of Russia at Bondy, with the deputation from the municipality, who presented themselves to make arrangements for the occupation of the town. I was sorry that the emperor thought proper to receive M. de Caulaincourt. At the interview I learned that he declared he would sign the Châtillon project, or any other immediately. No answer was given to this offer. He then stated that he did not come in the character of minister of foreign affairs, but as one of the municipality of Paris. Prince Schwartzenberg afterwards saw him. It seemed that M. de Talleyrand, who was personally a friend of M. de Caulaincourt, had been endeavouring to keep him with the party of the new government, and to make him remain at Paris, as he was considered a man of considerable influence and interest, and amiable and well-meaning, in regard to promoting a peace."—*Lord Londonderry's Narrative of the War in Germany and France in* 1813 *and* 1814.

received from General Belliard, who arrived at the head of a column of artillery, the first intelligence of the battle of Paris. He heard the news with an air of composure, which was probably affected, to avoid discouraging those about him. He walked for about a quarter of an hour on the high-road, and it was after that promenade that he sent Caulaincourt to Paris. Napoleon afterwards went to the house of the postmaster, where he ordered his maps to be brought to him, and, according to custom, marked the different positions of the enemy's troops with pins, the heads of which were touched with wax of different colours. Napoleon next repaired to Fontainebleau, where he arrived at six in the morning. He did not order the great apartments of the castle to be opened, but went up to his favourite little apartment, where he shut himself up, and remained alone during the whole of the 31st of March.*

In the evening the emperor sent for the Duke de Ragusa, who had just arrived at Essonne with his troops. The duke reached Fontainebleau between three and four o'clock on the morning of the 1st of April. Napoleon then received a detailed account of the events of the 30th from Marmont, on whose gallant conduct before Paris he bestowed much praise.

All was gloom and melancholy at Fontainebleau, yet the emperor still retained his authority, and I have been informed that he deliberated for some time as to whether he should retire behind the Loire, or immediately hazard a bold stroke upon Paris, which would have been much more to his taste than to resign himself to the chances which an uncertain temporizing might bring about. This latter thought pleased him; and he was seriously considering of his plan of attack when the news of the 31st, and the unsuccessful issue of Caulaincourt's mission, gave him to understand that his situation was more desperate than he had hitherto imagined.

Meanwhile, the heads of the columns, which the emperor had left at Troyes, arrived on the 1st of April at Fontainebleau. The troops having marched fifty leagues in less than three days, one of the most rapid marches ever performed. On the 2d of April, Napoleon communicated the events of Paris to the generals who were about him, recommending them to conceal the news lest it should dispirit the troops upon whom he yet relied. That day, during an inspection of the troops, which took place in the court of the palace, Bonaparte assembled the officers of his guard, and harangued them as follows:

Soldiers! the enemy has stolen three marches upon us, and has made himself master of Paris. We must drive him thence. Frenchmen, unworthy of the name, emigrants whom we have pardoned, have mounted the white cockade, and joined the enemy. The wretches

* This little apartment is situated on the first story, parallel with what is called the gallery of Francis I., where Monaldeschi was murdered by order of Queen Christina of Sweden.

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shall receive the reward due to this new crime. Let us swear to conquer or die, and to enforce respect to the tri-coloured cockade, which has for twenty years accompanied us on the path of glory and honour.

He also endeavoured to induce the generals to second his mad designs upon Paris, by making them believe that he had made sincere efforts to conclude peace. He assured them that he had expressed to the Emperor Alexander his willingness to purchase it by sacrifices; that he had consented to resign even the conquests made during the revolution, and to confine himself within the old limits of France. "Alexander," added Napoleon, "refused; and not content with that refusal he has leagued himself with a party of emigrants, whom, perhaps, I was wrong in pardoning for having borne arms against France. Through their perfidious insinuations, Alexander has permitted the white cockade to be mounted in the capital. We will maintain ours, and in a few days we will march upon Paris. I rely on you."

When the boundless attachment of the guards to the emperor is considered, it cannot appear surprising that these last words, uttered in an impressive tone, should have produced a feeling of enthusiasm, almost electrical, in all to whom they were addressed. The old companions of the glory of their chief exclaimed with one voice, "Paris! Paris!" But, fortunately, during the night, the generals having deliberated with each other, saw the frightful abyss into which they were about to precipitate France. They therefore resolved to intimate in moderate terms to the emperor that they would not expose Paris to destruction; so that on the 3d of April, prudent ideas succeeded the inconsiderate enthusiasm of the preceding day.*

* Desperate efforts were making in the capital to effect a rising *en masse* of the populace in favour of Bonaparte. Had these efforts succeeded, Paris would have been bombarded, and possibly left as miserable a heap of ruins as Moscow had been two years before. But the burghers, artisans, and even the mere mob were not disposed for such extremities.

"Paris was now quite tranquil; and notwithstanding several of Bonaparte's emissaries were in the city endeavouring to work on the people, with money and promises, to rise on the allies, no instance of disorder occurred.

"So much did M. de Caulaincourt at length despair of the possibility of Bonaparte's return, that he sounded M. de Talleyrand, the Duc d'Alberg, as to the intention of the allies with regard to his emperor's future lot, as he considered him a lost man. The senate met to deliberate and to pronounce their decision; but since the declaration of the Emperor Alexander, in the name of the allies, they had but one course to adopt, which was to declare Bonaparte *hors de la loi*.

"The national guards, who had been commanded by Marshal Moncey, were without a leader, he having fled. Count Montmorenci remained, and what part he would take was yet uncertain. The brother-in-law to the late General Moreau was mentioned as likely to be placed at the head of the national guards; but hitherto every arrangement was necessarily incomplete.

"A report now arrived, by a letter from Toulouse, of a great battle having been fought on the 23d ult. between Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult, in which the latter had been completely defeated, and driven into Toulouse, with only one piece of artillery left.

The wreck of the army assembled at Fontainebleau, which was the remnant of a million of troops, levied during fifteen months, consisted only of the corps of the Duke de Reggio, Ney, Macdonald, and General Gerard, which altogether did not amount to twenty-five thousand men, and which joined to the remaining seven thousand of the guard, did not leave the emperor a disposable force of more than thirty-two thousand men. Nothing but madness or despair could have suggested the thought of subduing, with such scanty resources, the foreign masses which occupied and surrounded Paris.

On the 2d of April, the senate published a senatus consultum, declaring that Napoleon had forfeited the throne, and abolishing the right of succession, which had been established in favour of his family. Furnished with this act, and without awaiting the concurrence of the legislative body, which was given next day, the provisional government published an address to the French armies. In this address the troops were informed that they were no longer the soldiers of Napoleon, and that the senate released them from their oaths. These documents were widely circulated at the time, and inserted in all the public journals.

The address of the senate was sent round to the marshals, and was of course first delivered to those who were nearest the capital; of this latter number was Marmont, whose allegiance to the emperor, as we have already seen, yielded only to the sacred interests of his country. Montessuis was directed by the provisional government to convey the address to Marmont, and to use such arguments as were calculated to strengthen those sentiments which had triumphed over his dearest personal affections. I gave Montessuis a letter to Marmont, in which I said—

The bearer will convey to you the rembrances of our friendship. He will, I trust, influence your resolution: a single word will suffice to induce you to sacrifice all for the happiness of your country. To

"The decision of the senate, who met on the 1st of April, declared, that as Napoleon Bonaparte had deserted the government of France, they felt themselves called upon to choose another chief; and that they were unanimous in calling to the throne their legitimate sovereign, Louis XVIII.

"The management of every new measure undoubtedly lay with the Emperor of Russia, and the confidential cabinet which he had formed. * * * * * In an incidental conversation I had with M. de Talleyrand at this period, he told me that steps were taking to communicate with all the French troops and fortresses. He believed strongly in a movement among the troops favourable to the new order of things. Marmont and Lefebvre were the marshals who it was thought would declare first. On the other hand it was said Bonaparte had an immense number of emissaries in Paris. M. Girardin, Marshal Berthier's aide-de-camp, was in the city with large sums of money at his disposal: some hundreds of the old guard had been introduced into Paris to head an insurrection, and Bonaparte was determined, at any risk, *de se faire jour dans Paris.*

"These various histories amused the alarmists of the day; but an excessive tranquillity and even indifference reigned around."—*Lord Londonderry's Narrative.* (*Editor.*)

secure that object, you, who are so good a Frenchman, and so loyal a knight, will not fear either dangers or obstacles. Your friends expect you, long for you, and I trust will soon embrace you.

Montessuis also took one from General Dessolles, whom the provisional government had appointed governor of the national guard in the room of Marshal Moncey, who had left Paris on the occupation of the allies. General Dessolles and I did not communicate to each other our correspondence; but when I afterwards saw the letter of Dessolles, I could not help remarking the coincidence of our appeal to Marmont's patriotism. Prince Schwartzenberg also wrote to Marmont, to induce him to espouse a cause which had now become the cause of France. To the prince's letter Marmont replied, that he was disposed to concur in the union of the army and the people, which would avert all chance of civil war, and stop the effusion of French blood; and that he was ready with his troops to quit the army of the Emperor Napoleon on the following conditions, the assurance of which he required in writing:

1st. I, Charles Prince Schwartzenberg, marshal and commander-in-chief of the allied armies, guarantee to all the French troops who, in consequence of the decree of the senate of the 2d of April, may quit the standard of Napoleon Bonaparte, that they shall retire freely into Normandy with arms, baggage, and ammunition, and with the same marks of respect and military honours which the allied troops reciprocally observe to each other.

2d. That if, by this movement, the chances of war should throw into the hands of the allied powers the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, his life and liberty shall be guaranteed in a space of territory and a circumscribed country, to be chosen by the allied powers and the French government.

Prince Schwartzenberg, in his answer to Marmont, expressing his satisfaction at the marshal's readiness to obey the call of the provisional government, said, "I beg of you to believe, that I am fully sensible of the article which you demand, and which I accept, relative to the person of Napoleon."

After the correspondence between Marmont and Prince Schwartzenberg, in which the latter acceded to all the conditions required by the former, Marmont was placed in circumstances which obliged him to request that he might be released from his promise.

I happened to learn the manner in which Marshal Macdonald was informed of the taking of Paris. He had been two days without any intelligence from the emperor, when he received an order in the handwriting of Berthier, couched in the following terms: "The emperor desires that you halt wherever you may receive this order." After Berthier's signature the following words were added as a postscript: "You, of course, know that

the enemy is in possession of Paris." When the emperor thus announced, with apparent negligence, an event which totally changed the face of affairs, I am convinced his object was to make the marshal believe that he looked upon that event as less important than it really was. However, this object was not attained; for I recollect having heard Macdonald say, that Berthier's singular postscript, and the tone of indifference in which it was expressed, filled him with mingled surprise and alarm. Marshal Macdonald then commanded the rear guard of the army which occupied the environs of Montreau. Six hours after the receipt of the order here referred to, Macdonald received a second order, directing him to put his troops in motion, and he learned the emperor's intention of marching on Paris with all his remaining force.

On receiving the emperor's second order, Macdonald left his corps at Montreau, and repaired in haste to Fontainebleau. When he arrived there, the emperor had already intimated to the generals, commanding divisions in the corps assembled at Fontainebleau, his design of marching on Paris. Alarmed at this determination, the generals, most of whom had left in the capital their wives, children, and friends, requested that Macdonald would go with them to wait upon Napoleon, and endeavour to dissuade him from his intention. "Gentlemen," said the marshal, "in the emperor's present situation, such a proceeding may displease him. It must be managed cautiously. Leave it to me, gentlemen, I will go to the castle."

Marshal Macdonald accordingly went to the palace of Fontainebleau, where the following conversation ensued between him and the emperor, and I beg the reader to bear in mind, that it was related to me by the marshal himself. As soon as he entered the apartment in which Napoleon was, the latter stepped up to him, and said, "Well, how are things going on?"—"Very badly, sire."—"How?.... badly!....What then are the feelings of your army?"—"My army, sire, is entirely discouraged.... appalled by the events of Paris."—"Will not your troops join me in an advance on Paris?"—"Sire, do not think of such a thing. If I were to give such an order to my troops, I should run the risk of being disobeyed."—"But what is to be done? I cannot remain as I am; I have yet resources and partisans. It is said that the allies will no longer treat with me. Well! no matter. I will march on Paris. I will be revenged on the inconstancy of the Parisians, and the baseness of the senate. Woe to the members of the government they have patched up for the return of their Bourbons; that is what they are looking forward to. But to-morrow I shall place myself at the head of my guards, and we will march on the Tuileries."

During all this vapouring, the marshal listened in silence, and when at length Napoleon became somewhat calm, the marshal observed, "Sire, it appears then that you are not

aware of what has taken place in Paris; of the establishment of a provisional government, and ....."—"I know it all: and what then?"—"Sire," added the marshal, presenting a paper to Napoleon, "here is something which will tell you more than I can." Macdonald then presented to him a letter from Marshal Beurnonville, announcing the forfeiture of the emperor, pronounced by the senate, and the determination of the allied powers not to treat with Napoleon, or any member of his family.—"Marshal," said the emperor, before he opened the letter, "may this be read aloud?"—"Certainly, sire." The letter was then handed to Barré, who read it. An individual, who was present on the occasion, described to me the impression which the reading of the letter produced on Napoleon. His countenance exhibited that violent contraction of the features which I have often remarked when his mind was disturbed. However, he did not lose his self-command, which indeed never forsook him when policy or vanity required that he should retain it; and when the reading of Beurnonville's letter was ended, he affected to persist in his intention of marching on Paris. "Sire," exclaimed Macdonald, "that plan must be renounced. Not a sword would be unsheathed to second you in such an enterprise."

After this conversation between the emperor and Macdonald, the question of the abdication began to be seriously thought of. Caulaincourt had already hinted to Napoleon, that in case of his abdicating personally, there was a possibility of inducing the allies to agree to a council of regency. Napoleon then determined to sign the act of abdication, which he himself drew up in the following terms:

> The allied powers having decided that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even to lay down his life for the welfare of the country, which is inseparable from the rights of his son, those of the regency of the empress, and the maintenance of the laws of the empire. Given at our palace of Fontainebleau, April 2, 1814.
>
> NAPOLEON.

After having written this act, the emperor presented it to the marshals, saying, "Here, gentlemen! are you satisfied?"

This abdication of Napoleon was certainly very useless; but in case of any thing occurring to render it a matter of importance, the act might have proved entirely illusory. Its meaning might appear unequivocal to the generality of people, but not to me, who was so well initiated in the cunning to which Napoleon could resort when it suited his purpose. It is necessary to observe, that Napoleon does not say that "he descends from the throne," but that "he is *ready* to descend from the

throne." This was a subterfuge, by the aid of which he intended to open new negotiations respecting the form and conditions of the regency of his son, in case of the allied sovereigns acceding to that proposition. This would have afforded the means of gaining time.

He had not yet resigned all hope, and therefore he joyfully received a piece of intelligence communicated to him by General Allix. The general informed the emperor that he had met an Austrian officer, who was sent by Francis II. to Prince Schwartzenberg, and who positively assured him that all which had taken place in Paris was contrary to the wish of the Emperor of Austria. That this may have been the opinion of the officer is possible, and even probable. But it is certain from the issue of a mission of the Duke de Cadore, of which I shall presently speak, that the officer expressed merely his own personal opinion. However, as soon as General Allix had communicated this good news, as he termed it, to Napoleon, the latter exclaimed to the persons who were about him, "I told you so, gentlemen. Francis II. cannot carry his enmity so far as to dethrone his daughter. Vicenza, go and desire the marshals to return my act of abdication. I will send a courier to the Emperor of Austria.

Thus Bonaparte, in his shipwreck, looked round for a saving plank, and tried to nurse himself in illusions. The Duke de Vicenza went to Marshals Ney and Macdonald, whom he found just stepping into a carriage to proceed to Paris. Both positively refused to return the act to Caulaincourt, saying, "We are sure of the concurrence of the Emperor of Austria, and we take every thing upon ourselves." The result proved that they were better informed than General Allix.

During the conversation with Marshal Macdonald, which has just been described, the emperor was seated. When he came to the resolution of signing the abdication, he rose, and walked once or twice up and down his cabinet. After he had written and signed the act, he said, "Gentlemen, the interests of my son, the interests of the army, and above all, the interests of France, must be defended. I therefore appoint as my commissioners to the allied powers, the Duke de Vicenza, the Prince of the Moskowa, and the Duke de Ragusa. . . Are you satisfied?" added he, after a pause. "I think these interests are consigned to good hands." All present answered, as with one voice, "Yes, sire." But no sooner was this answer pronounced, than the emperor threw himself upon a small yellow sofa, which stood near the window, and striking his thigh with his hand, with a sort of convulsive motion, he exclaimed, "No, gentlemen: I will have no regency! With my guards, and Marmont's corps, I shall be in Paris to-morrow." Ney and Macdonald vainly endeavoured to undeceive him respecting this impracticable design. He rose with marked ill-humour, and rubbing his head, as he

was in the habit of doing when agitated, he said, in a loud and authoritative tone, "Retire."

The marshals withdrew, and Napoleon was left alone with Caulaincourt. He told the latter that what had most displeased him in the proceedings which had just taken place, was the reading of Beurnonville's letter. "Sire," observed the Duke de Vicenza, "it was by your order that the letter was read."—"That is true. . . . But why was it not addressed directly to me by Macdonald?"—"Sire, the letter was at first addressed to Marshal Macdonald; but the aide-de-camp who was the bearer of it had orders to communicate its contents to Marmont, on passing through Essonne, because Beurnonville did not precisely know where Macdonald would be found." After this brief explanation, the emperor appeared satisfied, and he said to Caulaincourt, "Vicenza, call back Macdonald."

The Duke de Vicenza hastened after the marshal, whom he found at the end of the gallery of the palace, and he brought him back to the emperor. When Macdonald returned to the cabinet, the emperor's warmth had entirely subsided, and he said to him with great composure, "Well, Duke de Taranto, do you think that the regency is the only possible thing?"—"Yes, sire."—"Then I wish you to go with Ney to the Emperor Alexander, instead of Marmont; it is better that he should remain with his corps, to which his presence is indispensable. You will therefore go with Ney. I rely on you. I hope you have entirely forgotten all that has separated us for so long a time."—"Yes, sire, I have not thought of it since 1809."—"I am glad of it, Marshal, and I must acknowledge to you that I was in the wrong." While speaking to the marshal, the emperor manifested unusual emotion. He approached him, and pressed his hand in the most affectionate way.

The emperor's three commissioners, that is to say, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza, informed Marmont that they would dine with him as they passed through Essonne, and would acquaint him with all that had happened at Fontainebleau. On their arrival at Essonne, the three imperial commissioners explained to the Duke de Ragusa the object of their mission, and persuaded him to accompany them to the Emperor Alexander. This obliged the marshal to inform them how he was situated. The negotiations which Marmont had opened, and almost concluded, with Prince Schwartzenberg, were rendered null by the mission which he had joined, and which it was necessary he should himself explain to the commander of the Austrian army. The three marshals and the Duke de Vicenza repaired to Petitbourg, the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzenberg, and there the prince released Marmont from the promise he had given.

CHAPTER XXX.

1814.

Unexpected receipts in the post-office department—Arrival of Napoleon's commissioners at M. de Talleyrand's—Conference of the marshals with Alexander—Alarming news from Essonne—Marmont's courage—The white cockade and the tri-coloured cockade—A successful stratagem—Three governments in France—The Duke de Cadore sent by Maria Louisa to the Emperor of Austria—Maria Louisa's proclamation to the French people—Interview between the Emperor of Austria and the Duke de Cadore—The emperor's protestation of friendship for Napoleon—M. Metternich and M. Stadion—Maria Louisa's departure for Orleans—Blucher's visit to me—Audience of the King of Prussia—His majesty's reception of Berthier, Clarke, and myself—Bernadotte in Paris—Cross of the Polar Star presented to me by Bernadotte.

After my nomination as director-general of the post-office, the business of that department proceeded as regularly as before. Having learned that a great many intercepted letters had been thrown aside, I sent, on the 4th of April, an advertisement to the Moniteur, stating, that the letters to and from England and other foreign countries, which had been lying at the post-office for more than three years, would be forwarded to their respective addresses. This produced to the post-office a receipt of nearly three hundred thousand francs; a fact which may afford an idea of the enormous number of intercepted letters.

On the night after the publication of the advertisement, I was awakened by an express from the provisional government, by which I was requested to proceed with all possible haste to M. de Talleyrand's hotel. I rose, and I set off immediately, and I got there some minutes before the arrival of the emperor's commissioners. I went up to the saloon on the first floor, which was one of the suite of apartments occupied by the Emperor Alexander. The marshals retired to confer with the monarch; and it would be difficult to describe the anxiety, or I may rather say, consternation which, during their absence, prevailed among some of the members of the provisional government, and other persons assembled in the saloon where I was.

While the marshals were with Alexander, I learned that they had previously conversed with M. de Talleyrand, who observed

to them, "If you succeed in your designs, you will commit all who have met in this hotel since the 1st of April, and the number is not small. For my part, take no account of me, I am willing to be committed." I had passed the evening of this day with M. de Talleyrand, who then observed to the Emperor Alexander in my presence, "Will you support Bonaparte? No, you neither can nor will. I have already had the honour to tell your majesty that we can have no choice but between Bonaparte and Louis XVIII.; any thing else would be an intrigue, and no intrigue can have power to support him who may be its object. Bernadotte, Eugène, the Regency, all those propositions result from intrigues. In present circumstances, nothing but a new principle is sufficiently strong to establish the new order of things which must be adopted. *Louis XVIII. is a principle.*"

None of the members of the provisional government were present at this conference, for no one was willing to appear to influence in any way the determination of the chief of the coalition, upon the subject of this important mission. General Dessolles alone, in quality of commander of the national guard of Paris, was requested to be present. At length the marshals entered the saloon where we were, and their appearance created a sensation which it is impossible to describe; but the expression of dissatisfaction which we thought we remarked in their countenances, restored the hopes of those who for some hours had been a prey to apprehensions. Macdonald, with his head elevated, and evidently under the influence of strong irritation, approached Beurnonville, and thus addressed him, in answer to a question which the latter had put to him:—"Speak not to me, sir, I have nothing to say to you. You have made me forget a friendship of thirty years!" Then turning to Dupont, "As for you, sir," he continued, in the same tone, "your conduct towards the emperor is not generous. I confess that he has treated you with severity, perhaps he may even have been unjust to you with respect to the affair of Baylen; but how long has it been the practice to avenge a personal wrong at the expense of one's country?"*

These remarks were made with such warmth, and in so elevated a tone of voice, that Caulaincourt thought it necessary to interfere, and said, "Do not forget, gentlemen, that this is the residence of the Emperor of Russia." At this moment M. de Talleyrand returned from the interview with the emperor, which he had had after the departure of the marshals, and approaching the group formed round Macdonald, "Gentlemen," said he, "if you wish to dispute and discuss, step down to my apartments." —"That would be useless," replied Macdonald, "my comrades

* The reader must remember that General Dupont, beaten by the Spaniards, surrendered, with 20,000 men, at Baylen, in Andalusia. This happened on the 18th of July, 1808.—*Editor.*

and I do not acknowledge the provisional government." The three marshals, Ney, Macdonald, and Marmont, then immediately retired with Caulaincourt, and went to Ney's hotel, there to await the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to give them after consulting the King of Prussia.

Such was this night-scene, which possessed more dramatic effect than many which are performed on the stage. In it all was real: on its denouement depended the political state of France, and the existence of all those who had already declared themselves in favour of the Bourbons. It is a remarkable fact, and one which affords a striking lesson to men who are tempted to sacrifice themselves for any political cause, that most of those who then demanded the restoration of the Bourbons at the peril of their lives, have successively fallen into a sort of disgrace.

When the marshals and Caulaincourt had retired, we were all anxious to know what had passed between them and the Emperor of Russia. I learned from Dessolles, who, as I have stated, was present at the conference, in his rank of commander of the national guard of Paris, that the marshals were unanimous in urging Alexander to accede to a regency. Macdonald especially supported that proposition with much warmth; and among the observations he made, I recollect Dessolles mentioning the following: "I am not authorized to treat in any way for the fate reserved for the emperor. We have full powers to treat for the regency, the army, and France; but the emperor has positively forbidden us to specify any thing personally regarding himself." Alexander merely replied, "That does not astonish me." The marshals then resuming the conversation, dwelt much on the respect which was due to the military glory of France. They strongly manifested their disinclination to abandon the family of a man who had so often led them to victory; and, lastly, they reminded the Emperor Alexander of his own declaration, in which he proclaimed in his own name, as well as on the part of his allies, that it was not their intention to impose on France any government whatever.

Dessolles, who had all along declared himself in favour of the Bourbons, in his turn entered into the discussion with as much warmth as the partisans of the regency. He represented to Alexander how many persons would be committed, for merely having acted, or declared their opinions, behind the shield of his promises. He repeated what Alexander had already been told, that the regency would, in fact, be nothing but Bonaparte in disguise. However, Dessolles acknowledged that such was the effect of Marshal Macdonald's powerful and persuasive eloquence, that Alexander seemed to waver, and unwilling to give the marshals a positive refusal, he had recourse to a subterfuge, by which he would be enabled to execute the design he had irrevocably formed, without seeming to take on himself alone the responsibility of a change of government. Dessolles

accordingly informed us, that Alexander at last gave the following answer to the marshals: "Gentlemen, I am not alone; in an affair of such importance, I must consult the King of Prussia, for I have promised to do nothing without consulting him. In a few hours you shall know my decision." It was this decision which the marshals went to wait for at Ney's.

Most of the members of the provisional government attributed the evasive reply of the Emperor Alexander to the influence of the speech of Dessolles. For my part, while I do justice to the manner in which he declared himself on this important occasion, I do not ascribe to his eloquence the power of fixing Alexander's resolution; for I well know by experience how easy it is to make princes appear to adopt the advice of any one, when the counsel given is precisely that which they wish to follow. From the sentiments of Alexander at this time I had not the slightest doubt as to the course he would finally pursue, and I considered what he said about consulting the King of Prussia to be a mere phrase of politeness, by which he avoided the disagreeable task of giving the marshals a direct refusal.

I therefore returned home, quite satisfied as to the result of the Emperor Alexander's visit to the King of Prussia. I knew, from the persons about the emperor, that he cherished a hatred, which was but too well justified, towards Bonaparte. Frederick William is of too firm a character to have yielded to any of the considerations which might on this subject have been pressed on him, as they had been on the Emperor of Russia. But, besides that the King of Prussia had legitimate reasons for disliking Napoleon, policy would at that time have required that he should appear to be his enemy; for to do so was to render himself popular with his subjects, who were then all imbued with the principles of liberty, and even with some ideas of Carbonarism, which had been propagated and diffused by Baron Stein and his disciples.* But the King of Prussia did not need to act under the dictates of policy; he followed his own opinion in rejecting the propositions of the marshals, which he did without hesitation, and with much energy.

While the marshals had gone to Paris, Bonaparte was anxious to ascertain whether his commissioners had passed the advanced posts of the foreign armies; and in case of resistance, he determined to march on Paris, for he could not believe that he had lost every chance. He sent an aide-de-camp to desire Marmont to come immediately to Fontainebleau: such was Napoleon's impatience, that instead of waiting for the return of his aide-de-camp, he sent off a second, and then a third officer, on the same errand. This rapid succession of envoys from the emperor

* Baron Stein has also noticed this accusation, in a way which intimates that he treats it very lightly. He begs of M. Bourrienne not to correct either it or the charge respecting La Sahla, vol. iii., p. 211, when he publishes his third edition.—*Editor.*

alarmed the generals who commanded the different divisions of Marmont's corps at Essonne. They feared that the emperor was aware of the convention concluded that morning with Prince Schwartzenberg; and that he had sent for Marmont with the view of reprimanding him. The fact was, Napoleon knew nothing of the matter; for Marmont, on departing for Paris, with Macdonald and Ney, had left orders that it should be said he had gone to inspect his lines. Souham, Lebrun, Des Essarts, and Bordesaille, who had given their assent to the convention with Prince Schwartzenberg, deliberated in the absence of Marmont, and perhaps being ignorant that he was released from his promise, and fearing the vengeance of Napoleon, they determined to march upon Versailles. On arriving there, the troops not finding the marshal at their head, thought themselves betrayed, and a spirit of insurrection broke out among them. One of Marmont's aides-de-camp, whom he had left at Essonne, exerted every endeavour to prevent the departure of his general's corps; but finding all his efforts unavailing, he hastened to Paris to inform the marshal of what had happened. When Marmont received this news, he was breakfasting at Ney's, with Macdonald and Caulaincourt: they were waiting for the answer which the Emperor Alexander had promised to send them. The march of his corps on Versailles threw Marmont into despair. He said to the marshals, "I must be off to join my corps, and quell this mutiny;" and without losing a moment, he ordered his carriage, and directed the coachman to drive with the utmost speed. He sent forward one of his aides-de-camp to inform the troops of his approach. Having arrived within a hundred paces of the place where his troops were assembled, he found the generals, who were under his orders, advancing to meet him. They urged him not to go further, as the men were in open insurrection. "I will go into the midst of them," said Marmont. "In a moment they shall either kill me, or acknowledge me as their chief." He sent off another aide-de-camp to range the troops in the order of battle. Then alighting from the carriage, and mounting a horse, he advanced alone, and thus harangued his troops: "How! Is there treason here? Is it possible that you disown me? Am I not your comrade? Have I not been wounded twenty times among you? . . . . Have I not shared your fatigues and privations? And am I not ready to do so again?" . . . . . Here Marmont was interrupted by a general shout of "Vive le maréchal! Vive le maréchal!"

The alarm caused among the members of the provisional government, by the mission of the marshals, was increased by the news of the mutiny of Marmont's troops. During the whole of the day we were in a state of tormenting anxiety. It was feared that the insurrectionary spirit might spread among other corps of the army, and the cause of France again be endangered. But

the courage of Marmont saved every thing. It would be impossible to convey any idea of the manner in which he was received by us at Talleyrand's, when he related the particulars of what had occurred at Versailles.*

On the evening of the day on which Marmont had acted so nobly, it was proposed that the army should adopt the white cockade. In reply to this proposition, the marshal said, "Gentlemen, I have made my troops understand the necessity of serving France before all things. They have, consequently, returned to order, and I can now answer for them. But what I cannot answer for is, to induce them to abandon the colours which have led them to victory for the last twenty years. Therefore do not count upon me for a thing which I consider to be totally hostile to the interests of France. I will speak to the Emperor Alexander on the subject." Such were Marmont's words. Every one appeared to concur in his opinion, and the discussion terminated. For my own part, I find by my notes, that I declared myself strongly in favour of Marmont's proposition.

The marshal's opinion having been adopted, at least provisionally, an article was prepared for the Moniteur, in nearly the following terms:

> The white cockade has been, during the last four days, a badge for the manifestation of public opinion in favour of the overthrow of an oppressive government: it has been the only means of distinguishing the partisans of the restoration of the old dynasty, to which, at length, we are to be indebted for repose. But as the late government is at an end, all colours differing from our national colours are useless: let us, therefore, resume those which have so often led us to victory.

Such was the spirit of the article, though possibly the above copy may differ in a few words. It met with the unqualified approbation of every one present. I was therefore extremely surprised, on looking at the Moniteur next day, to find that the article was not inserted. I knew not what courtly interference prevented the appearance of the article; but I remember that Marmont was very ill pleased at its omission. He complained on the subject to the Emperor Alexander, who promised to write, and in fact did write to the provisional government to get the article inserted. However, it did not appear, and in a few days we obtained a solution of the enigma, as we might, perhaps, have done before if we had tried. The Emperor Alexander also promised to write to the Count d'Artois, and to inform him that the opinion of France was in favour of the preservation of the three colours; but I do not know whether the letter was written, or if it was, what answer it received.

* Marshal Marmont's corps d'armée passed over to the allies on the 4th of April. Marmont was thus the first of the French generals to place himself under Louis XVIII.—*Editor.*

Marshal Jourdan, who was then at Rouen, received a letter, written without the knowledge of Marmont, informing him that the latter had mounted the white cockade in his corps. Jourdan thought he could not do otherwise than follow Marmont's example, and he announced to the provisional government, that in consequence of the resolution of the Duke of Ragusa, he had just ordered his corps to wear the white cockade. Marmont could now be boldly faced, and when he complained to the provisional government of the non-insertion of the article in the Moniteur, the reply was, "It cannot now appear. You see Marshal Jourdan has mounted the white cockade: you would not give the army two sets of colours!"

Marmont could make no answer to so positive a fact. It was not till some time after that I learned Jourdan had determined to unfurl the white only, on the positive assurance that Marmont had already done so. Thus we lost the colours which had been worn by Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII., and under the auspices of which the Count d'Artois showed himself on his return to the Parisians, for he entered the capital in the uniform of the national guard. The fraud played off by some members of the provisional government was attended by fatal consequences; many evils might have been spared to France had Marmont's opinion been adopted.

At the period of the dissolution of the empire, there might be said to be three governments in France, viz., the provisional government in Paris, Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and the doubtful and ambulatory regency of Maria Louisa.* Doubtful and ambulatory the regency might well be called; for there was so little decision as to the course to be adopted by the empress, that it was at first proposed to conduct her to Orleans, then to Tours, and she went finally to Blois. The uncertainty which prevailed respecting the destiny of Maria Louisa is proved by a document which I have in my possession, and of which there cannot be many copies in existence. It is a circular addressed to the prefects by M. de Montalivet, the minister of the interior, who accompanied the empress. In it a blank is left for the seat of the government, to which the prefects are desired to send their communications. In the copy I possess, the blank is filled up with the word Blois in manuscript.

As soon as Maria Louisa was made acquainted with the events of Paris, she sent for the Duke de Cadore, and gave him a letter addressed to the Emperor of Austria, saying, "Take this to my father, who must be at Dijon. I rely on you for defending the interests of France, those of the emperor, and, above all, those of my son." Certainly, Maria Louisa's confidence could not be better placed, and those great interests would have been defended

* For some curious accounts of the proceedings of this regency, we refer the reader to the notes at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

by the Duke de Cadore, *si defendi possent.* But nothing could alter the decrees of fate.

After the departure of the Duke de Cadore, Maria Louisa published the following proclamation, addressed to the French people:

The events of the war have placed the capital in the power of foreigners. The emperor has marched to defend it at the head of his armies, so often victorious. They are face to face with the enemy before the walls of Paris. From the residence which I have chosen, and from the ministers of the emperor, will emanate the only orders which you can acknowledge. Every town in the power of foreigners ceases to be free, and every order which may proceed from them is the language of the enemy, or that which it suits his hostile views to propagate. You will be faithful to your oaths. You will listen to the voice of a princess who *was* consigned to your good faith, and whose highest pride consists in being a French woman, and in being united to the destiny of the sovereign whom you have freely chosen. My son was less sure of your affections in the time of our prosperity; his rights and his person are under your safeguard.

MARIA LOUISA.

Blois, April 3, 1814.

It is to be inferred that the regency had, within three days, adopted the resolution of not quitting Blois; for the above document presents no blanks, nor words filled up in writing. The empress's proclamation, though a powerful appeal to the feelings of the French people, produced no effect. It was countersigned by Montalivet. I must show why, in the copy of the proclamation which I have subjoined, there is a word distinguished by italics. I was credibly informed, that when the document was printed, and presented to the empress, she drew her pen through the word *was*, and made the sentence read as follows: "You will listen to the voice of a princess who *has consigned herself* to your good faith," &c. The unfortunate princess did all she could to rally to her cause, and, above all, to the cause of her son, those whose resolutions were still wavering; and the truth is, that personally, Maria Louisa inspired real interest, even in those who, from policy or regard for France, were most actively labouring to overthrow the imperial despotism. Maria Louisa's proclamation was dated the 4th of April, on the evening of which day Napoleon signed the conditional abdication, with the fate of which the reader has already been made acquainted. M. de Montalivet transmitted the empress's proclamation, accompanied by another circular, to the prefects, of whom very few received it.

M. de Champagny having left Blois with the letter he had received from the empress, proceeded to the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria, carefully avoiding those roads which were occupied by Cossack troops. He arrived, not without consider-

able difficulty, at Chanseaux, where Francis II. was expected. When the emperor arrived, the Duke de Cadore was announced, and immediately introduced to his majesty. The duke remained some hours with Francis II., without being able to obtain from him any thing but fair protestations. The emperor always took refuge behind the promise he had given to his allies to approve whatever measures they might adopt. The duke was not to leave the emperor's head-quarters that evening; and, in the hope that his majesty might yet reflect on the critical situation of his daughter, he asked permission to take leave next morning. He accordingly presented himself to the emperor's levee, when he renewed his efforts in support of the claims of Maria Louisa: "I have a great affection for my daughter, and also for my son-in-law," said the emperor. "I bear them both in my heart, and would shed my blood for them."—"Ah! sire," exclaimed M. de Champagny, "such a sacrifice is not necessary."—"Yes, duke, I say again I would shed my blood, I would resign my life for them; but I have given my allies a promise not to treat without them, and to approve all that they may do. Besides," added the emperor, "my minister, M. Metternich, has gone to their head-quarters, and I will ratify whatever he may sign."

When the Duke de Cadore related to me the particulars of his mission, in which zeal could not work an impossibility, I remarked that he regarded, as a circumstance fatal to Napoleon, the absence of M. Metternich, and the presence of M. Stadion, at the head-quarters of the Emperor of Austria. Though, in all probability, nothing could have arrested the course of events, yet it is certain that the personal sentiments of the two Austrian ministers towards Napoleon were widely different. I am not going too far when I affirm that, policy apart, M. Metternich was much attached to Napoleon.* In support of this assertion, I may quote a fact of which I can guarantee the authenticity. When M. Metternich was complimented on the occasion of Maria Louisa's marriage, he replied, "To have contributed to a measure, which has received the approbation of eighty millions of men, is indeed a just subject of congratulation." Such a remark openly made by the intelligent minister of the cabinet of Vienna, was well calculated to gratify the ears of Napoleon, from whom, however, M. Metternich, in his personal relations, did not conceal the truth. I recollect a reply which was made by M. Metternich at Dresden, after a little hesitation: "As to you," said the emperor, "you will not go to war with me. It is impossible that you can declare yourselves against me. That can never be."—"Sire, we are not now quite allies, and sometime hence we may become enemies." This hint was the last which Napoleon received from Metternich, and Napoleon must

* We very much doubt this attachment. The preceding year, at the congress of Prague, Bonaparte had very grossly insulted Metternich. See appendix to this volume.—*Editor.*

have been blind indeed not to have profited by it. As to M. Stadion, he entertained a profound dislike of the emperor. That minister knew, and could not forget, that his preceding exclusion from the cabinet of Vienna had been due to the all-powerful influence of Napoleon.

Whether or not the absence of M. Metternich influenced the resolution of Francis II., it is certain that that monarch yielded nothing to the urgent solicitations of a minister who conscientiously fulfilled the delicate mission consigned to him. M. de Champagny rejoined the empress at Orleans, whither she had repaired on leaving Blois. He found Maria Louisa almost deserted: all the grand dignitaries of the empire having successively returned to Paris, after sending in their submissions to the provisional government.

I had scarcely entered upon the exercise of my functions as postmaster-general, when, on the morning of the 2d of April, I was surprised to see a Prussian general-officer enter my cabinet. I immediately recognised him to be General Blucher. He had commanded the Prussian army in the battle which took place at the gates of Paris. "Sir," said he, "I consider it one of my first duties, on entering Paris, to thank you for the attention I received from you in Hamburg. I am sorry that I was not sooner aware of your being in Paris. I assure you, that had I been sooner informed of this circumstance, the capitulation should have been made without a blow being struck. How much blood might then have been spared!"—"General," said I, "on what do you ground this assurance?"—"If I had known that you were in Paris, I would have given you a letter to the King of Prussia. That monarch, who knows the resources and intentions of the allies, would, I am sure, have authorized you to decide a suspension of arms before the neighbourhood of Paris became the theatre of the war."—"But," resumed I, "in spite of the good intentions of the allies, it would have been very difficult to prevent resistance. French pride, irritated as it was by reverses, would have opposed insurmountable obstacles to such a measure."—"But, good heavens! you would have seen that resistance could be of no avail against such immense masses."—"You are right, general; but French honour would have been defended to the last."—"I am fully aware of that; but surely you have earned glory enough!"—"Yet our French susceptibility would have made us look upon that glory as tarnished, if Paris had been occupied without defence..... But, under present circumstances, I am well pleased that you were satisfied with my conduct in Hamburg; for it induces me to hope, that you will observe the same moderation in Paris that I exercised there. The days are past when it could be said, Woe to the conquered."—"You are right; yet," added he, smiling, "you know we are called the northern barbarians."—"Then

general," returned I, "you have a fair opportunity of showing that that designation is a libel."

Some days after Blucher's visit, I had the honour of being admitted to a private audience of the King of Prussia. Clarke and Berthier were also received in this audience, which took place at the Hotel d'Eugène, where the King of Prussia resided in Paris. We waited for some minutes in the saloon, and when Frederick William entered from his cabinet, I remarked on his countenance an air of embarrassment and austerity, which convinced me that he had been studying his part, as great personages are in the habit of doing on similar occasions. The king, on entering the saloon, first noticed Berthier, whom he addressed with much kindness, bestowing praises on the French troops, and complimenting the marshal on his conduct during the war in Germany. Berthier returned thanks for these well-merited praises; for though he was not remarkable for strength of understanding, or energy of mind, yet he was not a bad man, and I have known many proofs of his good conduct in conquered countries.

After saluting Berthier, the King of Prussia turned towards Clarke, and his countenance immediately assumed an expression of dissatisfaction. He had evidently not forgotten Clarke's conduct in Berlin. He reminded him that he had rendered the continental system more odious than it was in itself, and that he had shown no moderation in the execution of his orders. "In fine," said his majesty, "if I have any advice to give you, it is that you never again return to Prussia." The king pronounced these words in so loud and decided a tone, that Clarke was perfectly confounded. He uttered some unintelligible observations, which, however, Frederick William did not notice; for suddenly turning towards me, he said, with an air of affability, "Ah! M. Bourrienne, I am glad to see you, and I take this opportunity of repeating what I wrote to you from Koningsberg. You always extended protection to the Germans, and did all you could to alleviate their condition. I learned, with great satisfaction, what you did for the Prussians, whom the fate of war drove into Hamburg; and I feel pleasure in telling you, in the presence of these gentlemen, that if all the French agents had acted as you did, we should not, probably, be here." I expressed by a profound bow how much I was gratified by this complimentary address, and the monarch, after saluting us, retired.

About the middle of April, Bernadotte arrived in Paris. His situation had become equivocal, since circumstances had banished the hopes he might have conceived in his interview with the Emperor Alexander, at Abo. Besides, he had been represented in some official pamphlets as a traitor to France, and among certain worshippers of our insulated glory, there prevailed a

feeling of irritation, which the inconstancy of fortune might, perhaps, excuse, and which was unjustly directed towards Bernadotte.

While Bernadotte was in Paris I saw him every day. He but faintly disguised from me the hope he had entertained of ruling France; and in the numerous conversations to which our respective occupations led, I ascertained, though Bernadotte did not formally tell me so, that he once had strong expectations of succeeding Napoleon.

I asked Bernadotte what he thought of the projects which were attributed to Moreau; whether it was true that he had in him a competitor; and whether Moreau had aspired to the dangerous honour of governing France. "Those reports," replied the Prince Royal of Sweden, "are devoid of foundation: at least I can assure you, that in the conversations I have had with the Emperor Alexander, that sovereign never said any thing which could warrant such a supposition. I know that the Emperor of Russia wished to avail himself of the military talents of Moreau in the great struggle that had commenced, and to enable the exiled general to return to his country, in the hope that should the war prove fortunate, he would enjoy the honours and privileges due to his past services."

Bernadotte expressed to me astonishment at the recal of the Bourbons; and assured me that he had not expected the French people would so readily have consented to the restoration. I confess I was surprised that Bernadotte, with the intelligence I knew him to possess, should imagine that the will of subjects has any influence in changes of government.

During his stay in Paris, Bernadotte evinced for me the same sentiments of friendship which he had shown me at Hamburg. One day I received from him a letter, dated Paris, with which he transmitted to me one of the crosses of the Polar Star, which the King of Sweden had left at his disposal. Bernadotte was not very well satisfied with his residence in Paris, in spite of the friendship which the Emperor Alexander constantly manifested towards him. After a few days he set out for Sweden, having first taken leave of the Count d'Artois. I did not see him after his farewell visit to the count, so that I know not what was the nature of the conversation which passed between the two princes.

THE EMPRESS MARIA LOUISA AND THE REGENCY AT BLOIS.

Two very curious works that bear every mark of authenticity, and are entitled "*L'Histoire de la Régence à Blois,*" and "*Itinéraire de Bonaparte, pour servir de suite à la Régence de Blois,*" were published in Paris in 1814, a very few months after the events they commemorate.

The writers of these volumes lift up the veil of mystery that hung over many of the hurried transactions of March and April, and make it evident that Napoleon once thought of carrying on a civil as well as foreign war behind the Loire. The reader has seen in the text of Bourrienne how Maria Louisa and her son left Paris, and in what a hurried manner Joseph Bonaparte took his departure from that capital after instructing Marmont and Mortier to capitulate with the allies. Somewhere outside of Paris Joseph was joined by his youngest brother Jerome, and they went on together without being recognised as far as Sévres, about five miles from the capital. Here, however, the assembled population, who were in a very alarming state, recognised the ex-king of Spain, and began to talk of arresting him. Joseph escaped by assuring them roundly that Paris was saved, the allies beaten, Napoleon safe at the Tuileries, and that he *was going to bring back the empress!*

Having thus evaded popular fury by a wholesale lie, which was, however, excusable in the circumstances of the case, Kings Joseph and Jerome proceeded hastily to join Maria Louisa, around whom had already rallied Louis Bonaparte, old Madame Bonaparte, with several of the ministers and their suites. After some painful hesitation as to where they should take up their rest for awhile, the fugitive court fixed upon Blois, where attempts were made upon public credulity by means of sundry bulletins and proclamations that contained about as much truth in them as Joseph's speech to the mob at Sévres. When they entered Blois, which was on the 2d of April, an immense crowd collected to gaze at them; but this crowd preserved a profound silence—no one cried *Vive l'Empereur!* or *Vive l'Imperatrice!*

On the 3d, the people of Blois supposed that the runaway court had received important news from the capital and the army; but not a word was allowed to transpire, and Blois, much agitated, remained in a state of anxious suspense. On the 4th this painful anxiety increased; but at last a waggoner arrived from Paris, with a passport signed SACKEN.* This was enough—this single word proved that the proud capital of France was in the possession of the allies. The waggoner reported that Paris was perfectly quiet, and in the best order

* The Russian governor of Paris.

possible. On receiving this intelligence, Joseph, Jerome, and Clarke, saying they were going to attend to some military duties, set off with headlong speed for Orleans. It was the fate of poor Joseph, who in some essentials was a very good man, to have more of running-away than commonly falls to the lot even of adventurous and unlucky men.

On arriving at Orleans, they found despatches from Napoleon at Fontainebleau, in which he thundered out his wrath at them, and particularly at Joseph for what he styled his cowardice and disobedience in running away from Paris. On the 5th, therefore, the two ex-kings and General Clarke returned to Blois, where they made a stir as if they were going to retrieve the lost affairs of the emperor. They actually prepared to raise troops and recruits *to oppose the provisional government established at Paris*, by the power of Maria Louisa and the regency. No one doubted that this was done in compliance with the orders from Fontainebleau they had received at Orleans, and their measures were in perfect concurrence with Napoleon's contemporaneous proceedings. On the 6th the councillor of state, M. le Comte Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angély promulgated some false reports to keep up the spirits of the good people of Blois; but when the source of the good news was known, nobody believed it. On the 7th, Regnault, Cambacérès, and the rest of them with the empress, put forth the proclamation, signed Maria Louisa, which Bourrienne has given in the preceding chapter. (See p. 343.) This precious document was written in the evening of the 6th, two days after Napoleon's virtual abdication, and stuck up at Blois in the night between the 6th and 7th of April, but it bore date the 3d, one day before it. According to the historian of the evanescent regency, the antedate was a trick of the ministers who wished to keep open a chance of accommodation with the provisional government at Paris (whose orders had not reached Blois on the 3d), and at the same time give Napoleon this proof of zeal in his cause, which, in case he should be finally successful, he would be pretty sure to reward. Other well-informed writers, however, are of opinion that the trick was Napoleon's own, and contrived for very evident purposes. However this may be, the proclamation was spread wherever the communications from Blois permitted, and became, as was supposed, the cause, or one of the causes, of that fatal delay which occasioned the bloody battle of Toulouse — a battle fought *à pure perte*, after the game was up with Bonaparte—after he had signed his abdication, the news of which, if not artfully prevented, had had plenty of time to reach the head-quarters of Soult and Wellington at Toulouse.

The perplexities of Joseph, Jerome, and the ministers at Blois continuing to increase, they at last determined to consult their own safety by flying to the south, and carrying Maria Louisa and her son with them. The historian of the regency says—

"Between eight and nine in the morning of Good Friday, April the 8th, Joseph and Jerome proceeded with two carriages to the empress's lodging; they acquainted her that they were going to depart, and that they came to propose to her, for *her* own safety's sake, to accompany them. She asked whither, and by what order she was to go; and observed, that as to her personal safety, that was secure, whether in the hands of the French, the Russians, or the Austrians. They answered, that though they had not an express order from Napoleon, her ties to the imperial family rendered her a *voluntary** and necessary hostage for the safety of that family, and of the state; that their intention was to establish the regency southward of the Loire; and that the carriages for her and her son were at the door. To this proposition Maria Louisa answered only by her tears; when the two kings, little moved by her grief, seized her each by an arm, and were about to force her to the carriages. The empress shrieked for help, which brought some gentlemen of her household to her assistance. Addressing herself to these gentlemen, she implored them, as a last testimony of attachment, to go to the officers of her guard, and learn whether they intended to connive at the violence with which she was threatened. The officers of the guard, informed by M. d'Haussouville of the empress's situation, hastened to her assistance; but the two kings, disconcerted at the audience that had crowded about her, had already retired, ashamed of their attempt, and confused at its failure."

We have heard that this attempt to carry off the empress, for the purpose of raising the standard of civil war south of the Loire, was the device, not of Joseph and Jerome, but of Napoleon himself; and there seems every reason to believe, from the whole of his conduct at Fontainebleau, while these transactions were passing at Blois, that the scheme had been con trived by him. Well may the author say that the determination of Maria Louisa on this occasion saved France from the horrors of a civil war. The European coalition had, indeed, a narrow escape; for while the allied sovereigns were treating with Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, there was an imminent risk of a fresh explosion of hostilities in the provinces behind the Loire.

In this extraordinary state of affairs, however, the imperial regency of France and the city of Blois continued till the evening of the 9th, when a stranger alighted at the Galère inn; and it was immediately reported throughout the anxious town, that a Russian general had arrived at the inn, for the purpose of waiting on the empress.

"The Count de Schouvaloff came alone; and no one interfered either to deny or acknowledge his mission. No one yet

* For this strange use of the word "*voluntary*," the two kings are responsible: we have translated faithfully.

recognised the royal or the provisional government, nor even the authority of the allies. The proclamation of Blois was still in force, and the people who saw it still 'affiché,' did not dare to acknowledge powers which had not even announced their existence."

In the faces, however, of all the ministers (who quitted the palace soon after M. de Schouvaloff's arrival) were read at once consternation and the truth; and the inhabitants of Blois were no longer in doubt that the dynasty of Napoleon had ceased to reign! Then commenced a scene of tragi-comedy, which, perhaps, has never been equalled: their serene highnesses the grand dignitaries, and their excellencies the councillors of state and ministers, who a week since ruled the greatest empire of the world, and who, two days since, had circulated through all France their insolent commands in the proclamation of Blois, suddenly and without any apparent cause (for no troops had approached, and no proceeding of the provisional government was known at Blois) descended from the height of their arrogance, even to the depths of meanness, and courted the safeguard and protection of an individual foreigner, who had arrived in their town wholly unaccompanied, and having scarcely any other credential than an unpronounceable name.

But a new circumstance soon occurred, which crowned their highnesses and excellencies with ridicule and contempt.

On quitting Paris, it never had occurred to them to think of passports; their dignities absolved them from all dependence on, or thought of the police: but the hour was now come when, *sauve qui peut*, all found it expedient to provide for their own safety, and when the avowal of their dignities was more likely to impede than facilitate their evasion.

In this perplexity they besieged M. de Schouvaloff in his inn, and with a mixture of earnestness and humility, begged him to afford them the protection of the unpronounceable name!

We do not know whether M. de Schouvaloff is a wag, but he certainly, on this occasion, hit upon one of the pleasantest expedients of quizzing their highnesses and excellencies that could be devised. He professed that he had no authority to grant passports; but if any passports regularly obtained from the mayor of the town should be presented to him, he should not hesitate, he said, to add his signature.

"The Galère was speedily evacuated; Cambacérès, Regnault, Clarke, and the rest hurried to the mayor's office to obtain passports. The mayor's clerk was astonished at the rank and number of his applicants; but the good little man collected his official wits as well as he could, and set himself to comply with the solicitations of the princes and dukes;—but here another difficulty occurred: the form of inferior passports, obtainable from a mayor, required a specification not only of the names and professions of the applicants, but a detailed personal description; this the poor clerk knew not how to ask from such illustrious

personages: but in the condescension of their fear they became so obliging as to make no difficulties on any point, a condescension which the clerk, M. de Bruère, repaid by registering their titles, and the colour of their hair and eyebrows, and the length of their noses and chins, *avec tous les égards que prescrivait la position singulière où se trouvèrent leurs excellences.*"

Furnished with these passports, they returned to the Galère in such shoals, that M. de Schouvaloff's room could not contain their numbers, nor his politeness satisfy their impatience. He however signed all the passports, marking by his graduated civility, the rank which each of those functionaries held in his esteem. To the Duke of Feltre, Clarke, he showed every attention; while on the other hand, he did not sign the passport of his excellency the Duke de Rovigo, without writing on the margin, "M. Savary."

Having thus provided for their personal safety, these worthy ministers gave themselves no further concern about Maria Louisa or the baby King of Rome—they only thought about the money-boxes which the ambulatory regency had brought from Paris. These boxes contained certain millions of francs which they now determined to divide among them, share and share alike. One of the now ex-ministers proposed, in council, that every functionary should be forthwith paid all arrears of salary and allowances, together with three months' pay in advance. Of course there was no dissentient voice to such a proposition, and they "touched the money," taking also a few Napoleons extra for their travelling expenses. The troops had but a small share in these spoils of the defunct empire; and situated as they were, we almost wonder they did not help themselves to a larger one by force. They only got three months, pay, though much more was claimed as arrears. Madame Mère, Bonaparte's mother is said, to have received 375,000 francs, making about 18,000*l.* of our money. This high-spirited old lady, instead of desponding, insisted "that it was not all over yet, and that another revolution would soon avenge the wrongs of her family: *Nous autres,*" said she, "*nous nous connaisons en révolutions;*" or, "We Bonapartes understand revolutions." She already foresaw the return from Elba.

On the 10th of April, the regency and its court removed to Orleans, where in a day or two it fell to pieces and disappeared, some of its members going one way and some another, but not one of them repairing out of gratitude and respect to their fallen master who was still at Fontainebleau, and suffering agonies of affliction. Joseph and Jerome got out of France as quickly as they could. It is said that Regnault Saint-Jean-d'Angély went to Clermont in Auvergne, with a white cockade in his hat, and that he there soundly rated the mayor and the sub-prefect for their not having yet assumed the ensign of loyalty to the Bourbons. Cambacérès travelled quietly with his cook and stewpans to Paris, where the surpassing excellence of his dinners soon caused his political transgressions to be forgotten.

Maria Louisa under the protection of some gentlemen sent by her father, went from Orleans to Rambouillet, whence she shortly after proceeded to Vienna. The kind-hearted and conscientious Louis Bonaparte remained for a short time at Blois, seeking, during the celebration of the holy or Easter week, the consolations of religion. He then retired into Switzerland to find more enjoyment among mountains and lakes, than he had ever experienced in courts and palaces. And thus ended the regency of Blois—a singular chapter in the history of the nineteenth century.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXXI.

1814.

Unalterable determination of the allies with respect to Napoleon—Fontainebleau included in the limits to be occupied by the allies—Alexander's departure from Paris—Napoleon informed of the necessity of his unconditional abdication—Macdonald and Ney again sent to Paris—Alleged attempt of Napoleon to poison himself—Farewell interview between Macdonald and Napoleon—The sabre of Murad-Bey—Signature of the act of unconditional abdication—Tranquillity of Paris during the change of government—Ukase of the Emperor of Russia relative to the post-office—Religious ceremony on the Place Louis XV.—Arrival of the Count d'Artois—His entrance into Paris—Arrival of the Emperor of Austria—Singular assemblage of sovereigns in France—Visit of the Emperor of Austria to Maria Louisa—Her interview with the Emperor Alexander—Her departure for Vienna.

When Marmont left Paris on the receipt of the intelligence from Essonne, Marshals Macdonald and Ney, and the Duke de Vicenza, waited upon the Emperor Alexander to learn his resolution before they should acquaint him with the movement of Marmont's troops. The Emperor Alexander had walked out at six in the morning to the residence of the King of Prussia, in the Rue de Bourbon. The two sovereigns afterwards proceeded together to M. de Talleyrand's, where they were when Napoleon's commissioners arrived. The commissioners being introduced to the two sovereigns, the Emperor Alexander, in answer to their proposition, replied, that the regency was impossible, as submissions to the provisional government were pouring in from all parts, and that if the army had formed contrary wishes, those should have been sooner made known. "Sire," observed Macdonald, "that was impossible, as none of the marshals were in Paris, and, besides, who could foresee the turn which affairs have taken. Could we imagine that an unfounded alarm would have removed from Essonne the corps of the Duke de Ragusa, who has this moment left us to bring his troops back to order?" These words produced no change in the determination of the sovereigns, who would hear of nothing but the unconditional

abdication of Napoleon. Before the marshals took leave of the Emperor Alexander, they solicited an armistice of forty-eight hours, which time they said was indispensable to negotiate the act of abdication with Napoleon. This request was granted without hesitation, and the Emperor Alexander showing Macdonald a map of the environs of Paris, courteously presented him with a pencil, saying, "Here, marshal, mark yourself the limits to be observed by the two armies."—"No, sire," replied Macdonald, "we are the conquered party, and it is for you to mark the line of demarcation." Alexander determined that the right bank of the Seine should be occupied by the allied troops, and the left bank by the French; but it was observed that this arrangement would be attended with inconvenience, as it would cut Paris in two, and it was agreed that the line should turn Paris. I have been informed, that on a map sent to the Austrian staff to acquaint Prince Schwartzenberg with the limits definitively agreed on, Fontainebleau, the emperor's head-quarters, was by some artful means included within the line. The Austrians acted so implicitly on this direction, that Marshal Macdonald was obliged to complain on the subject to Alexander, who removed all obstacles.

When, in discussing the question of the abdication conformably with the instructions he had received, Macdonald observed to the Emperor Alexander, that Napoleon wished for nothing for himself, "Assure him," replied Alexander, "that a provision shall be made for him worthy of the rank he has occupied. Tell him, that if he wishes to reside in my states he shall be well received, though he brought desolation there. I shall always remember the friendship which united us. He shall have the island of Elba, or *something else.* After taking leave of the Emperor Alexander on the 5th of April, Napoleon's commissioners returned to Fontainebleau to render an account of their mission. I saw Alexander that same day, and it appeared to me that his mind was relieved of a great weight by the question of the regency being brought to an end. I was informed that he intended to quit Paris in a few days, and that he had given full powers to M. Pozzo-di-Borgo, whom he appointed his commissioner to the provisional government.

On the same day, the 5th of April, Napoleon inspected his troops in the Palace-yard of Fontainebleau. He observed some coolness among his officers, and even among the private soldiers who had evinced such enthusiasm when he inspected them on the 2d of April. He was so much affected by this change of conduct that he remained but a short time on the parade, and afterwards retired to his apartments.

At near one o'clock on the morning of the 6th of April, Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt, arrived at Fontainebleau to acquaint the emperor with the issue of their mission, and the sentiments expressed by Alexander when they took leave of him.

Marshal Ney was the first to announce to Napoleon that the allies required his complete and unconditional abdication, unaccompanied by any stipulation, except that of his personal safety, which should be guaranteed. Marshal Macdonald and the Duke de Vicenza then spoke to the same effect, but in more gentle terms than those employed by Ney, who was but little versed in the courtesies of speech. When Marshal Macdonald had finished speaking, Napoleon said with some emotion, "Marshal, I am sensible of all that you have done for me, and of the warmth with which you have pleaded the cause of my son. They wish for my complete and unconditional abdication ..... Very well ..... I again empower you to act on my behalf. You shall go and defend my interests and those of my family." Then, after a moment's pause, he added, still addressing Macdonald, "Marshal, where shall I go?" Macdonald then informed the emperor what Alexander had mentioned in the hypothesis of his wishing to reside in Russia. "Sire," added he, "the Emperor of Russia told me that he destined for you the island of Elba, or something else."—"Or something else!" repeated Napoleon hastily ..... "and what is that something else?"—"Sire, I know not."—"Ah! it is doubtless the island of Corsica, and he refrained from mentioning it to avoid embarrassment. Marshal, I refer all to you."

The marshals returned to Paris as soon as Napoleon furnished them with new powers; Caulaincourt remained at Fontainebleau. On arriving in Paris, Marshal Ney sent in his adhesion to the provisional government, so that when Macdonald returned to Fontainebleau to convey to Napoleon the definitive treaty of the allies, Ney did not accompany him, and the emperor expressed surprise and dissatisfaction at his absence. Ney, as all his friends concurred in admitting, expended his whole energy in battle, and often wanted resolution when out of the field; consequently, I was not surprised to find that he joined us before some other of his comrades. As to Macdonald, he was one of those generous spirits who may be most confidently relied on by those who have wronged them. Napoleon experienced the truth of this. Macdonald returned alone to Fontainebleau, and when he entered the emperor's chamber, he found him seated in a small arm-chair before the fireplace. He was dressed in a morning-gown of white dimity, and he wore his slippers without stockings. His elbows rested on his knees and his head was supported by his hands. He was motionless and seemed absorbed in profound reflection. Only two persons were in the apartment, the Duke de Bassano, who was at a little distance from the emperor, and Caulaincourt, who was near the fireplace. So profound was Napoleon's revery that he did not hear Macdonald enter, and the Duke de Vicenza was obliged to inform him of the marshal's presence.—"Sire," said Caulaincourt, "the Duke de Tarento has brought for your signature the treaty which is to be ratified

to-morrow."* The emperor then, as if roused from a lethargic slumber, turned to Macdonald, and merely said, "Ah, Marshal! so you are here!" Napoleon's countenance was so altered that the marshal, struck with the change, said as if it were involuntarily, "Is your Majesty indisposed?"—"Yes," answered Napoleon, "I have passed a very bad night."†

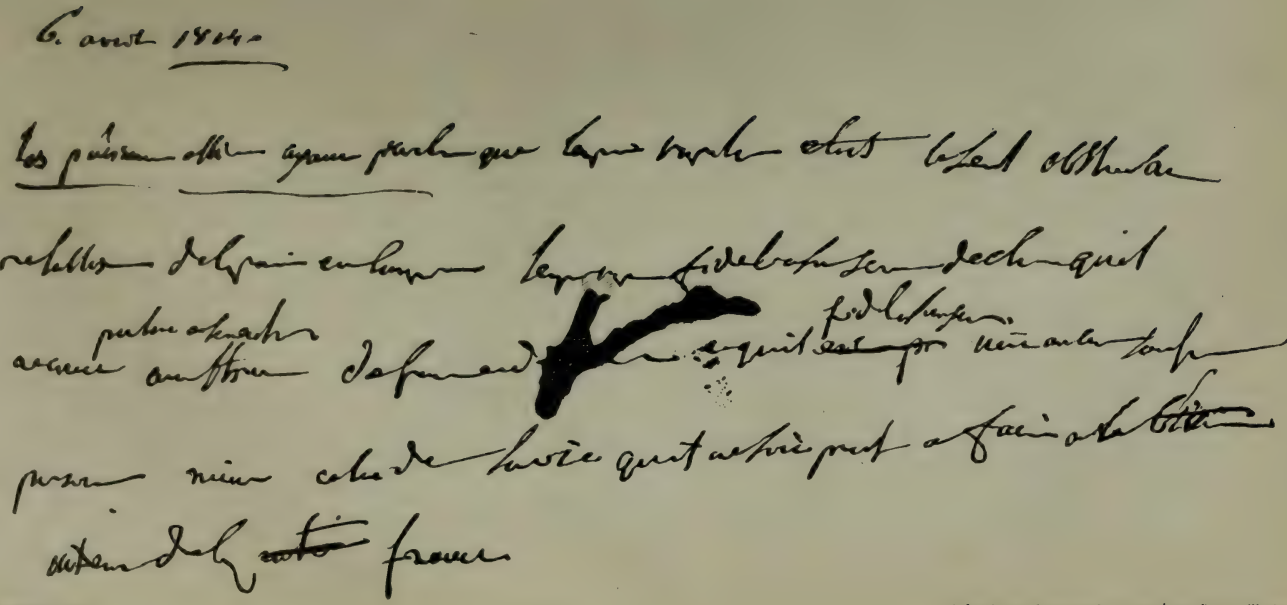
The emperor continued seated for a moment; then rising, he took the treaty, read it without making any observation, signed it, and returned it to the marshal, saying, "I am not now rich enough to reward these last services."—"Sire, interest never guided my conduct."—"I know that, and I now see how I have been deceived respecting you. I also see the designs of those who prejudiced me against you."—"Sire, I have already told you since 1809, I am devoted to you in life and death."—"I know it. But since I cannot reward you as I would wish, let a token of remembrance, inconsiderable though it be, assure you that I shall ever bear in mind the services you have rendered me." Then turning to Caulaincourt, Napoleon said, "Vicenza, ask for the sabre which was given me by Murad Bey, in Egypt, and which I wore at the battle of Mount Thabor." Constant having brought the sabre, the emperor took it from the hands of Caulaincourt and presented it to the marshal: "Here, my faithful friend," said he, "is a reward which I believe will gratify you." Macdonald on receiving the sabre said, "If ever I have a son, sire, this will be his most precious inheritance. I will never part with it as long as I live."—"Give me your hand," said the emperor, "and embrace me." At these words Napoleon and Macdonald affectionately rushed into each other's arms, and parted with tears in their eyes. Such was the last interview between Macdonald and Napoleon. I had the above particulars from the marshal himself in 1814, a few days after he returned to Paris with the treaty ratified by Napoleon.

* A translation of this treaty will be found at the end of the present chapter.—*Editor.*

† It has been alleged that on the night preceding Macdonald's return to Fontainebleau, Napoleon made an attempt to poison himself. But as I have no certain knowledge respecting this affair, I shall not, as some persons have done, hazard conjectures on the subject. The circumstance was decidedly contradicted by Napoleon in his conversation at Saint Helena. The only person who can remove the doubts which exist on the subject is Constant, who, I have been informed, never left Napoleon the whole night.

[Constant, in his "Memoirs," confirms the report of Napoleon having taken poison at Fontainebleau. He states that on the night of the 11th of April he was suddenly called up on account of the emperor's indisposition. On entering Napoleon's chamber, he perceived in the fireplace a small leathern bag tied by a black ribbon, which he knew had contained opium, and which Napoleon had worn round his neck in all his campaigns, since the commencement of the Spanish war. Caulaincourt and Yvan were immediately sent for. The dose was not sufficiently potent to produce death, and Napoleon recovered before morning.—We must confess, however, that we have still some doubts as to the authenticity of this story.—*Editor.*]

Fac Simile of the abdication of Napoleon in 1814.



6. Avril 1814.

Calqué sur l'original et gravé par Pierre Tardieu

Les puissances alliées ayant proclamé que l'empereur Napoleon etait le seul obstacle au retablissement de la paix en Europe, l'empereur, fidèle à son serment, declare qu'il renonce pour lui et ses enfans, aux trônes de France et d'Italie, et qu'il n'est aucun sacrifice, même celui de la vie, qu'il ne soit prêt à faire aux intérêts de la France.

Blackie & Son. Glasgow. Edinburgh & London.

After the clauses of the treaty had been guaranteed, Napoleon signed on the 11th of April, at Fontainebleau, his act of abdication, which was in the following terms: "The allied powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy, and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interests of France."

It was not until after Bonaparte had written and signed the above act that Marshal Macdonald sent to the provisional government his recognition, expressed in the following dignified and simple manner: "Being released from my oaths by the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon, I declare that I adhere to the acts of the senate and the provisional government." It is worthy of remark, that Napoleon's act of abdication was published in the Moniteur on the 12th of April, the very day on which the Count d'Artois made his entry into Paris, with the title of Lieutenant-general of the Kingdom, conferred on him by Louis XVIII. The 12th of April was also the day on which the imperial army fought its last battle before Toulouse, when the French troops, commanded by Soult, made Wellington purchase dearly his entrance into the south of France.

Political revolutions are generally stormy; yet, during the great change of 1814, Paris was perfectly tranquil, thanks to the excellent discipline maintained by the commanders of the allied armies; and thanks also to the services of the national guard of Paris who every night patrolled the streets. My duties as director-general of the post-office, had of course obliged me to resign my captain's epaulette.

When I first obtained my appointment I had been somewhat alarmed to hear that all the roads were covered with foreign troops, especially Cossacks, who even in time of peace are very ready to capture any horses that may fall in their way. On my application to the Emperor Alexander, his majesty immediately issued a ukase, severely prohibiting the seizure of horses, or any thing belonging to the post-office department. The ukase was printed by order of the emperor, and fixed up at all the post-offices, and it will be seen, that after the 20th of March, when I was placed in an embarrassing situation, one of the postmasters on the Lille road expressed to me his gratitude for my conduct while I was in the service.

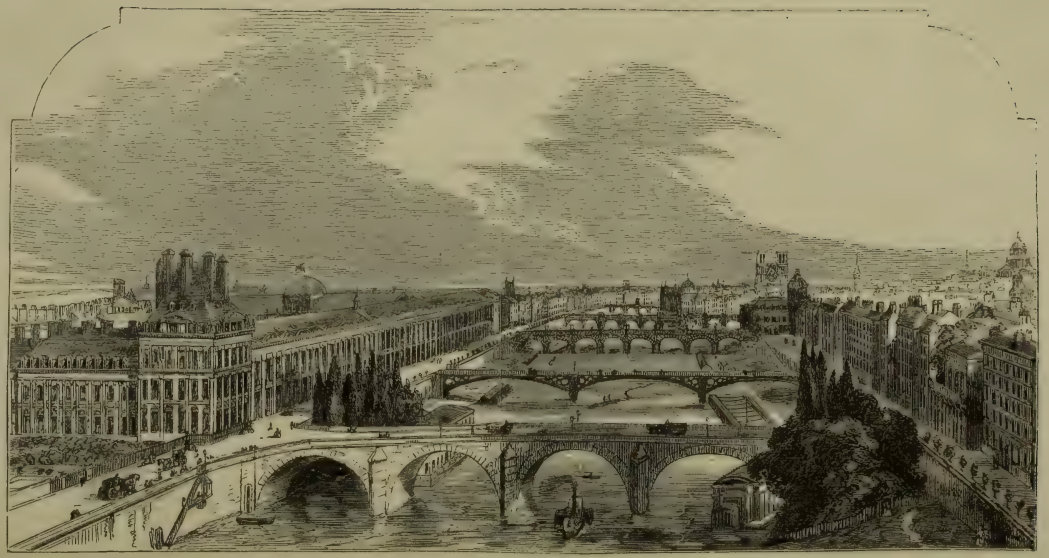
On the 10th of April, a ceremony took place in Paris, which has been much spoken of, and which must have had a very imposing effect on those who allow themselves to be dazzled by mere spectacle. Early in the morning some regiments of the allied troops occupied the north side of the Boulevards, from the site of the old Bastile to the Place Louis XV., in the middle of which a square monument was erected. Thither the allied sove-

reigns came to witness the celebration of mass, according to the rites of the Greek church. I went to a window of the hotel of the minister of marine to see the ceremony. After I had waited from eight in the morning till near twelve, the pageant commenced by the arrival of half a dozen Greek priests, with long beards, and as richly dressed as the high priests who figure in the processions of the opera. About three-quarters of an hour after this first scene, the infantry, followed by the cavalry, entered the place, which, in a few moments was entirely covered with military. The allied sovereigns at length appeared, attended by brilliant staffs. They alighted from their horses, and advanced to the altar. What appeared to me most remarkable, was the profound silence of the vast multitude during the performance of the mass. The whole spectacle had the effect of a finely-painted panorama. For my own part, I must confess I was heartily tired of the ceremony, and was very glad when it was over. I could not admire the foreign uniforms, which were very inferior to ours. Many of them appeared fanciful, and even grotesque: and nothing can be more unsoldier-like than to see a man laced in stays till his figure resembles a wasp.* The ceremony which took place two days after, though less pompous, was much more French. In the retinue which, on the 12th of April, momentarily increased round the Count d'Artois, there were at least recollections for the old, and hopes for every one.

When, on the departure of the commissioners whom Napoleon had sent to Alexander to treat for the regency, it was finally determined that the allied sovereigns would listen to no proposition from Napoleon and his family, the provisional government thought it time to request that Monsieur would, by his presence, give a new impulse to the partisans of the Bourbons. The Abbé de Montesquieu wrote to the prince a letter, which was carried to him by Viscount Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld, one of the individuals who, in these difficult circumstances, most zealously served the cause of the Bourbons. On the afternoon of the 11th, Monsieur arrived at a country-house belonging to Madame Charles de Damas, where he passed the night. The news of his arrival spread through Paris with the rapidity of lightning, and every one wished to solemnize his entrance into the capital. The national guard formed a double line from the barrier of Bondy to Notre Dame, whither the prince was first to proceed, in observance of an old custom, which, however, had become very rare in France during the last twenty years.

M. de Talleyrand, accompanied by the members of the provisional government, several marshals and general officers, and the municipal body, headed by the prefect of the Seine, went in

* This account of the appearance of the allied troops is somewhat tinged with French prejudice. We append an English description to the present chapter.—*Editor.*



PARIS,

From near the Pont Royal, looking up the Seine.

On the left are the Tuileries and the Louvre; in the centre distance the Ile de la Cite, and the Cathedral of Nôtre-Dame; in the distance to the right is the tower of the Pantheon, or St. Geneviève; the bridges in receding order are Pont Royal, Pont des Saints Pères, Pont des Arts, at the end of which is seen the Palais des Beaux Arts; Pont Neuf, and Pont au Change.

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procession beyond the barrier to receive Monsieur. M. de Talleyrand, in the name of the provisional government, addressed the prince, who, in reply, made that observation which has been so often repeated, "Nothing is changed in France: there is only one Frenchman more." This remark promised much. The Count d'Artois next proceeded on horseback to the barrier Saint Martin. I mingled in the crowd to see the procession, and to observe the sentiments of the spectators. Near me stood an old knight of Saint Louis, who had resumed the insignia of the order, and who wept for joy at again seeing one of the Bourbons. The procession soon arrived, preceded by a band playing the air, "Vive Henri Quatre!" I had never before seen Monsieur, and his appearance had a most pleasing effect upon me. His open countenance bore the expression of that confidence which his presence inspired in all who saw him. His staff was very brilliant, considering it was got together without preparation. The prince wore the uniform of the national guard, with the insignia of the order of the Holy Ghost. I must candidly state, that where I saw Monsieur pass, enthusiasm was chiefly confined to his own retinue, and to persons who appeared to belong to a superior class of society. The lower order of people seemed to be animated by curiosity and astonishment, rather than any other feeling. I must add, that it was not without painful surprise I saw a squadron of Cossacks close the procession; and my surprise was the greater, when I learned from General Sacken that the Emperor Alexander had wished that on that day the *one Frenchman more* should be surrounded only by Frenchmen; and that to prove that the presence of the Bourbons was the signal of reconciliation, his majesty had ordered twenty thousand of the allied troops to quit Paris. I know not to what the presence of the Cossacks is to be attributed, but it was an awkward circumstance at the time, and one which malevolence did not fail to seize upon.

Two days only intervened between Monsieur's entrance into Paris and the arrival of the Emperor of Austria. That monarch was not popular among the Parisians. The line of conduct he had adopted was almost generally condemned; for, even among those who had most ardently wished for the dethronement of his daughter, through their aversion to the Bonaparte family, there were many who blamed the emperor of Austria's behaviour to Maria Louisa: they would have wished, that for the honour of Francis II., he had unsuccessfully opposed the downfal of the dynasty, whose alliance he considered as a safeguard in 1809. This was the opinion which the mass of the people instinctively formed; for they judged of the Emperor of Austria in his character of a father, and not in his character of a monarch; and as the rights of misfortune are always sacred in France, more interest was felt for Maria Louisa, when she was known to be

forsaken, than when she was in the height of her splendour. Francis II. had not seen his daughter since the day when she left Vienna to unite her destiny with that of the master of half of Europe; and I have already stated how he received the mission with which Maria Louisa intrusted the Duke de Cadore.

I was then too intent on what was passing in Paris and at Fontainebleau, to observe with equal interest all the circumstances connected with the fate of Maria Louisa; but I will present to the reader all the information I was able to collect respecting that princess during the period immediately preceding her departure from France. She constantly assured the persons about her that she could rely on her father. The following words, which were faithfully reported to me, were addressed by her to an officer who was at Blois during the mission of M. de Champagny: "Even though it should be the intention of the allied sovereigns to dethrone the Emperor Napoleon, my father will not suffer it. When he placed me on the throne of France, he repeated to me twenty times his determination to uphold me on it; and my father is a good man." I also know that the empress, both at Blois and at Orleans, expressed her regret at not having followed the advice of the members of the regency, who wished her to stay in Paris.

On leaving Orleans, Maria Louisa proceeded to Rambouillet; and it was not one of the least extraordinary circumstances of that eventful period to see the sovereigns of Europe, the dethroned sovereigns of France, and those who had come to resume the sceptre, all crowded together within a circle of fifteen leagues round the capital. There was a Bourbon at the Tuileries, Bonaparte at Fontainebleau, his wife and son at Rambouillet, the repudiated empress three leagues distant, and the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, in Paris.

When all her hopes had vanished, Maria Louisa left Rambouillet to return to Austria with her son. She did not obtain permission to see Napoleon before her departure, though she had frequently expressed a wish to that effect. Napoleon himself was aware of the embarrassment which might have attended such a farewell, or, otherwise, he would no doubt have made a parting interview with Maria Louisa one of the clauses of the treaty of Paris and Fontainebleau, and of his definitive act of abdication. I was informed at the time, that the reason which prevented Maria Louisa's wish from being acceded to was the fear that, by one of those sudden impulses common to women, she might have determined to unite herself to Napoleon's fallen fortune, and accompany him to Elba; but the Emperor of Austria wished to have his daughter back again.

Things had arrived at this point, and there was no possibility of retracting from any of the decisions which had been formed, when the Emperor of Austria went to see his daughter at Rambouillet. I recollect it was thought extraordinary at the time, that the Emperor Alexander should accompany him on this visit; and, indeed, the sight of the sovereign, who was regarded as the head and arbiter of the coalition, could not be agreeable to the dethroned empress. The two emperors set off from Paris shortly after each other. The Emperor of Austria arrived first at Rambouillet, where he was received with respect and affection by his daughter. Maria Louisa was happy to see him, but the many tears she shed were not all tears of joy. After the first effusion of filial affection, she complained of the situation to which she was reduced. Her father sympathized with her, but could offer her no consolation, since her misfortunes were irreparable. Alexander was expected to arrive immediately, and the Emperor of Austria, therefore, informed his daughter that the Russian monarch wished to see her. At first Maria Louisa decidedly refused to receive him, and she persisted for some time in this resolution. She said to her father, "Would he make me a prisoner before your eyes? If he enters here by force, I will retire to my chamber. There, I presume, he will not dare to follow me while you are here." But there was no time to be lost, Francis II. heard the equipage of the Emperor of Russia rolling through the court-yard of Rambouillet, and his entreaties to his daughter became more and more urgent. At length she yielded, and the Emperor of Austria went himself to meet his ally, and conduct him to the saloon where Maria Louisa remained, in deference to her father. She did not, however, carry her deference so far as to give a favourable reception to him whom she regarded as the author of all her misfortunes. She listened with considerable coldness to the offers and protestations of Alexander, and merely replied, that all she wished for was the liberty of returning to her family.* A few days after this painful interview, Maria Louisa and her son set off for Vienna.

* A few days after this visit, Alexander paid his respects to Bonaparte's other wife, Josephine. See Addenda to this chapter.—*Editor.*

The Treaty of Paris, concluded between the Allies and Napoleon, on April the 11*th*, 1814.

Art. 1. His majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for every member of his family, all right of sovereignty and dominion in the French empire, the kingdom of Italy, or in any other country whatsoever.

Art. 2. Their majesties the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Maria Louisa preserve these titles and qualities during their lifetime; the mother, the brothers, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the emperor, are equally, and in all places, to retain the title of princes of his family.

Art. 3. The island of Elba, adopted by the Emperor Napoleon for the place of his residence, will form, during his lifetime, a separate principality, to be possessed by him in full sovereignty and property. In addition, there will be given to the Emperor Napoleon, in full property, an annual revenue of two millions of francs,* in rents on the grand livre of France, of which one million will be reversible to the empress.

Art. 4. All the powers engage to employ their good offices in order to cause the flag and the territory of the island of Elba to be respected by the Barbary states, and to assimilate its relations with the Barbary states to those enjoyed by France.

Art. 5. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, will be given in full sovereignty to her majesty the Empress Maria Louisa; they will pass to her son and to his descendants in the direct line. The prince, her son, will assume, from this moment, the name of Prince of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla.

Art. 6. There will be reserved, in the countries which the Emperor Napoleon now renounces, for himself and his family, domains and estates, or rents will be given on the grand livre of France, amounting to an annual net revenue of 2,500,000 francs, without deduction of any charges or expenses whatsoever. These domains or rents will belong in full property, and to be disposed of as they think fit, to the princes and princesses of his family, and will be divided among them in such a manner that the annual revenue of each shall be in the proportion following; viz.:

300,000 francs to Madame Mère;
500,000 francs to King Joseph and his queen;
200,000 francs to King Louis;
400,000 francs to his Queen Hortense and her son;
500,000 francs to King Jerome and his queen;
300,000 francs to the Princess Eliza;
300,000 francs to the Princess Pauline.

* The reader will remember that Bonaparte offered the pope a pension of two millions of francs, being the precise sum he himself was thus obliged to accept!

The princes and princesses of the emperor's family will, moreover, preserve all the goods, moveable or immoveable, and of whatsoever nature they may be, that they possess as private persons, and especially the rents they enjoy on the grand livre of France, or the Mont Napoleon at Milan.

Art. 7. The annual allowance to the Empress Josephine will be reduced to one million, in domains, or in inscriptions on the grand livre of France. She will continue to enjoy, in full property, all her goods, moveable or immoveable, that belong to her as a private person.

Art. 8. To the Prince Eugène, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment will be given out of France.

Art. 9. The property which his majesty the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, whether in extraordinary domains or private estates, will remain to the French crown. Upon the funds placed by the Emperor Napoleon on the grand livre, in the bank of France, in the woods and forests, or in any other manner employed in France, and all which his majesty now surrenders to the crown, there will be reserved a capital, not exceeding two millions, to be employed in gratifications in favour of persons who shall be inscribed on a list which the Emperor Napoleon will sign, and which will be remitted to the French government.

Art. 10. All the diamonds of the crown will remain with France.

Art. 11. The Emperor Napoleon will pay into the treasury, or the other public chests, all the sums and effects that have been displaced by his orders, always excepting the civil list.

Art. 12. The household debts of his majesty the Emperor Napoleon, such as they may be at the time of the signing this treaty, will be immediately discharged out of the arrears due by the public treasury to the civil list, according to the statements which shall be drawn out and signed by a commissary appointed to that effect.

Art. 13. The obligations of the Mont Napoleon of Milan towards all its creditors, whether French or foreigners, will be exactly fulfilled, without there being any change in this respect.

Art. 14. Passports will be given, and all the safeconducts necessary, for the free journey of his majesty the emperor, the empress, the princes and princesses, and all persons of their suites that may wish to accompany them, or establish themselves out of France, as well as for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects, that belong to them. The allied powers, in consequence, will give escorts of officers and men.

Art. 15. The imperial French guard will furnish a detachment of from twelve to fifteen hundred men of all arms, to serve as an escort as far as Saint Tropez, the place of embarkation.

Art. 16. There will be furnished an armed corvette, and other vessels necessary to carry the Emperor Napoleon and his retinue to Elba. The corvette is to remain as his majesty's own property.

Art. 17. His majesty the Emperor Napoleon will conduct with him, and afterwards keep with him as his guard, four hundred men, including officers and non-commissioned officers, who shall all engage voluntarily.

Art. 18. All Frenchmen who shall follow the Emperor Napoleon or

his family will be bound, unless they choose to forfeit their citizenship as Frenchmen, to return to France within the term of three years, always excepting those among them who may be comprised in employments which the French government reserves to itself the right of giving after the expiration of that term.

Art. 19. The Polish troops, of all arms, now in the service of France, will have liberty to return to their homes, preserving their arms and baggage as a testimonial of their honourable services: the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, will keep their military orders, and the pensions attached to their orders.

Art. 20. The high allied powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty. They also engage to obtain the adoption of the articles, and the guarantee of the treaty from France.

Art. 21. The present treaty shall be ratified.—*Editor.*

AN ENGLISH ACCOUNT OF THE APPEARANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES IN FRANCE IN 1814.

"It would be wrong in me, however, to overlook, without comment, the two great military reviews and manœuvres that took place in France previous to the allied troops withdrawing from their cantonments within that country; namely, those of all the Russian forces at Vertu, and subsequently of the Austrians at Dijon.

"The concentration of two such immense masses of foreign force in two very small *champs de parade*, in the midst of the French empire, will, it is hoped, remain a useful memento of the vicissitudes of war to French vanity, and a glorious record of European valour.

"It was either on the 9th or 10th of September, 1814, that I left Paris, to witness the great review of the Russian army, for which preparations had been making for nearly a month before. The number of the forces collected was so considerable, that it was not easy to bring them into a space sufficiently small for the parade movements of review; but it was at length effected; and they mustered, when we saw them, 28,000 cavalry, 132,000 infantry, and 540 pieces of cannon. This was made known from field returns, which were given to the sovereigns who were present.

"I was accompanied by my aides-de-camp, Sir Henry Brown, Colonel Harris, Captain Charles Wood; and I ought here to particularize especially the services of Mr. John Bidwell, of the foreign office, who was also with me. This gentleman had been attached to all my fortunes since the moment of my landing in the north of Germany. His constant and unremitting labour in carrying forward the various and voluminous correspondence with the foreign and war departments, I never can too highly appreciate; and it is always the most grateful task for my mind to acknowledge the merit, and to state what I feel I owe to the exertions and zeal of others. Sir Henry Hardinge also was of my party, having made his expedition *en*

couriers to Vertu in a manner that showed his active and tried zeal in the great cause of gallantry, and his devotion to the service.

"The day was exceedingly sultry, but tolerably clear; and the spot where the head-quarters first assembled to have a sort of bird's-eye view of the whole, was a small hill in the centre of a large plain, near the village of Vertu, a short distance from Chalons. Several English ladies, together with all the princesses, duchesses, and first persons of Paris, were assembled (having been invited), and made parties to proceed from the capital to witness the magnificent spectacle. Amongst our own countrywomen, were Ladies Castlereagh, Combermere, Grantham, Mrs. Arbuthnot, Miss Fitzclarence, and others, whose names it would be tedious to enumerate, who graced this most brilliant and unparalleled sight.

"In going through the field, several of the ladies rode in company with the gallant chiefs; and English beauty was signalized by the Emperor of Russia's presenting a beautiful black charger to one of our fair countrywomen, to carry her through the ceremonies of the day; but I never rightly understood the feeling that recalled this war-horse back to the imperial stables on the following morning. A flag-staff had been placed on the top of the hill, having an ensign ready to be hoisted on the arrival of the sovereigns at the spot. We were on horseback about seven o'clock; and at eight the King of Prussia, attended by the commanders-in-chief of the allied armies, the ambassadors of nearly all the powers of Europe, and many of their prime ministers, with several of the French marshals and an immense staff of aides-de-camp, &c., began to ascend the height.

"On the arrival of the sovereigns at the spot fixed upon for them the ensign was unfurled, a salvo of guns announced their presence, and the whole Russian army then assembled was seen drawn up in three lines, extending as far as the eye could reach. The sun glittered on their arms, and on the drawn sabres of the cavalry, to a distance that appeared almost imaginary. The eye had scarcely time to comprehend so vast a spectacle, when a gun fired from the troops. Even at this distant day those hurrahs sound freshly in my ears; a second gun gave the time for a general salute. The cannon and musketry began at once, and the fire ran along the three extended lines, showing more distinctly than any thing else could have done the vast space they occupied, by the distant flashes and retiring sound of the musketry. I forget exactly how long a time was necessary for three rounds from these saluting tens of thousands.

"We rode down the hill, and the Russians broke from their lines into grand columns of regiments; no one but a soldier can conceive the beauty of this great simultaneous change. A spot was then fixed upon for these masses to march by the sovereigns; and the Emperor of Russia putting himself at the head of the leading regiments, thus formed in columns, marched past, and saluted the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia; then placing himself by their side to see the rest of the army go by. The whole of the day was only sufficient to give time for a re-formation into line, and an opening of ranks, along which the cavalcade of monarchs and their immense suite rode.

"The Emperor of Russia appeared greatly occupied with the Duke of Wellington (who was at this period our ambassador at Paris), as

if anxious for his opinion of what was passing before them; and his whole attention was given to him when not taken up with his fair companions, who rode on both his flanks. Thus closed the first day, never to be forgotten by those who witnessed the grand military display it presented. Great dinners at different bivouacs were given on the ground; and my party of ladies and friends will make me long remember the day.

"The Duke of Wellington, Sir Lowry Cole, and various military friends, met together in the evening at my quarters, full of admiration of the movements they had seen; and I well remember the Duke of Wellington saying to me, 'Well, Charles, you and I never saw such a sight before, and never shall again: the precision of the movements of those troops was more like the arrangements of a theatre than those of such an army.—I never saw any thing like it.'

"Much, however, as the duke was struck with the extraordinary perfection of the Russian formations, he was by no means satisfied with their slowness; and I remember a remark from him, that his little army would move round them in any direction whilst they were effecting a single change; an opinion which all who heard it re-echoed."*

DEATH OF JOSEPHINE.

In this great breaking up of empires and kingdoms, the unfortunate Josephine, who had been suffering agonies on account of the husband who had abandoned her, was not forgotten. One of the first things the Emperor of Russia did on arriving at Paris was to despatch a guard for the protection of her beautiful little palace at Malmaison. The allied sovereigns treated her with delicacy and tender consideration.

"As soon as the Emperor Alexander knew that the Empress Josephine had arrived at Malmaison, he hastened to pay her a visit. It is not possible to be more amiable than he was to her. When in the course of conversation he spoke of the occupation of Paris by the allies, and of the position of the Emperor Napoleon, it was always in perfectly measured language: he never forgot, for a single instant, that he was speaking before one who had been the wife of his vanquished enemy. On her side the empress did not conceal the tender sentiments, the lively affection she still entertained for Napoleon. * * * * Alexander had certainly something elevated and magnanimous in his character, which would not permit him to say a single word capable of insulting misfortune; the empress had only one prayer to make to him, and that was for her children."

This visit was soon followed by those of the other allied princes.

* From Lord Londonderry's Narrative.

"The King of Prussia, and the princes, his sons, came rather frequently to pay their court to Josephine; they even dined with her several times at Malmaison; but the Emperor Alexander came much more frequently. The Queen Hortense was always with her mother when she received the sovereigns, and assisted her in doing the honours of the house. The illustrious strangers exceedingly admired Malmaison, which seemed to them a charming residence. They were particularly struck with its fine gardens and conservatories." *

From this moment, however, poor Josephine's health rapidly declined, and she did not live to see Napoleon's return from Elba. She often said to her attendant, "I do not know what is the matter with me, but at times I have fits of melancholy enough to kill me." But on the very brink of the grave she retained all her amiability, all her love of dress, and the graces and resources of a drawing-room society. The immediate cause of her death was a bad cold she caught in taking a drive in the park of Malmaison on a damp, cold day. She expired on the noon of Sunday, the 26th of May, in the fifty-third year of her age. Her body was embalmed, and on the sixth day after her death, deposited in a vault in the church of Ruel, close to Malmaison. The funeral ceremonies were magnificent, but a better tribute to the memory of Josephine was to be found in the tears with which her children, her servants, the neighbouring poor, and all that knew her, followed her to the grave. In 1826 a beautiful monument was erected over her remains by Eugène Beauharnais and his wife, with this simple inscription:

TO JOSEPHINE.

EUGENE. HORTENSE.

Editor.

* Memoirs of Mademoiselle d'Avrillion.

CHAPTER XXXII.

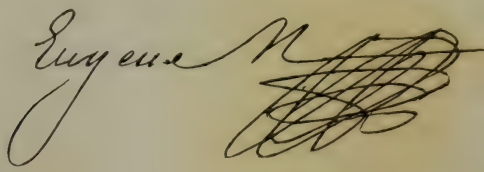
1814.

Italy and Eugène—Siege of Dantzic—Capitulation concluded but not ratified—Rapp made prisoner and sent to Kiow—Davoust's refusal to believe the intelligence from Paris—Projected assassination of one of the French princes—Departure of Davoust and General Hogendorff from Hamburg—The affair of Maubreuil—Arrival of the commissioners of the allied powers at Fontainebleau — Preference shown by Napoleon to Colonel Campbell — Bonaparte's address to General Kohler—His farewell to his troops—First day of Napoleon's journey — The imperial guard succeeded by the Cossacks — Rencounter with Augereau — The first white cockades — Napoleon hanged in effigy at Orgon—His escape in the disguise of a courier—Scene in the inn of La Calade—Arrival at Aix—The Princess Pauline—Napoleon embarks for Elba.

I MUST now direct the attention of the reader to Italy, which was the cradle of Napoleon's glory, and towards which he transported himself in imagination from the palace of Fontainebleau. Eugène had succeeded in keeping up his means of defence until April; but, on the 7th of that month, being positively informed of the overwhelming reverses of France, he found himself constrained to accede to the propositions of the Marshal de Bellegarde, to treat for the evacuation of Italy; and on the 10th a convention was concluded, in which it was stipulated that the French troops, under the command of Eugène, should return within the limits of old France. The clauses of this convention were executed on the 19th of April.* In his farewell address to the French soldiers, Eugène said, "Long misfortunes have oppressed our country. France, seeking a remedy for her disasters, has taken refuge behind her old Egis. The recollection of all her sufferings is effaced by the hope of the repose necessary after so much agitation. You are now about to return to your homes, and it would have been gratifying to me

* Lord William Bentinck and Sir Edward Pellew had taken Genoa on the 18th of April. Murat was in the field with the Austrians against the French.—*Editor.*

EUGÈNE BEAUHARNAIS.



to accompany you thither; but I separate from you to fulfil duties which I owe to the Italian people."

Eugène, thinking that the senate of Milan was favourably disposed towards him, solicited that body to use its influence in obtaining the consent of the allied powers to his continuance at the head of the government of Italy;* but this proposition was rejected by the senate. A feeling of irritation pervaded the public mind in Italy; and the army had not proceeded three marches beyond Mantua, when an insurrection broke out in Milan. The finance minister, Prina, was assassinated, and his residence demolished: and nothing would have saved the viceroy from a similar fate, had he been in his capital. Amidst this popular excitement, and the eagerness of the Italians to be released from the dominion of the French, the friends of Eugène thought him fortunate in being able to join his father-in-law at Munich, almost incognito.† Thus, at the expiration of nine years, fell the iron crown which Napoleon had placed on his head, saying, "*Dieu me l'a donné; gare à qui la touche.*"

I will now take a glance at the affairs of Germany. Rapp was not in France at the period of the fall of the empire. He had, with extraordinary courage and skill, defended himself against a year's siege at Dantzic. At length, being reduced to the last extremity, and constrained to surrender, he opened the gates of the city, which presented nothing but heaps of ruins. Rapp had stipulated that the garrison of Dantzic should return to France, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, who commanded the siege, had consented to that condition; but the Emperor of Russia having refused to ratify it, and Rapp having no means of defence, was made prisoner with his troops, and conducted to Kiow whence he afterwards returned to Paris, where I saw him.

Hamburg still held out; but, at the beginning of April, intelligence was received there of the extraordinary events which had delivered Europe from her oppressor. Davoust refused to believe this news, which at once annihilated all his hopes of power and greatness. This blindness was persisted in for some time at Hamburg. Several hawkers, who were marked out by

* The following is a curious circumstance relative to the senate of Milan. In the height of our disasters, that body sent a deputation to congratulate *Napoleon the Great* on the prospect of his triumphing over all his enemies. The deputation on its way received intelligence of the siege of Paris, and had just time to get back to Milan to be appointed to congratulate the allies on the *downfal of the tyrant.*

† Some time after, Eugène visited France, and had a long audience of Louis XVIII. He announced himself to that monarch by his father's title of Marquis de Beauharnais. The king immediately saluted him by the title of Monsieur le Maréchal, and proposed that he should reside in France with that rank. But this invitation Eugène declined, because, as a French prince under the fallen government, he had commanded the marshals; and he therefore could not submit to be the last in rank among those illustrious military chiefs.

the police as having been the circulators of Paris news, were shot. An agent of the government publicly announced his design of assassinating one of the French princes, in whose service he was said to have been as a page. He said he would go to his royal highness, and solicit to be appointed one of his aides-de-camp; and, that if the application were refused, as it probably would be, the refusal would only confirm him in his purpose.

At length, when the state of things was beyond the possibility of doubt, Davoust assembled the troops, acquainted them with the dethronement of the emperor, hoisted the white flag, and sent his adhesion to the provisional government. All then thought of their personal safety, without losing sight of their honestly-acquired wealth. Diamonds, and other objects of value and small bulk, were hastily collected and packed up. The governor of Hamburg, Count Hogendorff, who, in spite of some signal instances of opposition, had too often co-operated in severe and vexatious measures, was the first to quit the city. He was, indeed, hurried off by Davoust, because he had mounted the orange cockade, and wished to take his Dutch troops away with him. After consigning the command to General Gerard, Davoust quitted Hamburg, and arrived at Paris on the 18th of June.

I have left Napoleon at Fontainebleau. The period of his departure for Elba was near at hand: it was fixed for the 17th of April. On that day Maubreuil, a man who has become unfortunately celebrated, presented himself at the post-office, and asked to speak with me. He showed me some written orders, signed by General Sacken, the commander of the Russian troops in Paris, and by Baron Brockenhausen, chief of the staff. These orders set forth that Maubreuil was intrusted with an important mission, for the execution of which he was authorized to demand the assistance of the Russian troops; and the commanders of those men were enjoined to place at his disposal as many troops as he might apply for. Maubreuil was also the bearer of similar orders from General Dupont, the war minister, and from M. Anglès, the provisional commissary-general of the police, who directed all the other commissaries to obey the orders they might receive from Maubreuil. On seeing these documents, of the authenticity of which there was no doubt, I immediately ordered the different postmasters to provide Maubreuil promptly with any number of horses he might require. Some days after, I was informed that the object of Maubreuil's mission was to assassinate Napoleon. It may readily be imagined what was my astonishment on hearing this, after I had seen the signature of the commander of the Russian forces, and knowing, as I did, the intentions of the Emperor Alexander. The fact is, I did not, and never can believe, that such was the intention of Maubreuil.

This man has been accused of having carried off the jewels of the Queen of Westphalia.

Napoleon having consented to proceed to the island of Elba, conformably with the treaty he had ratified on the 13th, requested to be accompanied to the place of embarkation by a commissioner from each of the allied powers. Count Schouwaloff was appointed by Russia, Colonel Neil. Campbell by England, General Kohler by Austria, and Count Waldburg-Truchess by Prussia. On the 16th, the four commissioners came for the first time to Fontainebleau, where the emperor, who was still attended by Generals Drouot and Bertrand, gave to each a private audience on the following day.

Though Napoleon received with coldness the commissioners whom he had himself solicited, yet that coldness was far from being manifested in an equal degree to all. He who experienced the best reception was Colonel Campbell, apparently because his person exhibited traces of wounds. Napoleon asked him in what battles he had received them, and on what occasions he had been invested with the orders he wore. He next questioned him as to the place of his birth, and Colonel Campbell having answered that he was a Scotchman, Napoleon congratulated him on being the countryman of Ossian, his favourite author, with whose poetry, however, he was only acquainted through the medium of wretched translations.* On this first audience Napoleon said to the colonel, "I have cordially hated the English. I have made war against you by every possible means, but I esteem your nation. I am convinced that there is more generosity in your government than in any other. I should like to be conveyed from Toulon to Elba by an English frigate." †

The Austrian and Russian commissioners were received coolly, but without any marked indications of displeasure. It was not so with the Prussian commissioner, to whom he said drily, "Are there any Prussians in my escort?"—"No, sire."—"Then why do you take the trouble to accompany me?"—"Sire, it is not a trouble, but an honour."—"These are mere words; you have nothing to do here."—"Sire, I could not possibly decline the honourable mission with which the king my master has intrusted me." At these words Napoleon turned his back on Count Truchess.

The commissioners expected that Napoleon would be ready to set out without delay; but they were deceived. He asked for a sight of the itinerary of his route, and wished to make some alterations in it. The commissioners were reluctant to

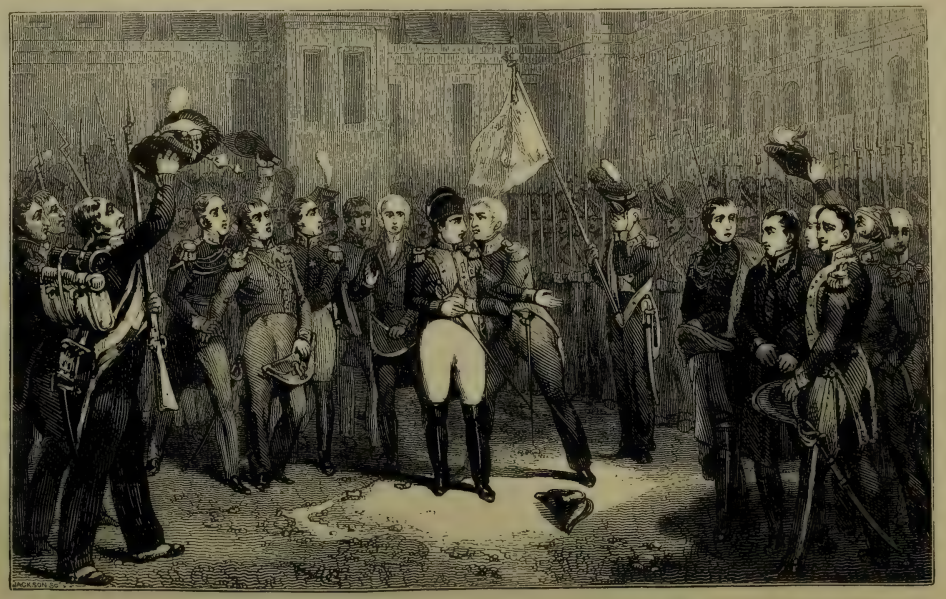
* The French translations of Ossian may be wretched enough, but as an Italian Bonaparte was probably well acquainted with the magnificent version of the Abate Cesarotti.—*Editor.*

† Colonel Campbell wrote to Lord Castlereagh to acquaint him with Napoleon's wish, to which his lordship acceded.

oppose his wish; for they had been instructed to treat him with all the respect and etiquette due to a sovereign. They therefore suspended the departure; and, as they could not take upon themselves to acquiesce in the changes wished for by the emperor, they applied for fresh orders. On the night of the 19th of April they received these orders, authorizing them to travel by any road the emperor might prefer. The departure was then definitively fixed for the 20th.

Accordingly, at ten on the morning of the 20th, the carriages were in readiness, and the imperial guard was drawn up in the grand court of the palace of Fontainebleau, called the Court of the White Horse. All the population of the town and the neighbouring villages thronged round the palace. Napoleon sent for General Kohler, and said to him, "I have reflected on what I ought to do, and I am determined not to depart. The allies are not faithful to their engagements with me. I can, therefore, revoke my abdication, which was only conditional. More than a thousand addresses were delivered to me last night. I am conjured to resume the reins of government. I renounced my rights to the crown only to avert the horrors of a civil war, having never had any other object in view than the glory and happiness of France. But, seeing as I now do, the dissatisfaction inspired by the measures of the new government, I can explain to my guard the reasons which induced me to revoke my abdication. It is true, that the number of the troops on which I can count will scarcely exceed thirty thousand men; but it will be easy for me to increase their numbers to a hundred and thirty thousand. Know, then, that I can also, without injuring my honour, say to my guard, that having nothing but the repose and happiness of the country at heart, I renounce all my rights, and exhort my troops to follow my example, and yield to the wish of the nation." I heard these words reported by General Kohler himself, after his return from his mission. He did not disguise the embarrassment which this unexpected address had occasioned; and I recollect having remarked at the time, that had Bonaparte, at the commencement of the campaign of Paris, renounced his rights, and returned to the rank of citizen, the immense masses of the allies must have yielded to the efforts of France. General Kohler also stated, that Napoleon complained of Maria Louisa not being allowed to accompany him; but at length, yielding to the reasons urged by those about him, he added, "Well, I prefer remaining faithful to my promise; but, if I have any new ground of complaint, I will free myself from all my engagements."

At eleven o'clock Count de Bussy, one of the emperor's aides-de-camp, was sent by the grand marshal to announce that all was ready for departure. "Am I," said Napoleon, "to regulate my actions by the grand marshal's watch? I will go when I please. Perhaps I may not go at all. Leave me."



The departure from Fontainebleau.

Vol. ii. page 373.

All the forms of courtly etiquette which Napoleon loved so much were observed; and when at length he was pleased to leave his cabinet to enter the saloon, where the commissioners were waiting, the doors were thrown open as usual, and the "Emperor" was announced; but no sooner was the word uttered than he turned back again. However, he soon re-appeared, rapidly crossed the gallery, and descended the staircase; and at twelve o'clock precisely he stood at the head of his guard, as if at a review in the court of the Tuileries in the brilliant days of the consulate and the empire. Then took place a really moving scene—Napoleon's farewell to his soldiers. Of this I may abstain from entering into any details,* since they are known every where, and by every body; but I may subjoin the emperor's last address to his old companions in arms, because it belongs to history. This address was pronounced in a voice as firm and sonorous as that in which Bonaparte used to harangue his troops in the days of his triumphs. It was as follows:

"Soldiers of my old guard, I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have constantly accompanied you on the road to honour and glory. In these latter times, as in the days of our prosperity, you have invariably been models of courage and fidelity. With men such as you our cause could not be lost, but the war would have been interminable; it would have been civil war, and that would have entailed deeper misfortunes on France. I have sacrificed all my interests to those of the country. I go; but you, my friends, will continue to serve France. Her happiness was my only thought. It will still be the object of my wishes. Do not regret my fate: if I have consented to survive, it is to serve your glory. I intend to write the history of the great achievements we have performed together. Adieu, my friends. Would I could press you all to my heart!" Napoleon then ordered the eagles to be brought, and having embraced them, he added, "I embrace you all in the person of your general. Adieu, soldiers! Be always gallant and good."

* The mutual attachment that existed between Napoleon and his famed imperial guard, made this parting very painful. Having assembled as many of them as he could, they were drawn out in review order. He rode up to them on horseback, and dismounting in front of their line, he took his last farewell. In doing this he betrayed great emotion; but tears, like rain, poured from the eyes of many of the soldiery who had grown grey under arms. He is reported to have said, "All Europe has armed against me. France herself has deserted me, and chosen other rulers. I might have maintained with you, my brave soldiers a civil war for years, but that would have made France wretched. Be faithful to the new sovereign whom France has chosen. Do not lament my fate; I shall always be happy while I know you are so. I could have died—nothing was easier—but I will always follow the paths of honour. I will record with my pen the deeds we have done together. I cannot embrace you all, but I embrace your general." (He pressed the general to his heart.) "Bring hither the eagle." He kissed the standard, and concluded by saying, "Dear eagle, may the kisses I give you long resound in the hearts of the brave. Adieu, my children! Adieu, my brave companions! Surround me once more. Adieu!"—*Editor.*

Napoleon's parting words to his soldiers were, "Adieu, my friends. My wishes will always accompany you. Do not forget me." He then stepped into his carriage, accompanied by Bertrand.

During the first day, cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" resounded along the road, and Napoleon, resorting to his usual dissimulation, censured the disloyalty of the people to their legitimate sovereign, which he did with ill-disguised irony. The guard accompanied him as far as Briare. At that place Napoleon invited Colonel Campbell to breakfast with him. He conversed on the last war in Spain, and spoke in complimentary terms of the English nation and the military talents of Wellington. Yet by that time he must have heard of the battle of Toulouse.

On the night of the 21st Napoleon slept at Nevers, where he was received by the acclamations of the people, who here, as in several other towns, mingled their cries in favour of their late sovereign, with imprecations against the commissioners of the allies. He left Nevers at six, on the morning of the 22d. Napoleon was now no longer escorted by the guards, who were succeeded by a corps of Cossacks: the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" accordingly ceased, and he had the mortification to hear in its stead, "Vivent les Alliés!" However, I have been informed, that at Lyons, through which the emperor passed on the 23d, at eleven at night, the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" was still echoed among the groups who assembled before the post-office during the change of horses.

Augereau, who was still a republican, though he accepted the title of Duke de Castiglione from Napoleon, had always been among the discontented. On the downfal of the emperor, he was one of that considerable number of persons who turned royalists not out of love for the Bourbons, but out of hatred to Bonaparte. He held a command in the south when he heard of the forfeiture of Napoleon pronounced by the senate, and he was one of the first to send his recognition to the provisional government. Augereau, who, like all uneducated men, went to extremes in every thing, had published under his name a proclamation extravagantly violent, and even insulting to the emperor. Whether Napoleon was aware of this proclamation I cannot pretend to say, but he affected ignorance of the matter if he was informed of it; for on the 24th, having met Augereau at a little distance from Valence, he stopped his carriage, and immediately alighted. Augereau did the same, and they cordially embraced in the presence of the commissioners. It was remarked, that in saluting, Napoleon took off his hat and Augereau kept on his. "Where are you going?" said the emperor; "to court?"—"No; I am going to Lyons."—"You have behaved very badly to me." Augereau, finding that the emperor addressed him in the second person singular, adopted the same familiarity, so they conversed as they were accustomed to do when they were

both generals in Italy. "Of what do you complain?" said he. "Has not your insatiable ambition brought us to this? Have you not sacrificed every thing to that ambition, even the happiness of France? I care no more for the Bourbons than for you. All I care for is the country." Upon this Napoleon turned sharply away from the marshal, lifted his hat to him, and then stepped into his carriage. The commissioners, and all the persons in Napoleon's suite, were indignant at seeing Augereau stand in the road still covered, with his hands behind his back, and instead of bowing, merely making a disdainful salutation to Napoleon with his hand.

At Valence, Napoleon, for the first time, saw French soldiers with the white cockade in their caps. They belonged to Augereau's corps. At Orange the air resounded with cries of "Vive le Roi!" Here the gaiety, real or feigned, which Napoleon had hitherto evinced, began to forsake him.

Had the emperor arrived at Avignon three hours later than he did, there is no doubt that he would have been massacred. He did not change horses at Avignon, through which he passed at five in the morning, but at Saint Andiol, where he arrived at six. The emperor, who was fatigued with sitting in the carriage, alighted with Colonel Campbell and General Bertrand, and walked with them up the first hill. His valet-de-chambre, who was also walking a little distance in advance, met one of the post-office couriers, who said to him, "Those are the emperor's carriages coming this way?"—"No; they are the equipages of the allies."—"I say they are the emperor's carriages. I am an old soldier. I served in the campaign of Egypt, and I will save the life of my general."—"I tell you again they are not the emperor's carriages."—"Do not attempt to deceive me: I have just passed through Orgon, where the emperor has been hanged in effigy. The wretches erected a scaffold, and hanged a figure dressed in a French uniform, covered with blood. Perhaps I may get myself into a scrape by this confidence; but no matter. Do you profit by it." The courier then set off at full gallop. The valet-de-chambre took General Drouot apart, and told him what he had heard. Drouot communicated the circumstance to General Bertrand, who himself related it to the emperor, in the presence of the commissioners. The latter, justly indignant, held a sort of council on the highway, and it was determined that the emperor should go forward without his retinue. The valet-de-chambre was asked whether he had any clothes in the carriage. He produced a long blue cloak and a round hat. It was proposed to put a white cockade in the hat, but to this Napoleon would not consent. He went forward in the style of a courier, with Amaudru, one of the two outriders who had escorted his carriage, and brushed through Orgon. When the allied commissioners arrived there, the assembled population were uttering exclamations of "Down with the Corsican! Down

with the brigand!" The mayor of Orgon, the same man whom I had seen almost on his knees to General Bonaparte on his return from Egypt, addressed himself to Pelard, the emperor's valet-de-chambre, and said, "Do you follow that rascal?"—"No," replied Pelard, "I am attached to the commissioners of the allied powers."—"Ah! that is well! I should like to hang the villain with my own hands. Ah! if you knew, sir, how the scoundrel has deceived us! It was I who received him on his return from Egypt. We wished to take his horses out, and draw his carriage. I should like to avenge myself now for the honours I rendered him at that time."

The crowd augmented, and continued to vociferate with a degree of fury which may be imagined by those who have heard the inhabitants of the south manifest, by cries, their joy or their hatred. Some more violent than the rest, wished to force Napoleon's coachman to cry "Vive le Roi!" He courageously refused, though threatened with the stroke of a sabre; when, fortunately, the carriage being ready to start, he whipped the horses, and set off at full gallop. The commissioners would not breakfast at Orgon; they paid for what had been prepared, and took some refreshments away with them. The carriages did not overtake the emperor until they came to La Calade, where he had arrived a quarter of an hour before with Amaudru. They found him standing by the fire in the kitchen of the inn, talking with the landlady. She had asked him whether the tyrant was soon to pass that way? "Ah! sir," said she, "it is all nonsense to say we have got rid of him. I always have said, and always will say, that we shall never be sure of being done with him until he be laid at the bottom of a well, covered over with stones. I wish we had him safe in the well in our yard. You see, sir, the Directory sent him to Egypt to get rid of him; but he came back again! And he will come back again, you may be sure of that, sir, unless". . . . Here the good woman, having finished skimming her pot, looked up, and perceived that all the party were standing uncovered except the individual to whom she had been speaking. She was confounded; and the embarrassment she experienced at having spoken so ill of the emperor to the emperor himself, banished all her anger, and she lavished every mark of attention and respect on Napoleon and his retinue. A messenger was immediately sent to Aix to purchase ribbons for making white cockades. All the carriages were brought into the courtyard of the inn, and the gate was closed; the landlady informed Napoleon that it would not be prudent for him to venture on passing through Aix, where a population of more than twenty thousand were waiting to stone him.

Meanwhile dinner was served, and Napoleon sat down to table. He admirably disguised the agitation which he could not fail to experience, and I have been assured by some of the

individuals who were present on that remarkable occasion, that he never made himself more agreeable. His conversation, which was enriched by the resources of his memory and his imagination, charmed every one, and he remarked, with an air of indifference which was, perhaps, affected, "I believe the new French government has a design on my life."

The commissioners, informed of what was going on at Aix, proposed sending to the mayor an order for closing the gates, and adopting measures for securing the public tranquillity. About fifty individuals had assembled round the inn, and one among them offered to carry a letter to the mayor of Aix. The commissioners accepted his services, and in their letter informed the mayor that if the gates of the town were not closed within an hour, they would advance with two regiments of hulans, and six pieces of artillery, and would fire upon all who might oppose them. This threat had the desired effect; and the mayor returned for answer, that the gates should be closed, and that he would take upon himself the responsibility of every thing which might happen.

The danger which threatened the emperor at Aix was thus averted; but there was another to be braved. During the seven or eight hours he passed at La Calade, a considerable number of people had gathered round the inn, and manifested every disposition to proceed to some excess. Most of them had in their hands five-franc pieces, in order to recognise the emperor by his likeness on the coin. Napoleon, who had passed two nights without sleep, was in a little room adjoining the kitchen, where he had fallen into a slumber, reclining on the shoulder of his valet-de-chambre. In a moment of dejection he had said, "I now renounce the political world for ever. I shall henceforth feel no interest about any thing that may happen. At Porto-Ferrajo I may be happy—more happy than I have ever been! No!—if the crown of Europe were now offered to me, I would not accept it. I will devote myself to science. I was right never to esteem mankind! But France and the French people—what ingratitude! I am disgusted with ambition, and I wish to rule no longer!"

When the moment for departure arrived, it was proposed that he should put on the great-coat and fur cap of General Kohler, and that he should go into the carriage of the Austrian commissioner. The emperor thus disguised, left the inn of La Calade, passing between two lines of spectators. On turning the walls of Aix, Napoleon had again the mortification to hear the cries of "Down with the tyrant! Down with Nicolas!" and these vociferations resounded at the distance of a quarter of a league from the town.

Bonaparte, dispirited by these manifestations of hatred, said, in a tone of mingled grief and contempt, "These Provençals are the same furious brawlers that they used to be. They com-

mitted frightful massacres at the commencement of the revolution. Eighteen years ago I came to this part of the country with some thousand men to deliver two royalists, who were to be hanged. Their crime was, having worn the white cockade. I saved them; but it was not without difficulty that I rescued them from the hands of their assailants; and now, you see, they resume the same excesses against those who refuse to wear the white cockade." At about a league from Aix, the emperor and his retinue found horses and an escort of gendarmerie to conduct them to the castle of Luc.

The Princess Pauline was at the country residence of M. Charles, member of the legislative body, near the castle of Luc. On hearing of the misfortunes of her brother, she determined to accompany him to the isle of Elba, and she proceeded to Frejus to embark with him. At Frejus the emperor rejoined Colonel Campbell, who had quitted the convoy on the road, and had brought into the port the English frigate, the Indomitable, which was appointed to convey the emperor to the place of his destination. In spite of the wish he had expressed to Colonel Campbell, he manifested considerable reluctance to go on board. However, on the 28th of April, he sailed for the island of Elba, in the English frigate, in which it could not then be said that Cæsar and his fortune were embarked.

NOTES ON THE JOURNEY TO ELBA, AND NAPOLEON'S RESIDENCE THERE.

Some time after the events above recorded, Count Truchess, the Prussian commissioner, published a curious account of the journey. His book gave great offence to the Bonapartists, because it represented the great Napoleon as being susceptible of fear. "He was incapable of a sentiment so base," cry they; "look at him on the field of battle from first to last. Did he ever betray fear there?" Certainly not! but the man who can brave an honourable death in battle may, and without any shame, tremble at assassination—at the idea of being torn to pieces by an infuriated populace. Bonaparte, who had an especial dread of popular violence, had trembled at it before now when he was almost left naked and undefended to meet its attacks.

As a Prussian, Count Truchess may be supposed to have had no prejudices in favour of the fallen emperor, but as a man of honour and rank, he was certainly not likely to invent facts which could have been contradicted by General Kohler, the Austrian commissioner, by Colonel Niel Campbell, and other honourable men.

In 1816, not quite two years after the journey, we knew General Kohler at Naples, where we have heard him give precisely the same account of it, and of the conduct of Napoleon, as Count Truchess has done in print. We were again in the habit of occasionally meeting General Kohler in the South of Italy, between the years 1821 and 1825, when he died at Naples, and as the interesting subject of the journey to Elba was frequently alluded to, we had ample opportunities of making ourselves acquainted with the general's sentiments. Whatever may have been the faults of General Kohler in other respects, he certainly was not a man to calumniate a fallen enemy. We trust these few words will justify our using Count Truchess's account of the journey as authentic and official matter.

While perusing the following anecdotes, the reader must remember that Napoleon was already in the south of France; for the count agrees with Bourrienne in stating, that during the earlier stages of the journey Napoleon was treated with the respect due to misfortune.

"Whenever we appeared, we still found people who saluted their former ruler with 'Vive le Roi!' and some terms of abuse against himself; but nothing like violence was attempted. Still, however, he was constantly in alarm. He not only remained in General Kohler's *calèche*, but even begged he would allow the servant who sat before him to smoke, and asked the general himself if he could sing; in order that he might dissipate, through such familiar conduct, any suspicion in the places where we stopped, that the emperor sat with him in the carriage. As the general could not sing, Napoleon begged him to whistle; and with this singular music we made our entry into every place; whilst the emperor, fumigated with the incense of the tobacco-pipe, squeezed himself into the corner of the *calèche*, and pretended to be fast asleep."

In the latter part of his journey, the indignation of the people began to be more and more pronounced against him:

"Close to Avignon, where the relays of horses awaited us, the emperor found a crowd assembled, who with tumultuous cries saluted him with 'Vive le Roi! Vivent les Alliés! A bas Nicolas! A bas le Tyran, le Coquin, le mauvais Gueux!' and still coarser abuse. In compliance with our instructions, we did every thing in our power to lighten the evil, but could only partially effect it; and Napoleon endured with the greatest patience every term of abuse uttered against him. In Orgon, the next place where we changed horses, the conduct of the populace was most outrageous. Exactly on the spot where the horses were taken out, a gallows was erected, on which a figure, in French uniform, sprinkled with blood, was suspended. On its breast it bore a paper, with this inscription:

'Tel sera tôt ou tard le sort du tyran!'

"The rabble pressed round his carriage, and elevated themselves on both sides in order to look and cast in their abuse. The emperor pressed into a corner, looked pale and disfigured, and at length, through our assistance, he was happily brought off, and had proceeded a quarter of a league from Orgon. He changed his dress in his carriage, put on a plain blue great-coat and a round hat with a white cockade, mounted a post-horse, and rode on before as a courier.

"Having overtaken the emperor's carriage about half a league on the other side of Orgon, it shortly afterwards entered a miserable public-house, on the road-side, called La Calade. We followed it, and here first learnt of the disguise of Bonaparte, who in this attire had arrived here accompanied by one courier only. His suite, from the generals to the scullions, were decorated with white cockades. His valet-de-chambre, who came to meet us, begged we would conduct ourselves towards the emperor as if he were Colonel Campbell, for whom on his arrival he had given himself out. We entered, and found in a kind of chamber this former ruler of the world, buried in thought, sitting with his head supported by his hand. I did not immediately recognise him, and walked towards him. He started up as he heard somebody approaching, and pointed to his countenance bedewed with tears. Here we dined; but as the dinner had not been prepared by his own cooks, he had not courage to partake of it, for fear of being poisoned. He felt ashamed, however, at seeing us all eat both with good appetites and good consciences, and therefore helped himself from every dish, but without swallowing the least morsel: he spat every thing out upon his plate or behind his chair. A little bread and a bottle of wine taken from his carriage, and which he divided with us, constituted his whole repast. In other respects he was conversable and very friendly towards us. Whenever the landlady, who waited upon us at table, left the room, and he perceived we were alone, he repeated to us his apprehensions for his life, and assured us the French government had indisputably determined to destroy or arrest him here. A thousand plans ran through his brain how he might escape, and what arrangements ought to be made to deceive the people of Aix, who he had learnt awaited him by thousands at the post-house; and now again with all his apprehensions and indecision, he renewed his solicitations of counsel. He even begged us to look around and see if we could not any where discover a private door through which he might slip out, or if the window, whose shutters upon entering he had half closed at the bottom, was too high for him to jump out in case of need. On examination, I found the window on the outside was provided with an iron trellis-work, and threw him into evident consternation as I communicated to him the discovery. At the least noise he started up in terror and changed colour. After dinner we left him alone, and as we went in and out found him

frequently weeping. For greater precaution another disguise was now assumed. General Schuwaloff's adjutant was obliged to put on the blue great-coat and round hat in which the emperor had reached the inn, that in case of necessity he might be regarded, insulted, or even murdered for him.

"Napoleon, who now pretended to be an Austrian colonel, dressed himself in the uniform of General Kohler, with the order of Theresa, wore my camp cap, and threw over his shoulders General Schuwaloff's mantle. After the allies had thus equipped him, the carriages drove up, and we were obliged to march to them through the other rooms of the inn in a certain order, which had been previously rehearsed in our own chamber."

The account of the interview between Bonaparte and Marshal Augereau, given by Count Truchess, differs slightly from that recorded by Bourrienne.

In a small barrack near Valence, Napoleon, upon the 24th of April, met Augereau, his old companion in the campaigns of Italy, and in some degree his tutor in the art of war. The marshal had resented some of the reflections which occurred in the bulletins, censuring his operations for the protection of Lyons. When, therefore, he issued a proclamation to his army, on the recent change, he announced Napoleon as one who had brought on his own ruin, and yet dared not die. An angry interview took place, and the following words are said to have been exchanged between them: "I have thy proclamation," said Napoleon. "Thou hast betrayed me."—"Sire," replied the marshal, "it is you who have betrayed France and the army, by sacrificing both to a frantic spirit of ambition."—"Thou hast chosen thyself a new master," said Napoleon.—"I have no account to render to you on that score," replied the general. "Thou hast no courage," replied Bonaparte.—"'Tis thou hast none," replied the general; and turned his back without any mark of respect, on his late master.

At a country-house called Bouillidou, he had an interview with his sister Pauline. The curiosity of the lady of the house, and two or three females, made them also find their way to his presence. They saw a gentleman in an Austrian uniform. "Whom do you wish to see, ladies?"—"The Emperor Napoleon."—"I am Napoleon."—"You jest, sir," replied the ladies. "What, I suppose you expected to see me look more mischievous? Oh, yes—confess that, since fortune is adverse to me, I must look like a rascal, a miscreant, a brigand. But do you know how all this has happened? Merely because I wished to place France above England."

At length he arrived at Frejus, the very port that received him on his return from Egypt fourteen years before. He shut himself up in a solitary apartment, which he traversed with impatient and hasty steps, sometimes pausing to watch from the window the arrival of the vessels, one of which was to transport

him from France, as it then seemed, for ever. The French frigate, the Dryade, and a brig called the Inconstant, had come from Toulon to Frejus, and lay ready to perform this duty. But, reluctant perhaps to sail under the Bourbon flag, Napoleon preferred embarking on board his Britannic Majesty's ship the Undaunted, commanded by Captain Usher. This vessel being placed at the disposal of the British commissioner, Sir Niel Campbell, he readily acquiesced in Napoleon's wish to take his passage in her to Elba. It was eleven at night on the 28th before he embarked, under a salute of twenty-one guns. "Adieu, Cæsar, and his fortune!" cried Schuwaloff, the Russian envoy. The Austrian and British commissioners accompanied him on his voyage; the Russian and Prussian agents returned to Paris. One of the officers of the frigate's barge that took Bonaparte on board happened to be a nephew of Sir Sydney Smith. When this was mentioned, Napoleon said, without any embarrassment, "Sydney Smith! Ah, that's the man I encountered in Egypt."

During the passage, Bonaparte seemed to recover his spirits, and conversed with great frankness and ease with Captain Usher and Sir Niel Campbell. The subject chiefly led to high-coloured statements of the schemes which he had been compelled to leave unexecuted, with severe strictures on his enemies, and much contempt for their means of opposition. The following particulars are amusing, and so far as we know, have never appeared:

He was inquisitive about the discipline of the vessel, which he commended highly, but assured Captain Usher, that had his power lasted for five years longer, he would have had three hundred sail of the line. Captain Usher naturally asked how they were to be manned. Napoleon replied, that he had resolved on a naval conscription in all the seaports and sea-coast frontier of France, which would man his fleet, which was to be exercised in the Zuyder Zee, until fit for going to the open sea. The British officer scarcely suppressed a smile as he replied, that the marine conscript would make a sorry figure in a gale of wind.

To the Austrian envoy, Napoleon's constant subject was the enlarged power of Russia, which, if she could by any means unite Poland into a healthful and integral part of her army, would, he stated, overwhelm Europe.

He made a favourable impression on all the British officers that approached him. The common men too, who had expected to meet with the impersonation of the arch-fiend in Napoleon, were greatly surprised by the exhibition of so much kindness of manner.

When Captain Usher received Napoleon on board the "Undaunted," as we have already said, he fired a royal salute, and manned yards. For this he was much censured by a certain political party at home, who were over niggard of all marks of respect to the fallen conqueror. But, on his retirement into

Elba, Napoleon was still a sovereign, though his territories, to be sure, were not very extensive. The allied sovereigns, in their treaty with him, had acknowledged and guaranteed to him and to his family their old dignities and titles, and in *etiquette* Captain Usher was perfectly right.

On one occasion he talked at great length about the peace of Amiens, and the other diplomatic relations he had had with England. He insisted that the English, availing themselves of their own strength and the weakness of the restored Bourbons, would pursue selfish measures, and exact a commercial treaty from Louis XVIII. exceedingly disadvantageous to France. "Now," he continued, "England has no opponent which can resist her system. She can pursue it without limits. There will be a treaty on very unequal terms, which will not afford due encouragement to the manufactures of France. The Bourbons are poor devils"—he checked himself—"I mean to say they are *grand seigneurs*, very glad to get back to their estates and draw their rents; but, if the French people see that, and become discontented, *the Bourbons will be turned off in six months!*"

He spoke disparagingly of the soldiers and of most of the generals of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; but he paid a high compliment to the energy and activity of Blucher. "That old devil," he said, "gave me most trouble—he was always ready to fight again. If I beat in the evening, there he was next morning; if I routed him in the morning, he rallied and fought again before night."

One rough old tar in Captain Usher's vessel, Joe Hinton, the boatswain, alone escaped the fascination of Napoleon's manner; and whenever he heard any of his shipmates praising Napoleon, he muttered "*Humbug.*" But though Hinton thought it his bounden duty as an Englishman to hate Napoleon, he had no dislike to the little Napoleons—in gold, and a present evidently mollified his heart. Before leaving the Undaunted, the emperor gave two hundred Napoleons to be distributed among the ship's company: for this present, Hinton, in the name of the crew, had to return thanks, and he did so in these words: "Wish your honour good health, and better luck next time!"

It was on the 4th of May, 1814, that Bonaparte arrived within sight of Porto-Ferrajo, the humble capital of his miniature empire; but he did not land till the morning. At first he paid a short visit incognito, being accompanied by a sergeant's party of marines from the Undaunted. He then returned on board to breakfast, and at about two o'clock made his public entrance, the Undaunted firing a royal salute.

In every particular of his conduct he paid great attention to the maintenance of his imperial dignity. On landing, he received the keys of his good city of Porto-Ferrajo, and the devoirs of the governor, prefect, and other dignitaries, and he

proceeded immediately under a canopy of state to the parish church, which served as a cathedral. There he heard Te Deum, and it is stated that his countenance was dark and melancholy, and that he even shed tears.*

One of Bonaparte's first cares was to select a flag for the Elbese empire, and after some hesitation he fixed on "Argent, on a bend gules, three bees or," as the armorial ensign of his new dominion. It is strange that neither he nor any of those whom he consulted should have been aware that Elba had an ancient and peculiar ensign, and it is still more remarkable that this ensign should be one singularly adapted to Bonaparte's situation; being no more than "a wheel,—the emblem," says M. Bernaud, "of the vicissitudes of human life, which the Elbese had borrowed from the Egyptian mysteries."†

This is as curious a coincidence as any we ever recollect to have met, as the medals of Elba with the emblem of the wheel are well known, we cannot but suppose that Bonaparte was aware of the circumstance. Yet he is represented as having in vain made several anxious inquiries after the ancient arms of the island. During the first months of his residence there, his life was, in general, one of characteristic activity and garrulous frankness. He gave dinners, went to balls, rode all day about his island, planned fortifications, aqueducts, lazarettos, harbours and palaces; and the very second day after he landed, fitted out an expedition of a dozen soldiers to take possession of a little uninhabited island, called Pianosa, which lies a few leagues from Elba; on this occasion he said, good-humouredly, "*Toute l'Europe dira que j'ai déjà fait une conquête.*" (All Europe will say I have already made a conquest.) The cause of the island of Pianosa's being left uninhabited, was the marauding of the Corsairs from the coast of Barbary, against whom Bonaparte considered himself fully protected by the 4th Article of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

The greatest wealth of Elba consists in its iron mines, for which the island was celebrated in the days of the Romans. Virgil has a fine line descriptive of its inexhaustible ore. Soon after his arrival Napoleon visited the mines, in company with Colonel Niel Campbell, and being informed that they produced annually about 500,000 francs, he exclaimed, joyfully, "These, then, are my own!" One of his followers, however, reminded him that he had long since disposed of that revenue, having given it to his order of the Legion of Honour, to furnish pensions, &c. "Where was my head when I made that grant," said he, "but I have made many foolish decrees of that sort!"

Sir Walter Scott, in telling a curious fact, makes a very curious mistake. "To dignify his capital," he says, "having

* Itinéraire de Bonaparte, &c. Paris, 1814.

† Voyage à l'Ile d'Elbe, par A. F. de Bernaud. Paris, 1808.

discovered that the ancient name of Porto-Ferrajo was Comopoli (the city of Como), he commanded it to be called Cosmopoli, or the city of all nations." Now the old name of Porto-Ferrajo was in reality not Comopoli, but Cosmopoli, and it obtained that name from the Florentine Cosmo de' Medici, to whose Ducal house Elba belonged, as an integral part of Tuscany. The name equally signified the city of Cosmo, or the city of all nations, and the vanity of the Medici had probably been flattered by the double meaning of the appellation. But Bonaparte certainly revived the old name, and did not add a letter to it to dignify his little capital.

The household of Napoleon, though reduced to thirty-five persons, still represented an imperial court. The forms and etiquette of the Tuileries and Saint-Cloud, were retained on a diminished scale; but the furniture and internal accommodations of the palace are represented as having been meaner by far than those of an English gentleman of ordinary rank. The body-guard of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Elba consisted of about 700 infantry, and 80 cavalry, and to this handful of troops Napoleon seemed to pay almost as much attention as he had formerly given to his Grande Armée. The men were constantly exercised, particularly in throwing shot and shells—and he soon began to look out for good recruits.

He early announced that he would hold a court, and receive ladies twice a week; the first was on the 7th of May, and a great concourse assembled. Bonaparte at first paid great attention to the women, particularly those who possessed personal attractions, and asked them, in his rapid way, whether they were married? How many children they had and who their husbands were? To the last question he received one universal answer; it happened that every lady was married to a *merchant*, but when it came to be further explained, that they were merchant butchers, and merchant bakers, his imperial majesty permitted some expression of his dissatisfaction to escape him, and hastily retired. On the 4th of June there was a ball on board the British frigate, in honour of the king's birthday; the whole beauty and fashion of Elba were assembled, and dancing with great glee, when, about midnight, Bonaparte came in his barge, unexpectedly, and masked, to join the festivity. He was very affable, and visited every part of the ship, and all the amusements which had been prepared for the different classes of persons. On his birthday, the 15th of August, he ordered the mayor to give a ball, and for this purpose a temporary building, capable of holding 300 persons, was to be erected, and the whole entertainment, building and all, were to be at the expense of the inhabitants themselves. These were bad auspices, and accordingly the ball completely failed. Madame Mère, Madame Bertrand, and the two ladies of honour attended, but not above thirty of the fair islanders, and as the author of the Itinéraire remarks,

Le bal fut triste quoique Bonaparte n'y parut pas. (The ball was dull though Bonaparte did not appear.)

Having in an excursion reached the summit of one of the highest hills on the island, where the sea was visible all round him, he shook his head with affected solemnity, and exclaimed in a bantering tone, *Eh! il faut avouer que mon île est bien petite.* (Ah! It must be confessed my island is very small.)

On this mountain one of the party saw a little church in an almost inaccessible situation, and observed, that it was a most inconvenient site for a church, for surely no congregation could attend it. "It is on that account the more convenient to the parson," replied Bonaparte, "who may preach what stuff he pleases, without fear of contradiction."

As they descended the hill and met some peasants, with their goats, who asked for charity, Bonaparte told a story, which the present circumstances brought to his recollection, that when he was crossing the Great St. Bernard, previously to the battle of Marengo, he had met a goatherd, and entered into conversation with him. The goatherd, not knowing to whom he was speaking, lamented his own hard lot, and envied the riches of some persons who actually had cows and corn-fields. Bonaparte inquired if some fairy were to offer to gratify all his wishes, what he would ask? The poor peasant expressed, in his own opinion, some very extravagant desires; such as a dozen of cows, and a good farm-house. Bonaparte afterwards recollected the incident, and astonished the goatherd by the fulfilment of all his wishes. But all his thoughts and conversations were not as light and pleasant as these. Sometimes he would involve himself in an account of the last campaign—of his own views and hopes—of the defection of his marshals—of the capture of Paris, and finally of his abdication; on those he would talk by the hour, with great earnestness and almost fury, exhibiting in very rapid succession, traits of eloquence, of military genius, of indignation, of vanity, and of selfishness. With regard to the audience to whom he addressed these tirades, he was not very particular.

Hardly any one who approached during the fit, was excluded from the imperial confidence; and accordingly we have heard many reports of them.

The chief violence of his rage seemed to be directed against Marshal Marmont, whom, as well as Augereau, he sometimes called by names too gross for repetition, and charged roundly with treachery. Marmont's conduct, under the difficult circumstances in which he commanded the troops engaged in the defence of Paris, was a masterpiece of courage, discretion, and generosity. He fought while he could; and when he could no longer defend Paris by arms, he saved it by a most honourable capitulation; he preserved his army for the service of his country, and, when every thing else was lost, stipulated for the

safety of Bonaparte. This last stipulation, Bonaparte affected to treat with contempt and indignation; but we must not forget that after his abdication, he took especial care of his person.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1814.

Changes produced by time—Correspondence between the provisional government and Hartwell—Louis XVIII.'s reception in London—His arrival at Calais—Berthier's address to the king at Compiègne—My presentation to his majesty at Saint-Ouen—Louis XVIII.'s entry into Paris—Unexpected dismissal from my post—M. de Talleyrand's departure for the congress of Vienna—Signs of a commotion—Impossibility of seeing M. de Blacas—The Abbé Fleuriel—Unanswered letters—My letter to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna.

No power is so great as that resulting from the changes produced by time. Wise policy consists in directing that power; but to do so it is requisite to know the wants of the age. For this reason Louis XVIII. appeared, in the eyes of all sensible persons, a monarch expressly formed for the circumstances in which we stood after the fall of Napoleon.

In the winter of 1813-14, some royalist proclamations had been circulated in Paris; and as they contained the germs of those hopes which the charter, had it been executed, was calculated to realize, the police opposed their circulation, and I recollect that in order to multiply the number of copies, my family and I daily devoted some hours to transcribing them. After the definitive declaration of Alexander, a very active correspondence ensued between the provisional government and Hartwell; and Louis XVIII. was even preparing to embark for Bordeaux when he learned the events of the 31st of March. That news induced the king to alter his determination, and he soon quitted his retirement to proceed to London.* Louis XVIII. and the Prince Regent of England exchanged the orders of the Holy Ghost and the Garter, and I believe I may affirm that this was the first occasion on which any but a Catholic prince was invested with the order of the Holy Ghost.

Louis XVIII. embarked at Dover on board the Royal Sovereign, and landed at Calais on the 24th of April. I need not

* The entrance of Louis XVIII. into London was a triumphal one. The waving of white handkerchiefs, the display of white cockades, were prodigious. We never saw such an exhibition of linen, muslin, and silks—all Bourbonically white.—*Editor.*

enter into any description of the enthusiasm which his presence excited; that is generally known through the reports of the journals of the time. It is very certain that all rational persons saw with satisfaction the princes of the house of Bourbon re-ascend the throne of their ancestors, enlightened by experience and misfortune, which, as some ancient philosopher observes, are the best counsellors of kings.

I had received a letter addressed to me from London by the Duke de Duras, pointing out the route which Louis XVIII. was to pursue from Calais to Paris. The king's wishes on this subject were scrupulously fulfilled, and I recollect with pleasure the zeal with which my directions were executed by all the persons in the service of the post-office. His majesty stopped for a short time at Amiens, aad then proceeded to Compiègne, where the ministers and marshals had previously arrived to present to him their homage and the assurance of their fidelity. Berthier addressed the king in the name of the marshals, and said, among other things, "that France, groaning for five-and-twenty years under the weight of the misfortunes that oppressed her, had anxiously looked forward to the happy day which she now saw dawning." Berthier might justly have said for "ten years;" but at all events, even had he spoken the truth, it was ill placed in the mouth of a man whom the emperor had constantly loaded with favours. The Emperor Alexander also went to Compiègne to meet Louis XVIII., and the two monarchs dined together.

I did not go to Compiègne because the business which I had constantly to execute did not permit me to leave Paris for so long an interval as that journey would have required; but I was at Saint-Ouen when Louis XVIII. arrived on the 2d of May. There I had to congratulate myself on being remembered by a man to whom I was fortunate enough to render some service at Hamburg. As the king entered the saloon through which he had to pass to go to the dining-room, M. Hue recognising me, said to his majesty, "There is M. de Bourrienne." The king then, stepping up to me, said, "Ah! M. de Bourrienne, I am very glad to see you. I am aware of the services you have rendered me in Hamburg and Paris, and I shall feel much pleasure in testifying my gratitude."

At Saint-Ouen, Louis XVIII. promulgated the declaration which preceded the charter, and which repeated the sentiments expressed by the king twenty years before, in the declaration of Colmar. It was also at Saint-Ouen that a project of a constitution was presented to him by the senate, in which that body, to justify *in extremis* its title of conservative, stipulated for the preservation of its revenues and endowments. On the 3d of May Louis XVIII. made his solemn entrance into Paris, the Duchess d'Angoulême being in the carriage with the king. His majesty proceeded first to Notre Dame. On arriving at

the Pont Neuf, he saw the model of the statue of Henry IV., on the pedestal of which appeared the following words: *Ludovico reduce, Henricus redivivus,* which were suggested by M. de Lally-Tollendal, and were greatly preferable to the long and prolix inscription composed for the bronze statue.

The king's entrance into Paris did not excite so much enthusiasm as the entrance of Monsieur. In the places through which I passed on the 3d of May, astonishment seemed to be the prevailing feeling among the people. The abatement of public enthusiasm was more perceptible a short time after, when Louis XVIII. restored the red corps which Louis XVI. had suppressed long before the revolution.

It was not a little extraordinary to see the direction of the government consigned to a man who neither had, nor could have any knowledge of France. From the commencement, M. de Blacas affected ministerial omnipotence. When I went on the 11th of May to the Tuileries to present, as usual, my portfolio to the king, in virtue of my privilege of transacting business with the sovereign, M. de Blacas wished to take the portfolio from me, which appeared to me the more surprising as, during the seven days I had the honour of coming in contact with Louis XVIII., his majesty had been pleased to bestow many compliments upon me. I at first refused to give up the portfolio; but M. de Blacas told me the king had ordered him to receive it; I then, of course, yielded the point. However, it was not long before I had experience of a courtier's revenge; for two days after this circumstance, that is to say, on the 13th of May, on entering my cabinet at the usual hour, I mechanically took up the Moniteur, which I found lying on my desk. On glancing hastily over it, what was my astonishment to find that the Count de Ferrand had been appointed director of the post-office in my stead. Such was the strange mode in which M. de Blacas made me feel the promised gratitude of the sovereign. Certainly, after my proofs of loyalty which, a year afterwards, procured for me the honour of being outlawed in quite a privileged way, I had reason to complain, and I might have said *Sic vos non vobis* as justly as Virgil, when he alluded to the unmerited favours lavished by Augustus on the Mævii and Bavii of his time.

The measures of government soon excited complaints in every quarter. The usages of the old system were gradually restored, and ridicule being mingled with more serious considerations, Paris was speedily inundated with caricatures and pamphlets.* However, tranquillity prevailed until the month of September, when M. de Talleyrand departed for the congress of Vienna. Then all was disorder at the Tuileries. Every one feeling him-

* A little political journal called the "Nain Jaune," or "Yellow Dwarf," exercised much influence at this period.—*Editor*

self free from restraint, wished to play the statesman, and Heaven knows how many follies were committed in the absence of the schoolmaster.

Under a feeble government, there is but one step from discontent to insurrection: under an imbecile government like that of France in 1814, after the departure of M. de Talleyrand, conspiracy has free scope. During the summer of 1814 were prepared the events which reached their climax on the 20th of March, 1815. I almost fancy I am dreaming, when I look back on the miraculous incapacity of the persons who were then at the head of our government. The emigrants, who, as it has been truly said had neither learned nor forgotten any thing, came back with all the absurd pretensions of Coblentz. Their silly vanity reminded one of a character in one of Voltaire's novels, who is continually saying, "*Un homme comme moi!*" These people were so engrossed with their pretended merit, that they were blind to every thing else. They not only disregarded the wishes and the wants of France, which, in overthrowing the empire, hoped to regain liberty, but they disregarded every warning they had received. I recollect one circumstance which was well calculated to excite suspicion. Prince Eugène proposed going to the waters of Plombières to join his sister Hortense. The horses, the carriages, and one of the prince's aides-de-camp had already arrived at Plombières, and his residence was prepared; but he did not go. Eugène had, no doubt, received intimation of his sister's intrigues with some of the individuals of the late court of Napoleon, who were then at the waters; and as he had determined to reside quietly at the court of his father-in-law, without meddling with public affairs, he remained at Munich. This fact, however, passed off unnoticed.

At the end of 1814, unequivocal indications of a great catastrophe was observable. About that time a man, whom I much esteem, and with whom I have always been on terms of friendship, said to me, "You see how things are going on: they are committing fault upon fault. You must be convinced that such a state of things cannot last long. Between ourselves, I am of opinion that all will be over in the month of March: that month will repair the disgrace of last March. We shall then, once for all, be delivered from fanaticism and the emigrants. You see the intolerable spirit of hypocrisy that prevails, and you know that the influence of the priests is, of all things, the most hateful to the nation. We have gone back a long way within the last eight months. I fear you will repent of having taken too active a part in affairs at the commencement of the present year. You see we have gone a very different way from what you expected. However, as I have often told you before, you had good reason to complain; and, after all, you acted to the best of your judgment."

I did not attach much importance to this prediction of a change in the month of March. I deplored, as every one did, the inconceivable errors of Ferrand and company,* and I hoped that the government would gradually return to those principles which were calculated to conciliate the feelings of the people. A few days after, another of my friends called on me. He had exercised important functions, and his name had appeared on a proscription list. He had claims upon the government, which was by no means favourably disposed towards him. I asked him how things were going on, and he replied, "Very well; no opposition is made to my demands. I have no reason to complain." This reminded me of the man in the "Lettres Persanes," who admired the excellent order of the finances under Colbert, because his pension was promptly paid. I congratulated my friend on the justice which the government rendered him, as well as on the justice which he rendered to the government; and I remarked, that if the same course were adopted towards every one, all parties would speedily be conciliated. "I do not think so," said my friend. "If the government persist in its present course, it cannot possibly stand, and we shall have the emperor back again."—"That," said I, "would be a very great misfortune; and even if such were the wish of France, it would be opposed by Europe. You, who are so devotedly attached to France, cannot be indifferent to the danger that would threaten her, if the presence of Bonaparte should bring the foreigners back again. Can you endure to think of the dismemberment of our country?"—"That they would never dare to attempt. But you and I can never agree on the question of the emperor and your Bourbons. We take a totally different view of the matter. You had cause to complain of Bonaparte: but I had only reason to be satisfied with him. But tell me, what would you do if he were to return?"—"Bonaparte return!"—"Yes."—"Upon my word, the best thing I could do would be to set off as speedily as I could, and that is certainly what I should do. I am thoroughly convinced that he would never pardon me for the part I have taken in the restoration, and I candidly confess that I should not hesitate a moment to save my life by leaving France."—"Well, you are wrong; for I am convinced, that if you would range yourself among the number of his friends, you might have whatever you wished—titles, honours, riches. Of this I could give you assurance."—"All this, I must tell you, does not tempt me. I love France as dearly as you do, and I am convinced that she can never be happy under Bonaparte. If he should return, I will go and live abroad."

This is only part of a conversation which lasted a considerable

* Ferrand was so incrusted in old prejudices, that he said one day, in the presence of several persons, that the charter would have been a very good thing if it had been duly registered by the parliament of Paris

time, and, as is often the case after a long discussion, my friend retained his opinion, and I mine. However, this second warning, this hypothesis of the return of Bonaparte, made me reflect, and I soon received another hint, which gave additional weight to the preceding ones. An individual with whom I was well acquainted, and whom I knew from his principles and connexions to be entirely devoted to the royal cause, communicated to me some extraordinary circumstances, which he said alarmed him. Among other things he said, "The day before yesterday I met Charles de Labédoyère, who, you know, is my intimate friend. I remarked that he had an air of agitation and abstraction. I invited him to come and dine with me; but he declined, alleging, as an excuse, that we should not be alone. He then asked me to go and dine with him yesterday, as he wanted to talk with me. I accepted his invitation, and we conversed a long time on political affairs and the situation of France. You know my sentiments are quite the reverse of his, so we disputed and wrangled, though we are still very good friends. But what alarms me is, that at parting Charles pressed my hand, saying, 'Adieu; to-morrow I set off for Grenoble. In a month you will hear something of Charles de Labédoyère.'"

These three successive communications appeared to me very extraordinary. The two first were made to me by persons interested in the event, and the third by one who dreaded it. They all presented a striking coincidence with the intrigues at Plombières a few months before. In the month of January I determined to mention the business to M. de Blacas, who then engrossed all credit and all power, and through whose medium alone any thing could reach the sovereign. I need scarcely add, that my intention was merely to mention to him the facts, without naming the individuals from whom I obtained them. After all, however, M. de Blacas did not receive me, and I only had the honour of speaking to his secretary, who, if the fact deserve to be recorded, was an abbé named Fleuriel. This personage, who was an extraordinary specimen of impertinence and self-conceit, would have been an admirable study for a comic poet. He had all the dignity belonging to the great secretary of a great minister, and, with an air of indifference, he told me that the count was not there; but M. de Blacas *was* there, and I knew it.

Devoted as I was to the cause of the Bourbons, I thought it my duty to write that very day to M. de Blacas, to request an interview: I received no answer. Two days after I wrote a second letter, in which I informed M. de Blacas that I had something of the greatest importance to communicate to him: this letter remained unnoticed, like the first. Unable to account for this strange treatment, I again repaired to the Pavillon de Flore, and requested the Abbé Fleuriel to explain to me, if he could, the cause of his master's silence. "Sir," said he, "I re-

ceived your two letters, and laid them before the count; I cannot tell why he has not sent you an answer; but *Monsieur le Comte* is so much engaged . . . . . *Monsieur le Comte* is so overwhelmned with business, that . . . . . "——"*Monsieur le Comte* may, perhaps, repent of it. Good morning, sir."

I thus had personal experience of the truth of what I had often heard respecting M. de Blacas. That favourite, who succeeded Count d'Avaray, enjoyed the full confidence of the king, and concentrated the sovereign power in his own cabinet. The only means of transmitting any communication to Louis XVIII. was to get it addressed to M. de Blacas by one of his most intimate friends.

Convinced as I was of the danger that threatened France, and unable to break through the blockade which M. de Blacas had formed round the person of the king, I determined to write to M. de Talleyrand at Vienna, and acquaint him with the communications that had been made to me. M. de Talleyrand corresponded directly with the king, and I doubt not that my information at length reached the ears of his majesty. But when Louis XVIII. was informed of what was to happen, it was too late to avert the danger.

A LIST

OF THE PRINCIPAL FRENCH TITLES AND DIGNITIES CONFERRED BY NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

King of Holland,	Prince Louis Bonaparte.
King of Naples,	Marshal Murat, Prince Joachim Napoleon.
Queen of Naples,	Caroline Bonaparte.
King of Spain,	Prince Joseph Napoleon.
King of Westphalia,	Prince Jerome Napoleon.
Viceroy of Italy,	Prince Eugène Beauharnais.
Princess Borghese,	Pauline Bonaparte.
Princess Baden,	Stephanie de la Pagerie.
Grand Duchess of Florence,	Eliza Bonaparte.
Grand Duke of Berg,	Prince Charles Louis Napoleon.
Grand Duke of Warsaw,	Frederick Augustus IV., King and Elector of Saxony.
Archbishop of Lyons,	Cardinal Fesch.
Prince of Pontecorvo,	Marshal Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden.
Prince of Neufchatel,	Marshal Berthier, vice Constable of France.
Prince of Benevento,	Talleyrand, vice Arch-Chancellor.
Prince of Eckmühl,	Marshal Davoust.
Grand Duke of Florence,	General Bacchiocchi.
Duke of Abrantes,	Marshal Junot.
Duke of Albufera,	Marshal Suchet.
Duke of Auerstadt,	Marshal Davoust,
Duke of Bassano,	Maret (Secretary of State).
Duke of Belluno,	Marshal Victor.
Duke of Cadore,	Champagny (Minister of Foreign Affairs).
Duke of Castiglione,	Marshal Augereau.
Duke of Cornegliano,	Marshal Moncey.
Duke of Dalmatia,	Marshal Soult.
Duke of Dantzic,	Marshal Lefebvre.
Duke of Elchingen,	Marshal Ney.
Duke of Friuli,	Marshal Duroc, Grand Master of the Palace.
Duke of Montebello,	Marshal Lannes.
Duke of Istria,	Marshal Bessières, Com. of Imperial Guard.
Duke of Otranto,	Marshal Fouché.
Duke of Padua,	General Arigia.
Duke of Parma,	Cambacérès, Arch-Chancellor.
Duke of Piacenza,	Marshal Le Brun, P. Arch-Treasurer.
Duke of Ragusa,	Marshal Marmont.
Duke of Reggio,	Marshal Oudinot.
Duke of Rovigo,	General Savary, Minister of Police.
Duke of Tarento,	Marshal Macdonald.
Duke of Treviso,	Marshal Mortier.
Duke of Valmy,	Marshal Kellerman.
Duke of Vicenza,	General Caulaincourt, Grand Chamberlain.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1815.

Message from the Tuileries—My interview with the king—My appointment to the office of prefect of the police—Council at the Tuileries—Order for arrests—Fouché's escape—Davoust unmolested—Conversation with M. de Blacas—The intercepted letter, and time lost—Evident understanding between Murat and Napoleon—Plans laid at Elba—My departure from Paris—The post-master of Fins—My arrival at Lille—Louis XVIII. detained an hour at the gates—His majesty obliged to leave France—My departure for Hamburg—The Duke de Berri at Brussels.

Those who opposed the execution of the treaty concluded with Napoleon at the time of his abdication, were guilty of a great error, for they afforded him a fair pretext for leaving the island of Elba.* The details of that extraordinary enterprise are known to every one, and I shall not repeat what has been told over and over again.† For my own part, as soon as I saw with what rapidity Bonaparte was marching upon Lyons, and the enthusiasm with which he was received by the troops and the people, I prepared to retire to Belgium, there to await the dénouement of this new drama Every preparation for my departure was completed on the evening of the 13th of March, and I was ready to depart, to avoid the persecutions of which I expected I should be the object, when I received a message from the Tuileries, stating that the king desired to see me. I of course lost no time in proceeding to the palace. I went straight to M. Hue, to inquire of him why I had been sent for. He occupied the apartments in which I passed the three most laborious and anxious years of my life. M. Hue perceiving that I felt a certain degree of uneasiness at being summoned to the Tuileries at that hour of the night, hastened to inform me that the king wished to appoint me prefect of the police. He conducted me to the king's chamber, where his majesty thus

* It was, at best, a *mauvaise plaisanterie* to make the Dictator of Europe King of Elba. Could it be supposed that this would content the man who, in 1812, held his levees in the palace of Dresden, when "crowds of princes, mingling with the courtiers, and often scarcely perceived amongst them, anxiously awaited the moment for presenting themselves before the arbiter of their destinies?" He was made a mock sovereign of a territory sixteen miles by twelve in extent, and his pigmy throne was placed at half an hour's distance from the mainland, with the evident intention that the memories of Marengo and Austerlitz should make him break forth from his prison-house, and justify his magnanimous conquerors in inflicting upon him the full measure of their extremest hate.

† The reader will find these details, and an account of Bonaparte's conversations *at* and his escape *from* Elba, in the supplements to the present chapter. —*Editor.*

addressed me: "M. de Bourrienne, can we rely upon you? I expect much from your zeal and fidelity."—"Your majesty," replied I, "shall have no reason to complain of my betraying your confidence."—"Well, I restore the prefecture of the police, and I appoint you prefect. Do your best, M. de Bourrienne, in the discharge of your duties; I rely upon you." By a singular coincidence, on the very day (the 13th of March) when I received this appointment, Napoleon, who was at Lyons, signed the decree, which excluded from the amnesty he had granted thirteen individuals, among whose names mine was inscribed.* This decree confirmed me in the presentiments I had conceived as soon as I heard of the landing of Bonaparte. On returning home from the Tuileries, after receiving my appointment, a multitude of ideas crowded on my mind. At the first moment, I had been prompted only by the wish to serve the cause of the king; but I was alarmed when I came to examine the extent of the responsibility I had taken upon myself. However, I determined to meet with courage the difficulties that presented themselves, and I must say, that I had every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which I was seconded by M. Foudras, the inspector-general of the police.

Even now I am filled with astonishment, when I think of the council that was held at the Tuileries on the 13th of March. The ignorance of the members of that council respecting our situation, and their confidence in the useless measures they had adopted against Napoleon, exceed all conception. Will it be believed, that those great statesmen, who had the control of the telegraph, the post-office, the police and its agents, money, in short, every thing which constitutes power, asked me to give them information respecting the advance of Bonaparte? What could I say to them? I could only repeat the reports which were circulated on the Exchange, and those which I had collected here and there, during the last twenty-four hours. I did not conceal that the danger was imminent, and that all their precautions would be of no avail. The question then arose as to what course should be adopted by the king. It was impossible that the monarch could remain in the capital, and yet, where was he to go? One proposed that he should go to Bordeaux; another to La Vendée; and a third to Normandy; and a fourth member of the council was of opinion that the king should be conducted to Melun. I conceived that if a battle should take place any where, it would probably be in the neighbourhood of that town; but the counsellor who made this last suggestion, assured us that the presence of the king, in an open carriage and eight horses,

* This was Napoleon's list of proscription:—"The Prince of Benevento (Talleyrand); the Duke of Ragusa (Marmont); the Duke of Alberg, the Abbé de Montesquiou, the Count de Jaucourt, the Count de Beurnonville, Lynch, Vitrolles, Alexis de Noailles, Bourrienne, Bellard, Larochejacquelin, and Sosthènes de la Rochefoucauld." According to Fouché, the name of Augereau, originally stood in this black list, but it was erased at the entreaties of his wife, and in consequence of his proclamation of 23d March.—*Editor.*

would produce a wonderful effect on the minds of the troops. This project was merely ridiculous; the others appeared to be dangerous and impracticable. I declared to the council, that considering the situation of things, it was necessary to renounce all idea of resistance by force of arms; that no soldier would fire a musket, and that it was madness to attempt to take any other view of things. "Defection," said I, "is inevitable. The soldiers are drinking in their barracks the money which you have been giving them, for some days past, to purchase their fidelity. They say Louis XVIII. is a very good sort of man, but *vive le petit caporal!*"

Immediately on the landing of Napoleon, the king sent an extraordinary courier to Marmont, who was at Châtillon, whither he had gone to take a last leave of his dying mother. I saw him one day after he had had an interview with the king; I think it was on the 6th or 7th of March. After some conversation on the landing of Napoleon, and the means of preventing him from reaching Paris, Marmont said to me, "This is what I dwelt most strongly upon in the interview I have just had with the king. 'Sire,' said I, 'I doubt not Bonaparte's intention of coming to Paris; and the best way to prevent him doing so, would be for your majesty to remain here. It is necessary to secure the palace of the Tuileries against a surprise, and to prepare it for resisting a siege, in which it would be indispensable to use cannon. You must shut yourself up in your palace, with the individuals of your household, and the principal public functionaries, while the Duke d'Angoulême should go to Bourdeaux, the Duke de Berri to La Vendée, and Monsieur to the Franches Comté; but they must set off in open day, and announce that they are going to collect defenders for your Majesty.....This is what I said to the king this morning, and I added, that I would answer for every thing, if my advice were followed. I am now going to direct my aide-de-camp, Colonel Fabvier, to draw up the plan of defence." I did not concur in Marmont's opinion. It is certainly probable, that, had Louis XVIII. remained in his palace, the numerous defections which took place before the 20th of March would have been checked, and some persons would not have found so ready an excuse for breaking their oaths of allegiance. There can be little doubt, too, but Bonaparte would have reflected well before he attempted the siege of the Tuileries.

Marmont supported his opinion by observing, that the admiration and astonishment excited by the extraordinary enterprise of Napoleon, and his rapid march to Paris, would be counterbalanced by the interest inspired by an old monarch defying his bold rival, and courageously defending his throne. While I rendered full justice to the good intentions of the Duke de Ragusa, yet I did not think that his advice could be adopted. I opposed it, as I opposed all the propositions that were made in the council relative to the different places to which the king

should retire. I myself suggested Lille as being the nearest, and as presenting the greatest degree of safety, especially in the first instance.

It was after midnight when I left the council of the Tuileries. The discussion had terminated, and, without coming to any precise resolution, it was agreed that the different opinions which had been expressed should be submitted to Louis XVIII., in order that his majesty might adopt that which should appear to him the best. The king adopted my opinion, but it was not acted upon until five days after.

My appointment to the prefecture of the police was, as will be seen, a late thought of measure, almost as late, indeed, as Napoleon's proposition to send me as his minister plenipotentiary to Switzerland. In now accepting office, I was well convinced of the inutility of any effort that might be made to arrest the progress of the fast approaching and menacing events. Being introduced into the king's cabinet, his majesty asked me what I thought of the situation of affairs. "I think, sire, that Bonaparte will be here in five or six days."—"Do you say so?"—"Yes, sire."—"But proper measures are taken, the necessary orders given, and the marshals are faithful to me."—"Sire, I suspect no man's fidelity; but I can assure your majesty, that, as Bonaparte has landed, he will be here within a week. I know him, and your majesty cannot know him as well as I do; but I can venture to assure your majesty, with the same confidence, that he will not be here six months hence. He will be hurried into acts of folly which will ruin him."—"M. de Bourrienne, I argue better of events; but if misfortune again compel me to leave France, and your second prediction be fulfilled, you may rely on me." During this short conversation, the king appeared perfectly tranquil and resigned.

Next day I again visited the Tuileries, whither I had at those perilous times frequent occasion to repair. On that day I received a list of twenty-five persons, whom I was ordered to arrest. I took the liberty to observe, that such a proceeding was not only useless, but likely to produce a very injurious effect at that critical moment. The reasons I urged had not all the effect I expected. However, some relaxation as to twenty-three of the twenty-five was conceded, but it was insisted that Fouché and Davoust should be arrested without delay. The king repeatedly said, "I wish you to arrest Fouché."—"Sire, I beseech your majesty to consider the inutility of such a measure."—"I am resolved upon Fouché's arrest. But I am sure you will miss him, for André could not catch him."

After this formal order from the king, I left the Tuileries, carrying with me the following list. I have preserved the autograph in the handwriting of M. de Blacas, and I here insert a faithful copy without even correcting the erroneous orthography of some of the names.

*Fouché; *Davoust; Le Comte, Rue de Bac, corner of the Rue de l'Université—he holds funds belonging to Fouché; M. Guillard, counsellor, of the royal court; Hinguerlot; Le Maire; Gerard; Mejean; Le Grand; Etienne; Rovigo; Real; Monnier; Arnauld; Norwins; Bouvier-Dumolard; Maret, absent; Duviquet; Patris, not here; Lavalette, absent; Syeyes; Pierre Pierre; Flao; Excellmonce; Jos. Thurot.

My nocturnal installation, as prefect of the police, took place some time after midnight. I had great repugnance to the arrest of Fouché, but the order having been given, there was no alternative but to obey it. I communicated the order to M. Foudras, who very coolly observed, "Since we are to arrest him you need not be afraid, we shall have him fast to-morrow." Next day, my agents repaired to the Duke of Otranto's hotel, Rue d'Artois. On showing their warrant, Fouché said, "What does this mean? Your warrant is of no force; it is mere waste paper. It purports to come from the prefect of the police, but there is no such prefect." In my opinion, Fouché was right; for my appointment, which took place during the night, had not been legally announced. But be that as it may, on his refusal to surrender, one of my agents applied to the staff of the national guard, requesting the support, in case of need, of an armed force. General Dessolles repaired to the Tuileries, to take the king's orders on the subject. Meanwhile Fouché, who never lost his self-possession, after talking to the police-officers who remained with him, pretended to step aside for some indispensable purpose, but the door which he opened led into a dark passage, through which he slipped, leaving my unfortunate agents groping about in the obscurity. As for himself he speedily gained the Rue Taitbout, where he stepped into a coach and drove off. This is the whole history of the notable arrest of Fouché.†

* The first and the second names have in the original an asterisk prefixed, to indicate the persons whose arrest was more particularly insisted on. The words "absent," "not here," were added by me.

† The following is Fouché's own account of this scene:

"I was sitting, without any mistrust, in my *hotel*, when some agents of the Parisian police, at the head of which Bourrienne had just been placed, suddenly made their appearance, accompanied by *gendarmes*, to arrest me. Having timely intelligence, I hastily took measures for my escape. The agents of police had already proceeded to active search in my apartments, when the *gendarmes*, commissioned to execute the order of the new prefect, presented themselves before me. These men, who had so long obeyed my orders, not daring to lay their hands on my person, contented themselves with giving me their written authority. I took the paper, opened it, and confidently said, 'This order is not regular; stay where you are, while I go and protest it.' I entered my closet, seated myself at my desk, and began to write. I then rose with a paper in my hand, and making a sudden turn, I precipitately descended into my garden by a secret door: there I found a ladder attached to a wall contiguous to the hotel of Queen Hortense. I nimbly climbed it; one of my people raised the ladder which I took and let it fall on its feet on the other side of the wall; this I

As for Davoust, I felt my hands tied with respect to him. I do not mean to affect generosity, for I acknowledge the enmity I bore him; but I did not wish it to be supposed that I was acting towards him from a spirit of personal vengeance. I therefore merely ordered him to be watched. The other twenty-three were to me, in this matter, as if they had never existed; and some of them, perhaps, will only learn in reading my Memoirs, what dangerous characters they were thought to be.

On the 15th of March, after the conversation which, as I have already related, I had with Louis XVIII., I went to M. de Blacas, and repeated to him what I had stated to the king, on the certainty of Bonaparte's speedy arrival in Paris. I told him that I found it necessary to devote the short time still in our power to prevent a reaction against the royalists, and to preserve public tranquillity until the departure of the royal family; and that I would protect the departure of all persons who had reasons for withdrawing themselves from the scene of the great and, perhaps, disastrous events that might ensue. "You may readily believe, count," added I, "that considering the great interests with which I am intrusted, I am not inclined to lose valuable time in arresting the persons of whose names I have received a list. The execution of such a measure would be useless: it would lead to nothing, or rather, it would serve to irritate public feeling. My conviction of this fact has banished from me all idea of keeping under restraint for four or five days, persons, whose influence, whether real or supposed, is null, since Bonaparte is at Auxerre. Mere supervision appears to me sufficient, and to that I propose confining myself."—"The king," replied M. de Blacas, "relies on you. He knows that, though only forty-eight hours have elapsed since you entered upon your functions, you have already rendered greater services than you are, perhaps, aware of." I then asked M. de Blacas whether he had not received any intimation of Bonaparte's intended departure from the island of Elba by letters, or by secret agents. "The only positive information we received," answered the minister, "was an intercepted letter, dated Elba, February 6th. It was addressed to M. ———, near Grenoble. I will show it you." M. de Blacas opened the drawer of his writing-table, and took out the letter, which he gave to me. The writer thanked his correspondent for the information he had transmitted to Elba. He was informed that every thing was ready for departure, and that the first favourable opportunity would be seized; but that it would be desirable first to receive

quickly scaled, and descended with still more promptitude. I arrived, in the character of a fugitive, at the house of Hortense, who extended her arms to me: and, as if by some sudden transition of an eastern tale, I suddenly found myself in the midst of the *élite* of the Bonapartists, in the head-quarters of the party, where I found mirth, and where my presence caused intoxication."—*Fouché's Memoirs*, vol. ii. (*Editor.*)

answers to some questions contained in the letter. These questions related to the regiments which had been sent into the south, and the places of their cantonment. It was inquired whether the choice of the commanders was conformable to what had been agreed on in Paris, and whether Labédoyère was at his post. Precise answers were requested on all these points. On returning the letter to M. de Blacas, I remarked that the contents of the letter called for the adoption of some decided measures, and I asked him what had been done. He answered, "I immediately sent a copy of the letter to M. d'André, that he might give orders for arresting the individual to whom it was addressed."

Having had the opportunity of closely observing the machinery of a vigilant and active government, I was, I must confess, not a little amazed at the insufficiency of the measures adopted to defeat this well-planned conspiracy. When M. de Blacas informed me of all that had been done, I could not repress an exclamation of surprise. "Well," said he, "and what would you have done?"—"In the first place I would not have lost twenty-four hours, which were an age in such a crisis." I then explained the plan I would have adopted. "You are perhaps right, sir," said M. de Blacas, "but what could I do? I am new here. I had not the control of the police, and I trusted to M. d'André."—"Well," said I, "Bonaparte will be here on the 20th of March." With these words I parted from M. de Blacas. I remarked a great change in him. He had lost a vast deal of that hauteur of favouritism, which made him be so much disliked.*

* Fouché, who was a great scoundrel, but a very clever one, completely agrees with Bourrienne as to the pride and incapacity of this emigrant-duke minister. But even the sad events of 1815 did not cure M. de Blacas. Some years after the second restoration we had opportunities of seeing some of his political doings, and of watching his demeanour both in public and private. Nothing could be less skilful than the one, or more repulsive than the other. The man was incorrigible. Fouché says, in his Memoirs:

"Towards the end of June, 1814, the king had ordered M. de Blacas to have a conference with me; accordingly I had a visit from that minister, whom I coldly received. I knew him to be surrounded by persons who were my enemies, and who enjoyed no credit with the public; such as Savary, the old prefect of police, Dubois, and a certain Madame P——, a woman in bad repute, and very notorious; I knew that the whole of them, united, exerted themselves to delude and circumvent M. de Blacas. His unconciliating manner, and his inexperience in business, joined to the aversion with which his cabal inspired me, prevented him from fully comprehending me, while it precluded me from yielding him my entire confidence. However, as Louis XVIII. would be informed that I had shown reserve and mistrust in my communications with his minister, I took up my pen, and the next day wrote a detailed letter to M. de Blacas, under the conviction that the king would be shortly made acquainted with it. I told him that the agitation of France was caused among the people by a dread of the re-establishment of feudal rights; by disquietude respecting their acquisitions, on the part of the possessors of emigrant property; by a doubt as to their personal security, on the part of those who had taken a high tone in de-

When I entered upon my duties in the prefecture of police, the evil was already past remedy. The incorrigible emigration required another lesson, and the momentary resurrection of the empire was inevitable. But, if Bonaparte was recalled, it was not owing to any attachment to him personally: it was not from any fidelity to the recollections of the empire. It was resolved at any price to get rid of those imbecile counsellors, who thought they might treat France like a country conquered by the emigrants. The people determined to straighten the curved line of M. Ferrand, and to free themselves from a government which seemed determined to trample on all that was dear to France. In this state of things, some looked upon Bonaparte as a liberator, but the greater number looked upon him as an instrument. In this last character he was viewed by the old republicans, and by a new generation, who thought they caught a glimpse of liberty in promises, and who were blind enough to believe that the idol of France would be restored by Napoleon.

In February, 1815, while every thing was preparing at Elba for the approaching departure of Napoleon, Murat applied to the court of Vienna for leave to march through the Austrian provinces of Upper Italy an army directed on France. It was on the 26th of the same month that Bonaparte escaped from Elba. These two facts were necessarily connected together; for, in spite of Murat's extravagant ideas, he never could have entertained the expectation of obliging the King of France, by the mere force of arms, to acknowledge his continued possession of the throne of Naples. Since the return of Louis XVIII., the cabinet of the Tuileries had never regarded Murat in any other light than as a usurper, and I know from good authority, that the French plenipotentiaries at the congress of Vienna,

claring either for the republic, or for Bonaparte; by the loss of, and regret for, so many prospects of glory and fortune, on the part of the army; and, finally, by the astonishment produced in the minds of the constitutionalists, on the publication of the charter (which the king had chosen to characterize as an emanation from his hereditary power). Among these causes, the most dangerous of all was precisely that which all the wisdom of the king and his ministers could not entirely foresee, nor exclude from operation. I refer to the discontent of the army, and I explained its motives; among others, I stated that an army, and more especially an army raised by conscription, always imbibes the general feeling of the nation in which it lives, and that it always ends with being either contented or discontented, like the nation, and in conjunction with the nation. With this cause of discontent, I added, that the genius of Bonaparte still interfered. 'A nation,' I observed, 'in which, for five-and-twenty years, opinions and feelings have been thrown into so strong an action as to impart disturbance to the universe, cannot, without long gradations of interval, return to a tranquil and peaceable condition; to attempt to stop the force of that activity would be impolitic; new fuel must be found for its rapacity; the boundless careers of industry in all the branches of commerce, of the arts, of the sciences, and of the discoveries which they have effected, must be thrown open and enlarged as much as possible; in short, every thing which extends the faculties and the power of man.'"—Vol. ii. (*Editor.*)

were specially instructed to insist that the restoration of the throne of Naples in favour of the Bourbons of the two Sicilies, should be a consequence of the restoration of the throne of France. I also know that the proposition was firmly opposed on the part of Austria, who had always viewed with jealousy the occupation of three thrones of Europe by the single house of Bourbon.

According to information, for the authenticity of which I can vouch, the following were the plans which Napoleon conceived at Elba: Almost immediately after his arrival in France, he was to order the marshals on whom he could best rely, to defend to the utmost the entrances to the French territory and the approaches to Paris, by a pivot movement round the triple line of fortresses which gird the north and east of France. Davoust was *in petto* singled out for the defence of Paris. He was to arm the inhabitants of the suburbs, and to have, besides, twenty thousand men of the national guard at his disposal. Napoleon, not being aware of the situation of the allies, never supposed that they could concentrate their forces, and march against him so speedily as they did. He hoped to take them by surprise, and defeat their projects, by making Murat march upon Milan, and by stirring up insurrections in Italy. The Po being once crossed, and Murat approaching the capital of Lombardy, Napoleon with the corps of Suchet, Brune, Grouchy, and Masséna, augmented by troops sent, by forced marches, to Lyons, was to cross the Alps, and revolutionize Piedmont. There, having recruited his army and joined the Neapolitans in Milan, he was to proclaim the independence of Italy, unite the whole country under a single chief, and then march at the head of a hundred thousand men on Vienna, by the Julian Alps, across which victory had conducted him in 1797. This was not all; numerous emissaries scattered through Poland and Hungary were to foment discord, and raise the cry of liberty and independence, to alarm Russia and Austria. It must be confessed it would have been an extraordinary spectacle to see Napoleon giving liberty to Europe, in revenge for not having succeeded in enslaving her.

By means of these bold manœuvres and vast combinations, Napoleon calculated that he would have the advantage of commencing the military operations. Perhaps his genius was never more fully developed than in this vast conception. According to this plan, he was to extend his operations over a line of five hundred leagues, from Ostend to Vienna, by the Alps and Italy; to provide himself with immense resources of every kind; to prevent the Emperor of Austria from marching his troops against France, and probably force him to terminate a war, from which the hereditary provinces would have exclusively suffered. Such was the bright prospect which presented itself to Napoleon, when he stepped on board the vessel

which was to convey him from Elba to France. But the mad precipitation of Murat put Europe on the alert, and the brilliant illusion vanished like a dream.*

After being assured that all was tranquil, and that the royal family was secure against every danger, I myself set out at four o'clock on the morning of the 12th of March, taking the road to Lille. Nothing extraordinary occurred until I arrived at the post-office of Fins, in front of which were drawn up a great number of carriages, which had arrived before mine, and the owners of which, like myself, were impatiently waiting for

* "The festivals and entertainments in our court at the beginning of 1815 were more splendid than ever, but much less gay, for the apparent security and confidence of Murat did not sufficiently conceal his real uneasiness; nor did the show of respect on the part of the foreign ambassadors prevent people from seeing that they had an utter aversion to his continuing on the throne. To the surprise of every body not in the secret, Joachim continued his warlike preparations. The movement in the interior of the palace increased every day —couriers were continually despatched, and the arrival and departure of foreigners was more and more frequent. And behold! after some days of extraordinary agitation at court, the news arrived that the Emperor Napoleon, having embarked on the 26th of February at Porto-Ferrajo, with a thousand soldiers, was sailing for France. The messenger who brought this news to Murat, to whom the whole plot was well known previously, arrived in Naples on the evening of the 4th of March, while the king was amusing himself in the private apartments of his wife, where only a few courtiers, ministers, and foreign ambassadors, were present. The king and queen instantly retired alone to another room, whence in a few minutes they returned and joyfully announced the news so welcome to them.

"On the following day Murat despatched extraordinary couriers to the courts of Austria and England, with letters declaring that whether Napoleon succeeded or failed in his enterprise, he (Joachim), firm in his policy, would not fail in faithfully maintaining the anti-Bonaparte alliances he had formed. These declarations were frauds and deceptions, for the king nourished in his heart designs perfectly contrary to them. He doubted the good faith of Austria and the congress assembled at Vienna: he remembered all the faults and acts of injustice committed there, as also the threats he had received. He again relied upon the good fortune of Napoleon, whom he already fancied reseated on his throne, the most powerful—the first monarch in Europe! His heart grieved at the recollection of the evil he had recently done the French in Upper Italy, and he now hoped to make amends for it, by deeds which should aid and assist the bold enterprise of his brother-in-law. And mixed up with all these thoughts was the ambitious desire of making himself master of all Italy—to hold it, and then after the event, to treat diplomatically with Austria or with France, according as victory should declare herself for Napoleon or for the allies. He knew he should surprise the Austrians; he did not fear the English, because he had concluded an armistice with them; nor did the allies cause him uneasiness, as they would be fully occupied with the war on the French frontiers."

Murat's ministers, his friends, nay, even his wife, the very sister of Bonaparte, endeavoured to dissuade him from this rash undertaking, or to induce him at least to delay its execution and quietly wait events. But he would not listen to reason. He would not be bound by the engagements he had entered into with Napoleon, who was to give him the *mot-d'ordre*, when he was to throw off the mask, and on the 15th of March, just eleven days after his receiving the news of his brother-in-law's escape from Elba, he openly declared war. On the 22d of March, the Neapolitan army advanced upon Upper Italy, and Murat rushed blindly and precipitately to his ruin.—See *Storia del Reame di Napoli, del Generale Pietro Colletta.* (*Editor.*)

horses. I soon observed that some one called the postmaster aside, in a way which did not appear entirely exempt from mystery, and I acknowledge I felt some degree of alarm. I was in the room in which the travellers were waiting, and my attention was attracted by a large bill fixed against the wall. It was printed in French and Russian, and it proved to be the order of the day which I had been fortunate enough to obtain from the Emperor Alexander to exempt posthorses, &c., from the requisitions of the allied troops.

I was standing looking at the bill when the postmaster came into the room, and advanced towards me:—"Sir," said he, "that is an order of the day which saved me from ruin."—"Then, surely you would not harm the man by whom it is signed?"—"I know you, sir, I recognised you immediately. I saw you in Paris, when you were director of the post-office, and you granted a just claim which I had upon you. I have now come to tell you that they are harnessing two horses to your calash, and you may set off at full speed." The worthy man had assigned to my use the only two horses at his disposal; his son performed the office of postilion, and I set off, to the no small dissatisfaction of some of the travellers who had arrived before me, and who, perhaps, had as good reasons as I to avoid the presence of Napoleon.

I arrived at Lille at eleven o'clock on the night of the 21st. Here I encountered another vexation, though not of an alarming kind. The gates of the town were closed, and I was obliged to content myself with a miserable night's lodging in the suburb.

I entered Lille on the 22d and Louis XVIII. arrived on the 23d. His majesty also found the gates closed, and more than an hour elapsed before an order could be obtained for opening them; for the Duke of Orleans, who commanded the town, was inspecting the troops when his majesty arrived. The king was perfectly well received at Lille. There indeed appeared some symptoms of defection, but it must be acknowledged that the officers of the old army had been so singularly sacrificed to the promotion of the returned emigrants, that it was very natural the former should hail the return of the man who had so often led them to victory. I put up at the Hotel de Gand, certainly without forming any prognostic respecting the future residence of the king. When I saw his majesty's retinue I went down and stood at the door of the hotel, where, as soon as Louis XVIII. perceived me, he distinguished me from among all the persons who were awaiting his arrival, and holding out his hand for me to kiss, he said, "Follow me, M. de Bourrienne."

On entering the apartments prepared for him the king expressed to me his satisfaction of my conduct since the restoration, and especially during the short interval I had discharged the functions of prefect of the police. He did me the honour to invite me to breakfast with him. The conversation naturally

turned on the events of the day, of which every one present spoke according to his hopes or fears. Observing that Louis XVIII. concurred in Berthier's discouraging view of affairs, I ventured to repeat what I had already said at the Tuileries, that judging from the disposition of the sovereigns of Europe, and the information which I had received, it appeared very probable that his majesty would be seated on his throne in three months. Berthier bit his nails as he did when he wanted to leave the army of Egypt and return to Paris to the object of his adoration. I could perceive that the king regarded my observation as one of those compliments which he was accustomed to receive, and that he had no great confidence in the fulfilment of my prediction. However, wishing to seem to believe it, he said what he had more than hinted before: "M. de Bourrienne, as long as I am king, you shall be my prefect of the police."

It was the decided resolution of Louis XVIII. to remain in France as long as he could; but the Napoleon fever, which spread like an epidemy among the troops, had infected the garrison of Lille. Mortier expressed to me his well-founded fears, and repeatedly recommended me to urge the king to quit Lille speedily, in order to avoid any fatal occurrence. During the two days I passed with his majesty, I entreated him to yield to the imperious circumstances in which he was placed. At length the king, with deep regret, consented to go, and I left Lille the day before that fixed for his majesty's departure.

In September, 1814, the king had appointed me chargé-d'affaires from France to Hamburg, but not having received orders to repair to my post, I have not hitherto mentioned this nomination. However, when Louis XVIII. was on the point of leaving France, he thought that my presence in Hamburg might be useful for the purpose of making him acquainted with all that might interest him in the north of Germany. But it was not there that danger was to be apprehended. There were two points to be watched: the head-quarters of Napoleon and the king's council at Ghent. I lost no time in repairing to a city where I was sure of finding a great many friends. On passing through Brussels I alighted at the Hotel de Bellevue, where the Duke de Berri arrived shortly after me. His royal highness then invited me to breakfast with him, and conversed with me very confidentially. I afterwards continued my journey.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1815.

Message to Madame de Bourrienne on the 20th of March—Napoleon's nocturnal entrance into Paris—General Berton sent to my family by Caulaincourt—Recollection of old persecutions—General Driesen—Solution of an enigma—Seals placed on my effects—Useless searches—Persecution of women—Madame de Staël and Madame de Récamier—Paris during the hundred days—The federates and patriotic songs—Declaration of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna.

At Lille, and afterwards at Hamburg, I received letters from my family, which I had looked for with great impatience. They contained particulars of what had occurred relative to me since Bonaparte's return to Paris. Two hours after my departure, Madame de Bourrienne also left Paris, accompanied by her children, and proceeded to an asylum which had been offered her seven leagues from the capital. She left, at my house in Paris, her sister, two of her brothers, and her friend the Countess Neuilly, who had resided with us since her return from emigration.

On the very morning of my wife's departure, namely, the 20th of March, a man, with whom I had always been on terms of friendship, and who was entirely devoted to Bonaparte, sent to request that Madame de Bourrienne would call on him, as he wished to speak to her on most important and urgent business. My sister-in-law informed the messenger that my wife had left Paris; but begging a friend to accompany her, she went herself to the individual, whose name will be probably guessed, though I do not mention it. The person who came with the message to my house, put many questions to Madame de Bourrienne's sister respecting my absence, and advised her, above all things, to conjure me not to follow the king; observing, that the cause of Louis XVIII. was utterly lost, and that I should do well to retire quietly to Burgundy, as there was no doubt of my obtaining the emperor's pardon.

At nine o'clock on the same evening, the very hour of Bonaparte's arrival at the Tuileries, a lady, a friend of my family, and whose son served in the young guard, called and requested to see Madame de Bourrienne. She refused to enter the house lest she should be seen, and my sister-in-law went down to

the garden to speak to her without a light. This lady's brother had been, on the preceding night, to Fontainebleau to see Bonaparte, and he had directed his sister to desire me to remain in Paris, and to retain my post in the prefecture of the police, as I was sure of a full and complete pardon.

Nothing could be more gloomy than Bonaparte's entrance into Paris. He arrived at night, in the midst of a thick fog. The streets were almost deserted, and a vague feeling of terror prevailed almost generally in the capital. On the morning of the 21st, General Berton, who has since been the victim of his mad enterprises, called at my house, and requested to speak with me and Madame de Bourrienne. He was received by my wife's sister and brothers, and stated that he came from M. de Caulaincourt, to renew the assurances of safety which had already been given to me. I was, I confess, very sensible of these proofs of friendship when they came to my knowledge; but I did not, for a single moment, repent the course I adopted. I could not forget the intrigues of which I had been the object since 1811, nor the continual threats of arrest which, during that year, had not left me a moment's quiet; and since I now revert to that time, I may take the opportunity of explaining how, in 1814, I was made acquainted with the real causes of the persecution to which I had been a prey. A person, whose name prudence forbids me mentioning, communicated to me the following letter, the original copy of which is in my possession:

MONSIEUR LE DUC DE BASSANO,

I send you some very important documents respecting the Sieur Bourrienne; and I beg you will make me a confidential report on this affair. Keep these documents for yourself alone. This business demands the utmost secrecy. Every thing induces me to believe that Bourrienne has carried on a series of intrigues with London. Bring me the report on Thursday. I pray God, &c.

NAPOLEON.

Paris, December 25, 1811.

I could now clearly perceive what to me had hitherto been enveloped in obscurity; but I was not, as yet, made acquainted with the documents mentioned in Napoleon's epistle. Still, however, the cause of his animosity directed against me was an enigma which I was unable to guess; but I obtained its solution some time afterwards.

General Driesen, who was the governor of Mittau while Louis XVIII. resided in that town, came to Paris in 1814. I had been well acquainted with him in 1810, at Hamburg, where he lived for a considerable time. While at Mittau he conceived a chivalrous and enthusiastic friendship for the King of France. We were at first distrustful of each other; but afterwards the most intimate confidence arose between us. General Driesen looked forward with certainty to the return of

the Bourbons to France; and in the course of our frequent conversations on his favourite theme, he gradually threw off all reserve, and at length disclosed to me that he was maintaining a correspondence with the king. He told me that he had sent to Hartwell several drafts of proclamations, with none of which, he said, the king was satisfied. On showing me the copy of the last of these drafts, I frankly told him, that I was quite of the king's opinion as to its unfitness. I observed, that if the king should one day return to France, and act as the general advised, he would not keep possession of his throne six months. Driesen then requested me to dictate a draft of a proclamation conformably with my ideas. This I consented to do, on one condition, viz., that he would never mention my name in connexion with the business, either in writing or conversation. General Driesen promised this, and I then dictated to him a draft which I would now candidly lay before the reader if I had a copy of it. I may add, that in the different proclamations of Louis XVIII., I remarked several passages precisely corresponding with the draft I had dictated at Hamburg.

During the four years which intervened between my return to Paris and the downfal of the empire, it several times occurred to me that General Driesen had betrayed my secret; and on his very first visit to me after the restoration, our conversation happening to turn on Hamburg, I asked him whether he had not disclosed what I wished him to conceal? "Well," said he, "there is no harm in telling the truth now. After you had left Hamburg, the king wrote to me, inquiring the name of the author of the last draft I had sent him, which was very different from all that had preceded it. I did not answer this question; but the king having repeated it in a second letter, and having demanded an answer, I was compelled to break my promise to you; and I put into the post-office of Gothenberg, in Sweden, a letter for the king, in which I mentioned your name."

The mystery was now revealed to me. I clearly saw what had excited in Napoleon's mind the suspicion that I was carrying on intrigues with England. I have no doubt as to the way in which the affair came to his knowledge. The king must have disclosed my name to one of those persons whose situations placed them above the suspicion of any betrayal of confidence, and thus the circumstance must have reached the ear of Bonaparte. This is not a mere hypothesis; for I well know how promptly and faithfully Napoleon was informed of all that was said and done at Hartwell.

Having shown General Driesen Napoleon's accusatory letter, he begged that I would intrust him with it for a day or two, saying he would show it to the king at a private audience. His object was to serve me, and to excite Louis XVIIIs'. interest in my behalf, by briefly relating to him the whole affair. The

general came to me on leaving the Tuileries, and assured me that the king, after perusing the letter, had observed, that I might think myself very happy in not having been shot. I know not whether Napoleon was afterwards informed of the details of this affair, which certainly had no connexion with any intrigues with England, and which, after all, would have been a mere peccadillo in comparison with the conduct I thought it my duty to adopt at the time of the restoration.

Meanwhile, Madame de Bourrienne informed me by an express, that seals were to be placed on the effects of all the persons included in the decree of Lyons, and consequently upon mine. As soon as my wife received information of this she quitted her retreat, and repaired to Paris to face the storm. On the 29th of March, at nine in the evening, the police-agents presented themselves at my house. Madame de Bourrienne remonstrated against the measure, and the undue hour that was chosen for its execution; but all was in vain, and there was no alternative but to submit.

But the matter did not end with the first formalities performed by Fouché's alguazils. During the month of May, seven persons were appointed to examine my papers, and among the inquisitorial septemvirate were two men well known, and filling high situations. One of these executed his commission, but the other, sensible of the odium attached to it, wrote to say he was unwell, and never came. The number of my inquisitors, *in domo*, was thus reduced to six. They behaved with great rudeness, and executed their mission with a rigour and severity exceedingly painful to my family. They carried their search so far as to rummage the pockets of my old clothes, and even to unrip the linings. All this was done in the hope of finding something that would commit me in the eyes of the new master of France. But I was not to be caught in that way; and before leaving home, I had taken such precautions as to set my mind perfectly at ease.

However, those who had declared themselves strongly against Napoleon, were not the only persons who had reason to be alarmed at his return. Women even, by a system of inquisition unworthy of the emperor, but unfortunately quite in unison with his hatred of all liberty, were condemned to exile, and had cause to apprehend further severity. It is for the exclusive admirers of the chief of the empire to approve of every thing which proceeded from him, even his rigour against a defenceless sex: it is for them to laugh at the misery of a woman, and a writer of genius, condemned, without any form of trial, to the most severe punishment, short of death. For my part, I saw neither justice nor pleasantry in the exile of Madame de Chevreuse, for having had the courage (and courage was not common then, even among men) to say that she was not made to be the jailer of the Queen

of Spain.* In the communications between the illustrious exile of Coppet and the emperor, (as for example in the interview between the latter and young Baron Augustus de Staël, which I have described,) I leave the unprejudiced reader to determine on which side was the advantage of dignity of conduct and greatness of mind. On Napoleon's return from the isle of Elba, Madame de Staël was in a state of weakness, which rendered her unable to bear any sudden and violent emotion. This debilitated state of health had been produced by her flight from Coppet to Russia, immediately after the birth of the son, who was the fruit of her marriage with M. Rocca. In spite of the danger of a journey in such circumstances, she saw greater danger in staying where she was, and she set out on her new exile. That exile was not of long duration; but Madame de Staël never recovered from the effect of the alarm and fatigue it occasioned her.

The name of the authoress of "Corinne," naturally calls to mind that of the friend who was most faithful to her in misfortune, and who was not herself screened from the severity of Napoleon, by the just and universal admiration of which she was the object. In 1815, Madame Récamier did not leave Paris, to which she had returned in 1814, though her exile was not revoked. I know positively that Hortense assured her of the pleasure she would feel in receiving her, and that Madame Récamier, as an excuse for declining the perilous honour, observed, that she had determined never again to appear in the world, as long as her friends should be persecuted.

The frequent interviews between Madame Récamier and Madame de Staël were not calculated to bring Napoleon to sentiments and measures of moderation. He became more and more irritated at this friendship between two women formed for each other's society; and, on the occasion of one of Madame de Récamier's journeys to Coppet, he informed her, through the medium of Fouché, that she was perfectly at liberty to go to Switzerland, but not to return to Paris: "Ah! Monseigneur, a great man may be pardoned for the weakness of loving women, but not for fearing them." This was the only reply of Madame Récamier to Fouché, when she set out for Coppet.†

* Napoleon, on being informed of this remark said, "She would like to act the part of the Duchess de Chevreuse, of the Fronde; but I will let her see that she has not to deal with a minor king." Madame de Chevreuse died of a broken heart, caused by her exile.

† The beautiful Madame Récamier, whose pure reputation stood unassailed during those stormy times in which few escaped censure, was residing with Madame de Staël, to whom she had heroically devoted herself, when one of the Prussian princes, who had been made prisoner at Eylau, and who was proceeding to Italy by Napoleon's permission, alighted at the castle of Coppet, with the intention of resting only for a few hours. Here, however, he was detained during the whole of the summer by the charms of Madame Récamier, who was voluntarily sharing the exile of her friend. This lady, and the young

I had no opportunity of observing the aspect of Paris during that memorable period, recorded in history by the name of the hundred days; but the letters which I received at the time, together with all that I afterwards heard, concurred in assuring me that the capital never presented so melancholy a picture as during those three months. No one felt any confidence in the duration of Napoleon's second reign; and it was said, without any sort of reserve, that Fouché, while serving the cause of usurpation, would secretly betray it. The future was viewed with alarm, and the present with dissatisfaction. The sight of the federates who paraded the Faubourgs and the Boulevards, vociferating, "The republic for ever!" and "Death to the royalists!" their sanguinary songs, the revolutionary airs played in our theatres, all tended to produce a fearful torpor in the public mind, and the issue of the impending events was anxiously awaited.

One of the circumstances, which, at the commencement of the hundred days, most contributed to open the eyes of those who were yet dazzled by the past glory of Napoleon, was the assurance with which he declared that the empress and his son would be restored to him, though nothing warranted that announcement. It was evident that he could not count on any ally; and in spite of the prodigious activity with which a new army was raised, those persons must have been blind indeed who could imagine the possibility of his triumphing over Europe, again armed to oppose him. I deplored the inevitable disasters which Bonaparte's bold enterprise would entail; but I had such certain information respecting the intentions of the allied powers, and the spirit which animated the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, that I could not for a moment doubt the issue of the conflict. Thus, I was not at all surprised, when I received at Hamburg the minutes of the conferences at Vienna, dated May 1815.

When the first intelligence of Bonaparte's landing was received at Vienna, it must be confessed that very little had been

prince, both considered themselves as the victims of Napoleon, and their common hatred of him, whom they looked upon as their oppressor, probably engendered the interest which they mutually conceived for each other. Inspired with an ardent passion, the prince, in spite of the difficulties which his exalted rank naturally suggested, conceived the idea of marrying Madame Récamier. He communicated his designs to Madame de Staël, whose poetic imagination prompted her to favour a scheme that was calculated to diffuse a sort of romantic interest over Coppet. The prince was recalled to Berlin, but absence produced no change in his sentiments. He still ardently prosecuted his suit; but Madame Récamier constantly declined this unexpected elevation, either from natural generosity of feeling, or from her catholic prejudices against divorce.

"To this circumstance we are indebted for the picture of Corinne, which is accounted one of the most original creations of Gerard's pencil. The prince ordered the picture as a compliment to Madame Récamier."—*Mémorial de Sainte Hélène.*

done at the congress; for measures calculated to reconstruct a solid and durable order of things, could only be framed and adopted deliberately, and upon mature reflection. Louis XVIII. had instructed his plenipotentiaries to defend and support the principles of justice and the law of nations, so as to secure the rights of all parties, and avert the chances of a new war. The congress was occupied with these important objects, when intelligence was received of Napoleon's departure from Elba, and his landing at the Gulf of Juan. The plenipotentiaries then signed the protocol of the conferences to which I have above alluded.

MANIFESTO ISSUED BY THE ALLIED MINISTERS ASSEMBLED AT THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

"By breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; and, by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorders, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe, that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

"The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They declare at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the Treaty of Paris of the 30th of May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, or shall hereafter resolve on, to complete and to consolidate it, they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled; and to provide against every attempt which shall threaten to replunge the world into the disorders of revolution."

In escaping from Elba, Napoleon had calculated largely on the old dilatoriness of the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian cabinet, and on the difficulties they would encounter in combining their movements with such heterogeneous masses of troops. But in this calculation he was disappointed: This time all the allied powers acted with admirable promptitude and decision. Their manifesto was immediately followed by a treaty between England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, renewing the league formerly entered into at Chaumont.

Art. 1. Declared that they would enforce the treaty of Paris, which excluded Napoleon from the throne, and also enforce the decree of outlawry issued against him.

Art. 2. Each of the contracting parties agreed to maintain constantly in the field not less than 150,000 men.

Art. 3. They agreed never to lay down their arms except by common consent, until Bonaparte was disposed of and the peace of Europe made secure.

The articles 4, 5, and 6, were merely explanatory, but it was stipulated in

Art. 7. That the other European powers should be invited to accede to the treaty.

Art. 8. Set forth that Louis XVIII., the legitimate King of France, should be particularly called upon to become a party to it.

A separate article provided that Great Britain, unaccustomed to raise armies of 150,000 men, should have the option of furnishing her contingent in men, or of paying instead at the rate of 20*l.* per annum for every foot-soldier, and 30*l.* for every horse-soldier that might be deficient in her complement. Another clause inserted does infinite honour to an accomplished, but much abused diplomatist—we mean the late Lord Castlereagh.

Referring to the 8th article of the treaty, it declared that it should not be considered as binding his Britannic Majesty to prosecute the war, with the aim and attempt of forcibly imposing on France any particular government.

Though very unpalatable to some of them, the other contracting powers accepted the adhesion of England under this explanation and explicit limitation.—*Editor.*

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.*

Napoleon at Elba—His conversations and transactions there—His escape from Elba—His landing near Cannes—March on Paris.

AT the very moment that Lord Byron (who, in common with almost every one else, thought the first abdication and retirement to Elba the last page of Bonaparte's public history) was engaged in composing his magnificent ode to Bonaparte,†

* By the Editor.

† This ode describes so accurately the fallen state of the great conqueror, that we shall be pardoned for introducing it in this place, by permission of Mr. Murray.

ODE TO NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

I.

'Tis done—but yesterday a king!
And arm'd with kings to strive—
And now thou art a nameless thing:
So abject—yet alive!
Is this the man of thousand thrones,
Who strew'd our earth with hostile bones,
And can he thus survive?
Since he, miscall'd the Morning Star,
Nor man nor fiend hath fall'n so far.

II.

Ill-minded man! why scourge thy kind
Who bow'd so low the knee?
By gazing on thyself grown blind,
Thou taught'st the rest to see.
With might unquestion'd,—power to save—
Thine only gift hath been the grave
To those that worshipp'd thee;
Nor till thy fall could mortals guess
Ambition's less than littleness!

III.

Thanks for that lesson—it will teach
To after-warriors more
Than high philosophy can preach,
And vainly preach'd before.
That spell upon the minds of men
Breaks never to unite again,
That led them to adore
Those pagod things of sabre-sway,
With fronts of brass, and feet of clay.

IV.

The triumph and the vanity,
The rapture of the strife—
The earthquake voice of victory,
To thee the breath of life;
The sword, the sceptre, and that sway
Which man seem'd made but to obey,
Wherewith renown was rife—
All quell'd!—Dark spirit! what must be
The madness of thy memory!

V.

The desolator desolate!
The victor overthrown!
The arbiter of others' fate
A suppliant for his own!
Is it some yet imperial hope
That with such change can calmly cope,
Or dread of death alone?
To die a prince—or live a slave—
Thy choice is most ignobly brave

VI.

He who of old would rend the oak,
Dream'd not of the rebound;
Chain'd by the trunk he vainly broke—
Alone—how look'd he round?
Thou, in the sternness of thy strength,
An equal deed hast done at length,
And darker fate hast found:
He fell, the forest-prowlers' prey;
But thou must eat thy heart away!

VII.

The Roman, when his burning heart
Was slaked with blood of Rome,
Threw down the dagger—dared depart,
In savage grandeur, home.—
He dared depart in utter scorn
Of men that such a yoke had borne,
Yet left him such a doom!
His only glory was that hour
Of self-upheld abandon'd power.

VIII.

The Spaniard, when the lust of sway
Had lost its quickening spell,
Cast crowns for rosaries away,
An empire for a cell;
A strict accountant of his beads,
A subtle disputant on creeds,
His dotage trifled well:
Yet better had he neither known
A bigot's shrine, nor despot's throne.

IX.

But thou—from thy reluctant hand
The thunderbolt is wrung—
Too late thou leavest the high command
To which thy weakness clung;
All evil spirit as thou art,
It is enough to grieve the heart,
To see thine own unstrung;
To think that God's fair world hath been
The footstool of a thing so mean;

X.

And earth hath spilt her blood for him,
Who thus can hoard his own!
And monarchs bow'd the trembling limb,
And thank'd him for a throne!
Fair freedom! we may hold thee dear,
When thus thy mightiest foes their fear
In humblest guise have shown.
Oh! ne'er may tyrant leave behind
A brighter name to lure mankind!

Napoleon was devising the means of escape from the place of his exile, in order that he might carry into effect the most daring scheme ever conceived in the whole course of his extraordinary career. We mean, of course, his march on Paris, his dethroning of Louis XVIII., and his braving the hostile alliance of nearly the whole of Europe.

Lord Ebrington visited Napoleon at Elba just at this point of time, and the memoranda he afterwards presented to the public of his conversations with the ex-emperor, form one of the most interesting documents we are acquainted with. By his kind permission we are enabled to make use of the materials which his lordship collected.

"Porto-Ferrajo, Monday, Dec. 6, 1814.

"I went by appointment at eight o'clock in the evening to the palace, and after waiting a few minutes, was shown into the room to Napoleon.

"After some questions about myself and my family, he asked eagerly about France, saying, '*Dites-moi franchement, sont-ils contens*' (Tell me frankly, are they contented)? I said, '*Comme ça*' (So so). He replied, 'They cannot be; they have been too much humbled by the peace—they have had a king imposed upon them, and imposed upon them by England. Lord Wellington's appointment must be very galling to the army, and so must the great attentions shown him by the king, as if opposing his own private feelings to those of the country.* The Bourbons were not calculated to be popular with a people like the French.' Madame d'An-

XI.

Thine evil deeds are writ in gore,
Nor written thus in vain—
Thy triumphs tell of fame no more,
Or deepen every stain—
If thou hadst died as honour dies,
Some new Napoleon might arise,
To shame the world again—
But who would soar the solar height,
To set in such a starless night?

XII.

Weigh'd in the balance, hero dust
Is vile as vulgar clay;
Thy scales, mortality! are just
To all that pass away;
But yet, methought, the living great
Some higher sparks should animate,
To dazzle and dismay;
Nor deem'd contempt could thus make mirth
Of these, the conquerors of the earth.

XIII.

And she, proud Austria's mournful flower,
Thy still imperial bride;
How bears her breast the torturing hour?
Still clings she to thy side?
Must she too bend; must she too share
Thy late repentance, long despair,
Thou throneless homicide?
If still she loves thee, hoard that gem,
'Tis worth thy vanish'd diadem!

XIV.

Then haste thee to thy sullen isle,
And gaze upon the sea;
That element may meet thy smile,
It ne'er was ruled by thee!
Or trace with thine all idle hand
In loitering mood upon the sand
That earth is now as free!
That Corinth's pedagogue hath now
Transferr'd his by-word to thy brow.

XV.

Thou Timour! in thy captive cage
What thoughts will there be thine,
While brooding in thy prison'd rage?
But one—"The world *was* mine!"
Unless, like he of Babylon,
All sense is with thy sceptre gone,
Life will not long confine
That spirit pour'd so widely forth—
So long obey'd—so little worth!

XVI.

Or like the thief of fire from heaven,
Wilt thou withstand the shock?
And share with him, the unforgiven,
His vulture and his rock?
Foredoom'd by God—by man accurst,
And that last act, though not thy worst,
The very fiend's arch mock;
He in his fall preserved his pride,
And, if a mortal, had as proudly died!

* Lord Wellington was appointed British ambassador to France at the conclusion of the campaign of 1814.

goulême, he had heard was plain and awkward. '*Il falloit pour l'ange de la paix du moins une femme spirituelle ou jolie.* (For the angel of peace, a witty or a pretty woman was required at least.) The king and Monsieur were too much influenced by priests. The Duke d'Angoulême, he had been told, was weak, '*et le Duc de Berri a fait dernièrement, à ce que l'on dit, bien sottises*' (and the Duke de Berri, according to report, has been committing a great many follies of late). Besides they had been the instrument of making a peace on terms to which he (Napoleon) never would have consented; giving up Belgium, which the nation had been taught to consider as an integral part of the dominions of France, and of which it would never quietly submit to be stripped. He said he spoke not from what he had heard: 'for I have no news except from the newspapers, or from the reports of travellers; but I know the French character well: it is not proud, like the English, but it is much more vain-glorious; vanity is its principal feature, and the vanity of a Frenchman makes him capable of undertaking any thing.' The army was naturally attached to him (Napoleon): 'for I had been their comrade. I had had some success with them, and they knew that I recompensed them handsomely: but at present they feel that they are nothing. There are at this moment in France 700,000 men who have borne arms, and the last campaigns have only served to show them how superior they are to their enemies. They render justice to the valour of your British troops; but they despise all the rest.'"

This last assertion was, doubtless, insincere. More than one bloody campaign had taught the French soldiery that the Russians and their iron columns were not to be despised, and in the course of the war, in 1813 and 1814, the Austrians and Prussians (particularly the latter) had commanded respect.

Bonaparte then talked about the conscription, on which subject he advanced what was decidedly untrue. He spoke of corps of a higher description for gentlemen to serve in, 'For,' said he, 'I know it is hard for a gentleman to be taken for a common soldier.' He said he had always been desirous of bringing forward the nobility, and that he had had in his army many young men of old families who behaved very well.

All this was pretty true, but Bonaparte felt at the time he was talking to an English nobleman, and shaded his discourse accordingly.

"He felt that France wanted an aristocracy: 'but for that it required time. I have made princes and dukes, and given them large estates; but I could not make real noblemen of them.' He meant, however, gradually to have intermarried them with the old nobility, as he had done in some instances, 'and if,' said he, 'the twenty years I demanded for the grandeur of France had been granted me, I would have done a good deal: but fate

has determined otherwise.' The king, he thought, ought to follow the same plan, instead of advancing those so much who, for the last twenty years, had been '*enterrés dans les greniers de Londres*' (buried in the garrets of London).

"He considered the House of Peers as the great bulwark of the English constitution, which he thought would be overturned, if there were in the country materials for making another such assembly, equal in all respects to the present; 'but in France,' he observed, 'I could make you forty senates just as good as the one they have got.' On my remarking, that I thought he laid too much stress on the peerage, he said, that in mentioning the House of Peers, he meant to include the parliament in general, which he considered as representing, by descent or by election, the heads of the commercial, as well as the landed interest, which were what he called the aristocracy of a country. That this aristocracy had enabled the royal family to get over that affair of the Duke of York.

"He had read most of the pamphlets published in France since his abdication. 'Some of them,' said he, 'call me a traitor—a coward; but it is only truth that wounds—the French well know that I am no coward.' The wisest plan of the Bourbons would be to follow, with regard to me, the same rule I observed with respect to them, which was not to suffer people to speak either ill or well of them.

"Speaking of the finances of France, he said, '*Tout ce que j'ai fait imprimer sur ce sujet est de l'évangile*' (All that I directed to be printed upon this subject is strictly true). His civil list income was 30,000,000 francs, but the expenditure seldom exceeded 18,000,000, and with that he had finished two or three of the palaces. His table cost 1,000,000 francs. His stable and *chasse*, including 700 horses, 2,000,000. He had an excellent treasurer, whom he named, but I forget—it has escaped my recollection. Besides this he had the disposal of the '*Domaines extraordinaires*,' a fund of 200,000,000, out of which he made presents, and rewarded those who distinguished themselves. To my question 'whence was this fund derived?' he answered, 'Out of the contributions of my enemies: Austria, for two treaties of peace, paid me by secret articles 300,000,000 francs, and Prussia just as enormously.' I inquired whether he had received any thing from Russia? He said, 'No!' I asked him what he thought of the Emperor Alexander? 'Oh! he is a true Greek! one cannot rely on him. He is, however, intelligent, and has certain liberal ideas with which he was imbued by one of our French *philosophes*—Laharpe, who brought him up. But he is so fickle and false that one can never know whether the sentiments he utters proceed from his real conviction, or from a species of vanity to put himself in contrast with his real position.'

"In elucidation of this he mentioned an argument they had

had upon forms of government, in which Alexander maintained a preference for elective monarchy. His (Napoleon's) opinion was quite contrary, for 'who is fit to be so elected? *Un César, un Alexandre, dont on ne trouve pas un par siècle*' (A Cæsar or an Alexander, who is not to be found once in a century): so that the election must after all be a matter of chance, *et la succession vaut sûrement mieux que les dez*' (and the law of succession is surely better than the dice). During the fortnight that they were at Tilsit, the two emperors dined together nearly every day, '*mais nous nous levions bientôt de table pour nous débarrasser du Roi de Prusse qui nous ennuyoit. Vers les neuf heures, l'Empereur revenait chez moi en frac prendre le thé*' (but we rose early from table to get rid of the King of Prussia who bored us. About nine o'clock the Emperor Alexander returned in plain clothes to drink tea with me), and remained conversing very agreeably on different subjects, for the most part philosophical or political, sometimes till two or three o'clock in the morning.' The Emperor Francis, he said, had more honesty but less capacity. '*Je me fierois à lui bien plutôt qu'à l'autre, et s'il me donnait sa parole de faire telle ou telle chose, je serois persuadé qu'au moment de la donner, il aurait l'intention de s'y tenir; mais son esprit est bien borné, point d'énergie, point de caractère*' (I would rely upon him sooner than on the other, and if he gave me his word to do such or such a thing, I would be persuaded that at the moment of giving it he meant to keep it; but his mind is very limited—no energy—no character). The King of Prussia he called '*un caporal*,' without an idea beyond the dress of a soldier, '*infiniment le plus bête des trois*' (infinitely the greatest fool of the three). The Archduke Charles was '*un esprit très-médiocre*,' who had, however, on some occasion, shewn himself not to be without military talent."

He discoursed for some time on the Russian campaign; but on that subject, as on several others he attempted to mystify Lord Ebrington, and did not tell him the whole of the truth.

"He spoke lightly of the talents of his marshals, but having once elevated them it had been his system to maintain them. He had always been indulgent respecting military errors, as he evinced in not removing Marmont from his command, after the loss of his artillery at Laon, which he now believed to have been treachery. He said that Augereau was a '*mauvais sujet*' (a bad fellow), who he thought had made his terms a month before he declared himself. He spoke well of Massena, '*Il s'est, je crois, bien comporté, comme aussi les Maréchaux Soult et Davoust*' (I believe he behaved well as did also Marshals Soult and Davoust). I asked if he was not surprised at Berthier having been among the first to hail the king's arrival. He answered with a smile, '*On m'a dit qu'il a fait quelques sottises de cette espèce; mais ce n'est pas une tête forte. Je l'avois avancé plus qu'il ne méritoit, puisqu'il m'étoit utile pour la plume. D'ail-*

leurs je vous assure que c'est un bon diable, qui s'il me voyoit seroit le premier à me témoigner ses regret de ce qu'il a fait, les larmes aux yeux' (I have been told he has committed some follies of the kind; but his head is not a strong one. I had promoted him more than he deserved, because I found his pen useful. Besides, I assure you, he is a good fellow, and if he saw me he would be the first to express regret for what he has done, with tears in his eyes).

"I asked him what he thought of the King of Spain? he said he was not without natural understanding, but ignorant and bigoted from the faults of his education, which had been left entirely to priests. '*D'ailleurs le caractère le plus dissimulé que j'ai jamais vu*' (Moreover the most dissimulating character I ever knew). He considered Charles IV. to be honest and well-intentioned, but with very little capacity. His queen, I think, he called '*une méchante femme*' (a wicked woman); but I do not recollect his saying much about her.

"He inquired if I had seen '*le beau Musée que je leur ai donné à Paris*' (the beautiful museum that I have given them at Paris)? But expressed some regret at having taken away so many fine things from Italy. '*J'ai été en cela un peu injuste; mais je ne pensois alors qu'à la France*' (I was rather unjust in that, but at that time I thought only of France). He had meant, however, to acquit his debt one day to Italy, by separating it from the French empire, and by forming it altogether into an independent kingdom for his son. I asked him if the King of Naples (Murat), would not have made an obstacle to this arrangement. He said, 'Yes, for the present, but I should have settled that somehow or other by the time my son came of age.' He had found the Italians lazy and effeminate, '*Mais j'ai fini par en faire d'aussi bons soldats que les Français*' (But I finished by making them as good soldiers as the French). On my naming the Viceroy, he said, '*C'est un jeune homme que j'ai toujours traité comme mon fils, et dont j'ai toujours eû lieu de me louer*' (He is a young man whom I have always treated as my son, and who has always deserved my praise). I asked if he was not a very good officer, he said, '*Oui, il s'est toujours très-bien conduit* (Yes, he has always behaved very well); but he is by no means a man of superior talents.' He questioned me a good deal about Milan; the disposition of the people towards him; whether the things he had begun there were going on, &c.; and seemed pleased at my admiration of the Simplon, which led him to speak of the roads and other public works he had made, or intended to have made, in different parts of the French dominions. Among them he particularly mentioned the dock-yards at Antwerp and Venice.

"He asked me, '*Que feroit-on avec moi si je venois en Angleterre? serois-je lapidé*' (What would they do with me if I were to go to England? Should I be stoned)? I replied, that

he would be perfectly safe there, as the violent feelings which had been excited against him were daily subsiding, now that we were no longer at war. He said, smiling, '*Je crois pourtant qu'il y auroit toujours quelque risque de la part de votre mob de Londres*' (I believe, however, that there would always be some risk on the part of your London mob). I then mentioned to him the odium that some of his acts had produced in England, and instanced the execution of the Duke d'Enghien. He justified it on the score of his being engaged in a treasonable conspiracy; and having made two journeys to Strasburg in disguise, in consequence of which he had been seized and tried by a military commission, which sentenced him to be shot. '*On m'a dit qu'il demanda à me parler ; ce qui me toucha, car je savois que c'étoit un jeune homme de cœur et de mérite ; je crois même que je l'aurois peut-être vu ; mais M. de Talleyrand m'en empêcha, disant :* N'allez pas vous compromettre avec un Bourbon : vous ne savez pas ce qui en pourront être les suites ; le vin est tiré, il faut le boire*' (I have been told he desired to speak with me; which affected me, for I knew he was a young man of spirit and talent. I even believe that I would have seen him; but M. de Talleyrand hindered me, saying, 'Don't commit yourself with a Bourbon: you know not what may be the consequences of it: the wine is drawn—it must be drank'). I asked him if it was true that the duke was shot by torch-light? He replied, '*Eh ! non ; cela auroit été contre la loi* (Ah! no; that would have been contrary to law). The execution took place at the usual hour, about eight in the morning; and I immediately ordered the official report of it, with the sentence, to be published in every town in France.' I mentioned the idea that prevailed in England as to the murder of Captain Wright. He did not recollect the name; but on my saying that he was a companion of Sir Sidney Smith, he said, '*Est-il donc mort en prison? car j'ai entièrement oublié la circonstance*' (Did he then die in prison? for I have entirely forgotten the circumstance). He

* We think it due to this extraordinary personage to state our firm conviction that what Napoleon says here is utterly untrue. Napoleon knew the wonderful talent and address of M. de Talleyrand, as also how largely they had contributed to the first restoration of the Bourbons in 1814. From that moment he entertained a most rancorous spite against his ex-minister, on whose shoulders he tried to throw the weight of many of his politics, mistakes, and crimes. He roundly asserted, on several occasions, that Talleyrand projected and counselled the usurpation of the Spanish throne; whereas, that minister strongly dissuaded him from it, and thereby incurred the wrath and insults of his master. It was when madly rushing into this destructive war that M. de Talleyrand (as we believe) first made use of that piquant expression, "This is the beginning of the end." When Bonaparte commenced his Spanish manœuvres M. de Talleyrand was not minister for foreign affairs—in his anger the emperor had coarsely and suddenly taken that office from him and given it to Champagny, the Duke of Cadore. Even Fouche, who never loses an opportunity of hitting Talleyrand wholly exculpates him on this head.—See Notes at the end of this chapter. —*Editor.*

scouted the notion of foul play, adding, that he had never put any man to death clandestinely, or without a trial: '*Ma conscience est sans reproche sur ce point* (My conscience is without reproach on that point); and had I been less sparing of blood, perhaps I might not have been here now. But your newspapers charged me also with the death of Pichegru, who strangled himself with his neckcloth.'

"He then went into an interesting account of Georges's conspiracy; its discovery by the confession of ——, an apothecary, a *Chouan;* and a curious conversation which was overheard between Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges, at a house on the Boulevards.

"He spoke with apparent pleasure of Egypt, and described humorously enough his admission and that of his army into Mahometanism, on receiving from the men of the law, after many meetings and grave discussions at Cairo, a dispensation from being circumcised, and a permission to drink wine, under the condition of their doing a good action after each draught: 'You can hardly imagine,' said he, 'the advantages which I gained in the country from this adoption of their religion.' I mentioned Sir Robert Wilson's statement of his having poisoned his sick: he answered, '*Il y a dans cela quelque fondement de vrai* (There is some foundation of truth in that). Three or four* men of the army had the plague: they could not have lived twenty-four hours; I was about to march; I consulted Desgenettes as to the means of removing them; he said that it must be attended with some risk of infection, and would be useless to them as they were past recovery. I then recommended him to give them a dose of opium rather than leave them to the mercy of the Turks. '*Il me répondit en fort honnête homme que son métier étoit de guérir et non de tuer*' (He answered me like a very honest man, that it was his business to cure, and not to kill): so the men were left to their fate. Perhaps he was right, though I asked for them what I should under similar circumstances have wished my best friends to have done for me. I have often thought since on the morality of this and have conversed on it with others, *et je crois qu'au fond il vaut toujours mieux souffrir qu'un homme finisse sa destinée quelle qu'elle soit*' (And I believe, that after all it is always better to suffer a man to finish his destiny, be it what it may). I judged so afterwards in the case of my friend Duroc, who, when his bowels were falling out before my eyes, repeatedly cried to me to have him put out of his misery. '*Je lui dis, je vous plains, mon ami, mais il n'y a pas de remède, il faut souffrir jusqu'à la fin*' (I said to him, I pity you my friend, but there is no help for it—you must suffer on to the end). I then asked him about the

* Bourrienne who was with Bonaparte in Egypt, says there were nearly sixty cases of plague in the military hospital. See *ante*, vol. i., p. 194.

massacre of the Turks at Jaffa: he answered, '*C'est vrai—J'en fis fusiller à peu près deux mille.—Vous trouvez cela un peu fort —mais je leur avois accordé une capitulation à El Arish à condition qu'ils retourneroient chez eux. Ils l'ont rompue et se sont jettés dans Jaffa où je les pris par assaut. Je ne pouvois les emmener prisonniers avec moi, car je manquois de pain, et ils étoient des diables trop dangereux pour les lâcher une seconde fois, de sorte que je n'avois d'autre moyen que de les tuer*' (It is true: I had about two thousand of them shot—you think that rather strong —but I had granted them a capitulation at El Arish, upon condition that they should return to their homes. They broke the condition and threw themselves into Jaffa, where I took them by assault. I could not carry them off as prisoners, for I was in want of bread, and they were by far too dangerous devils to be let go a second time: so that I had no other means but to kill them).

"This," says Lord Ebrington, "is all that I accurately recollect of this interesting conversation, which lasted from eight till half-past eleven o'clock, as we walked up and down the room. His manner put me quite at my ease almost from the first, and seemed to invite my questions, which he answered upon all subjects without the slightest hesitation, and with a quickness of comprehension and clearness of expression beyond what I ever saw in any other man: nor did he, in the whole course of the conversation, betray either by his countenance or manner, a single emotion of resentment or regret."

Lord Ebrington's then continues:

"Wednesday, Dec. 8, 1814.

"As I was embarking to return to Leghorn, an aide-de-camp brought me an invitation to dine with the Emperor, which I accepted. I went at seven o'clock, and soon afterwards dinner was announced. It was plain, but well served, on plate, which from its size and substance most probably had been his camp service. General Drouot dined with us, but did not join in the conversation, and almost immediately after we went into the next room to coffee, left me alone with Napoleon.

"He asked me several questions about the administration of justice, the courts of law, and the magistracy of England; answering, at the same time, mine respecting the administration of justice in France, and discussing their comparative merits. From this topic we got to the two Houses of Parliament, and some of the principal speakers in them, such as Mr. Canning, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Whitbread, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Liverpool, Lord Grey, and Lord Grenville. He said that he had seen some very good speeches of the latter, which gave him a great idea of his talents. He added, '*Lord Grey est aussi un de vos grands orateurs*' (Lord Grey also is one of your great orators). He asked me about the motion I had made in behalf of Lord Cochrane, and said, '*Vous*

aviez raison ; un homme comme lui ne devoit pas souffrir une peine si infamante' (You were right ; a man like him ought not to suffer so degrading a punishment). But he was astonished that the House of Commons should have allowed one of their own body to be so condemned ; seeming in this, as in our former conversation, to confound the two Houses of Parliament together, and to consider them as the only tribunal for the trial of their own members.

" He entered a good deal into the state of parties, and asked if there existed any in England '*assez Jacobin pour célèbrer comme fête le jour de la mort de Charles I.*' (Jacobin enough to celebrate as a holiday the day of Charles the First's death).* I answered, that I believed not ; but that, on the contrary some of the zealous Jacobite clergy still read the service appointed for that day as a fast in our liturgy. He then praised our political consistency : ' for,' said he, ' in England, a man who quits his party is, to a certain degree, disgraced, unless he has some good reason to assign for it ; whereas in France, they change sides just as it may suit their present interests, without feeling accountable to any one.' He was surprised at the impolicy of our government with respect to the Catholics.

" He inquired after several persons whom he had seen at Paris during the peace : the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, Lord Whitworth, Lord Erskine, Lord Holland ; and a good deal about Mr. Fox, with whom he said he had conversed much : ' *Et il a été content de moi, n'est-ce pas*' (And he was satisfied with me, was he not) ? I told him that I was not sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Fox to have ever heard him say so, but that I understood he had been much flattered by the reception he met with from him, as well as generally in France. He said, ' *Il en avoit bien raison : on l'a reçu partout comme un Dieu, parce qu'on savoit qu'il étoit toujours pour la paix*' (He had good reason to be so—he was received every where like a god, because people knew he was always for peace). He spoke of his oratory, as compared with that of Mr. Pitt.

" He said that it was his wish to have kept the peace of Amiens, but that we chose to break it. He praised, in the highest terms, the late Lord Cornwallis, as a man who, without superior talents, was, from his integrity and goodness, an honour to his country. ' *C'est là ce que j'appelle la belle race de votre noblesse Anglaise*' (That is what I call the fine race of your English nobility), and he wished that he had had some of his stamp in France. He added, that he always knew whether the English cabinet were sincere in any proposal for peace, by the

* This was the case formerly, and a calf's head was always served up at dinner, as an emblem and in derision of the king, but the Calf Head Club had been out of fashion for about half a century when Bonaparte put this question to Lord Ebrington.—*Editor.*

persons they sent to treat. I remarked, that the impression we had of his views of aggrandizement made many of our statesmen, and Lord Grenville among them, afraid of making peace with him. He replied, '*Vous aviez tort; je ne voulois que vous rendre justes; je respecte le caractère Anglais, mais je voulois la liberté du commerce et de la mer. Les circonstances en me suscitant des guerres m'ont fourni les moyens d'aggrandir mon empire, et je ne les ai pas négligés; mais il me falloit plusieurs années de répos pour tout ce que je voulois faire pour la France. Dîtes à Lord Grenville qu'il vienne me voir à l'île d'Elbe*' (You were wrong; I only wanted to render you just: I respect the English character—but I wished for the liberty of trade and of the seas. Circumstances which provoked me to carry on war furnished me with the means of aggrandizing my empire, and I certainly did not neglect them: but I required a good many years of quiet to complete what I wished to do for France. Tell Lord Grenville to come to see me at the island of Elba). 'I believe you thought, in England, that I was the devil; but now that you have seen France, and seen me, you will probably allow that you have, in some respects, been deceived.'

"I blamed his detention of the English travellers, which he justified on the score of retaliation, for our making prizes at sea before a declaration of war. I replied, that this had been in a manner sanctioned by long use. He said, 'Yes, to you who gain, but not to others who suffer from it; and if you make new laws of nations, I have a right to do the same.'

"He went at some length into his plan for the re-establishment of an aristocracy, by restoring or giving titles of nobility to all who could prove their immediate descent from persons who had served the country in any high office, civil or military; buying estates for them, according to their several degrees of nobility, out of the '*Domaines extraordinaires*,' and uniting them by intermarriages with the families of his marshals

"He asked me if I had seen his '*Temple de la Gloire*' at Paris. He intended it for a very different purpose, having contrived the inside so that it might, with a little alteration, be made into a church, which he should, in some eighteen or twenty years, have dedicated to the expiation of the massacres of the revolution. He spoke of the church establishment of France, which had been entirely his own work; the revolution having destroyed the old one without substituting any thing in its place. 'In this,' said he, 'I had a great advantage, from beginning *de novo*.' He thought an establishment essential to every state, to prevent the disorders that might arise from a general indulgence of wild, speculative opinions: '*Nous ne savons d'où nous venons, ce que nous deviendrons*' (We know not whence we come or what will become of us); but our minds, if not otherwise employed, turn naturally to our own situation; and the mass of the people ought to have some fixed point of

faith, whereon to rest their thoughts. '*D'ailleurs pourvu qu'un homme soit un bon sujet, je ne m'embarrasse pas de sa manière de prier Dieu; je suis Catholique puisque mon Père l'étoit, et parce que c'étoit la Religion de la France*' (Moreover, provided a man be a good subject, I do not care in what manner he worships God: I am a catholic because my father was one, and because that was the religion of France). On my observing that there seemed a great indifference generally throughout the country about public worship, he said, '*Eh! non: le Français aime bien son curé, sa messe, pourvu toujours qu'il n'aye pas à le payer*' (No! the Frenchman likes his curate and his mass well enough, provided he has not to pay for them). He had frequently petitions from villages and districts for a parish priest, to which he always assented, '*à condition qu'ils le payeroient* (on condition that they pay him): this they as constantly declined. He then inquired into their case, and if he found the request reasonable, gave them the *curé;* for he rather liked to encourage devotion among the people. Not so, however, in his armies: '*Je ne souffrois pas des prêtres là, car je n'aime point le soldat dévot*' (I never allowed priests there, because I do not like the devout soldier). He also carefully excluded the priesthood from any thing like civil jurisdiction; and therefore enacted that all marriages should be registered in a civil court, making that register the legal proof, without the necessity of any certificate from the priest, or even of any religious ceremony at all, if the parties were content to have it so. He asked if we did not continue to pay tithes in England; and wondered that Henry VIII., when he reformed our church, did not get rid of them altogether.

"He discussed the policy of France with respect to St. Domingo, and condemned the measures they were adopting, as ill calculated to promote their views there. He did not object to the abolition of the slave trade, though he might to a treaty compelling him to it; but, in his opinion, the best mode of at once tranquillizing and civilizing the colonies, would be by the encouragement of intermarriages between the whites and blacks. For that purpose he would allow every man to have two wives, provided they were of different colours; so that the children of both, brought up under the same roof, and upon the same footing, would, from their infancy, learn to consider themselves as equal, and in the ties of relationship to forget the distinction of colour. He believed that the origin of polygamy in the East had been derived from the same principle, of uniting nations of different colours and habits, separated by great deserts and rivers, when they came under one government; and wisely had it been adopted by Mahomet in his law. The Jews acted on a contrary system, from a desire of keeping themselves a distinct nation, and from them is derived our law respecting

marriage; but why should we carry it among people where, from the nature of our relations with them, it can only do us harm?*

"He asked how our affairs went on in America. '*Comment font-ils pour vous battre sur la mer?*' (How do they manage to beat you by sea?) I answered, that their frigates were of a larger size, and more fully manned. He said, with a smile, '*Mais c'est toujours vrai qu'ils vous battent*' (But it is still true that they beat you). He entered into some discussion on the grounds of the war, and concluded, by observing that 'You had better make peace; you will gain more by trading with them than by burning their towns; besides, your state of war at this time weakens your influence at the Congress.'

"He inquired kindly after '*Mon bon ami Usher*' (My good friend Usher), and spoke with great admiration of our discipline and skill in the management of our ships.

"On my expressing my surprise at the admirable *sang froid* with which he bore the change of his situation, he said, '*C'est que tout le monde en a été, je crois, plus étonné que moi: je n'ai pas une trop bonne opinion des hommes, et je me suis toujours méfié de la fortune: d'ailleurs j'ai peu joui: mes frères ont été beaucoup plus rois que moi.* (Every body has been more astonished at it than myself. I have not a good opinion of men; and I have always been doubtful of fortune: besides I have had few enjoyments. My brothers have been much more kings than I.) 'They have had the enjoyments of royalty, whilst I have had little but its fatigues.' He asked if I knew his brother Lucien, and what success his poem had had?† said he was a clever man, but doubted his understanding sufficiently the '*finesses*' of the French language for an epic poet. '*C'est de tous mes frères celui qui a le plus de talent.* (Of all my brothers he is the one that has most talent.)

"Speaking of some of the events of the last campaign, he observed, that when the allies crossed the Rhine, he had urged the senate to decree that no peace should be made whilst the enemy was within the territory of France. '*Cela auroit donné de la confiance au peuple qui commençoit à se soulever contre les alliés —c'étoit là le moment de montrer du caractère. Les Romains furent souvent vainqueurs, mais ils ne furent jamais si grands qu'après la bataille de Cannes* (That would have given confidence to the people who had begun to rise against the allies; that was the moment to show firmness of character. The Romans were often victorious, but they were never so great as after their defeat at Canne). A parliament like that of England would

* This odd system of polygamy was a favourite subject with Bonaparte, and one he frequently talked about, even in the presence of the ladies who accompanied him to Elba. Some of his illustrations were very gross.—*Editor.*

† A short time before this interview, Lucien Bonaparte had published in England his epic poem of Charlemagne.—*Editor.*

have done so, *mais le Sénat n'en eut pas le courage* (but the senate had not the necessary courage). They began *à me chicaner sur des misères* (they began to quarrel with me about miserable trifles),* which had been matter of dispute between us: *Ils se disoient: l'Empereur n'est pas comme les autres hommes, il ne se plait qu'à la guerre, il hait le répos, les plaisirs, les femmes.* (They said among themselves the emperor is not like other men —he is pleased only with war: he hates repose, pleasure, and women). This was by no means the case: I enjoyed my pleasures like another man, when I had time for them: *J'ai eu deux femmes—vous savez l'histoire de mon divorce*' (I have had two wives—you know the history of my divorce). He believed there could hardly be found an example of another grounded so exclusively on public motives, '*et dans l'amitié la plus parfaite. J'ai depuis épousé une jeune princesse, d'un âge un peu disconvenable à la mienne; mais personne, je crois, ne doute qu'elle ne me soit beaucoup attachée. J'ai aussi eu des maîtresses qui m'ont bien aimées; mais je n'ai jamais eu une maîtresse en titre, et je ne me suis jamais laissé gouverner par une femme*' (I afterwards married a young princess of an age rather unsuitable to mine; but nobody, I believe, doubts that she is much attached to me. I have also had mistresses that loved me well; but I never kept a declared mistress, nor permitted myself to be ruled by a woman).

"He asked me about my intended stay in Italy, and the places I proposed visiting, &c. On my mentioning Naples, he said, '*Vous verrez donc sûrement le Roi de Naples. C'est un bon militaire; c'est un des hommes les plus brillants que j'ai jamais vu sur un champ de bataille. Pas d'un talent supérieur, sans beaucoup de courage moral, assez timide même pour le plan des opérations; mais le moment qu'il voyoit l'ennemi, tout cela disparoissoit. C'étoit alors le coup d'œuil le plus rapide, une valeur vraiment chevaleresque.—D'ailleurs un bel homme, grand, bien. mis, et avec beaucoup de soin: quelque fois un peu fantastiquement —Enfin un magnifique Lazzarone*' (You will then be sure to see the King of Naples. He is a good soldier—one of the most brilliant men I ever saw on a field of battle. Not of superior talents, without much moral courage, timid even in forming his plan of operations; but the moment he saw the enemy, all that vanished—his eye was the most sure and most rapid, his courage truly chivalrous. Moreover he is a fine man, tall, well dressed, though at times rather fantastically. In short, a magnificent Lazzarone). I asked if he did not make a fine charge

* This accusation of cowardice seems to us absurd. How could Bonaparte expect political courage from a body of men whom he had constantly made tremble under his absolute will—whom he had reduced to the last stage of servility and passive obedience?

When the liberties of Rome were annihilated, the courage of the Roman senate expired with them.—*Editor.*

with the cavalry at the battle of Leipsic, on the first day? He replied, '*Parbleu il les menoit toujours même trop bien, il les faisoit trop tuer—et toujours en avant lui-même. C'étoit vraimeni un superbe spectacle de le voir dans les combats à la tête de la cavalerie*' (By Jove! he always carried them forward even too well, getting too many of them killed, and he himself always foremost—always at their head. It was really a magnificent sight to see him in battle, heading the cavalry).

"He showed more animation in speaking on this than on any other topic in the whole course of conversation, and seemed quite to dwell on it with pleasure. He said, '*Vous verrez aussi la Reine; c'est une belle personne, et très-fine*' (You will also see the queen; she is a handsome person, and very cunning).

"He then asked me how long I proposed remaining at Elba; offered me a horse from his stables to ride about the island; and at a little past eleven o'clock dismissed me."

CONVERSATION OF FOUCHÉ WITH THE EMPEROR ON THE SUBJECT OF THE WAR IN SPAIN.

Bonaparte had secretly made up his mind to entrap the royal family and seize upon Spain. Upon his return to St. Cloud, after the treaty of Tilsit, and his very friendly intercourse with the Emperor Alexander there, he received the most vapid and extravagant adulations from all the principal authorities.

"Every day," says the astute Fouché, "I saw more and more the change which vanity and infatuation were producing in this great character: he became more reserved than ever with his ministers. Eight days after his return he made some sudden changes: General Clarke, since Duke of Feltre, was named war-minister, Cretet, a simple counsellor of state, was appointed to the Interior, and Berthier was made vice-constable. But that which caused the greatest astonishment was to see the portfolio of foreign affairs placed in the hands of Champagny, since Duke of Cadore. To deprive M. de Talleyrand of this department was a sign of disgrace, which however was partly disguised by favours conferring merely empty honours. M. de Talleyrand was appointed to be vice-grand elector, which did not fail to furnish subject matter for the punsters of Paris. *It is certain that a disagreement of opinion upon the projects relative to Spain was the principal cause of his disgrace;* but this important subject had, as yet, been treated only in private by the Emperor and M. de Talleyrand. I however penetrated the mystery even before the secret treaty of Fontainebleau.

"Here opens the memorable year of 1808, the period of a new era, in which Napoleon's star began to wax dim. I had at length a confidential communication of the real object which had induced him to enter into the secret treaty of Fontainebleau, and to determine upon the invasion of Portugal. Napoleon announced to me that the Bourbons of Spain, and the house of Braganza, would shortly cease to

reign. ‘ Leaving Portugal out of the question,’ said I to him, ‘ which is truly an English colony, with respect to Spain, you have no cause for complaint; those Bourbons are, and will be as long as you wish it, your most humble prefects. Besides, are you not mistaken with respect to the character of the people of the Peninsula? Take care: you have, it is true, many partisans there; but only because they consider you as a great and powerful potentate, as a friend and an ally. If you declare without any cause against the reigning family; if, favoured by domestic dissensions, you realize the fable of the oyster and the lawyers, you must declare against the majority of the population. Besides, you ought to know that the Spaniards are not a cold, phlegmatic people, like the Germans; they are attached to their manners, their governments and old customs; the mass of the nation is not to be estimated by the heads of society, who are, as every where else, corrupted and possessed but of little patriotism. Once more, take care you do not transform a tributary kingdom into a new Vendée.’—‘ What is it you say?’ replied he, ‘ every reflecting person in Spain despises the government; the Prince of the Peace, a true mayor of the palace, is detested by the nation; he is a scoundrel who will himself open the gates of Spain for me. As to the rabble, whom you have mentioned, who are still under the influence of monks and priests, a few cannon-shot will quickly disperse them. You have seen warlike Prussia, that heritage of the great Frederick, fall before my arms like a heap of rubbish; well, you will see Spain surrender itself into my hands without knowing it, and afterwards applaud itself; I have there an immense party. I have resolved to continue in my own dynasty the family system of Louis XIV.; uniting Spain to the destinies of France. I am desirous of availing myself of the only opportunity afforded me by fortune of regenerating Spain, of detaching it entirely from England, and of uniting it inseparably to my system. Reflect that the sun never sets in the immense inheritance of Charles V., and that I shall have the empire of both worlds.’

“ I found that it was a design resolved upon, that all the counsels of reason would avail nothing, and that the torrent must be left to take its course. However, I thought it my duty to add, that I entreated his Majesty to consider in his wisdom, whether all that was taking place was not a *ruse-de-guerre;* whether the northern powers were not anxious to embroil him with the south, as a useful diversion, and with the ultimate view of reuniting with England, at a convenient opportunity, in order to place the empire between two fires.”

“ ‘ You are,’ cried he, ‘ a true minister of police, who mistrusts every thing, and believes in nothing good. I am sure of Alexander, who is very sincere. I now exercise over him a kind of charm, independently of the guarantee offered me by those about him, of whom I am equally certain.’ Here Napoleon related to me all the trifling nonsense which I had heard from his suite respecting the interview at Tilsit, and the sudden predilection of the Russian court for the emperor and his people; he did not omit the flattery by means of which he believed he had captivated the Grand Duke Constantine himself, who, it is said, was not displeased at being told that he was the best dressed prince in Europe, and had the finest thighs in the world.”

“ The affairs of Rome and the Pope were now thrown into shade by

the events which took place at Madrid and Bayonne, where Napoleon arrived on the 15th of April, with his court and suite. Spain was already invaded; and, under the mask of friendship, the French had taken possession of the principal fortresses in the north.

"Having seized Spain, and full of hopes, Napoleon now prepared to appropriate to himself the treasures of the new world, which five or six adventurers came to offer him as the infallible result of their intrigues. All the machinery of this vast plot was prepared; a perfect understanding prevailed from the château of Marrac to Madrid, Lisbon, Cadiz, Buenos Ayres, and Mexico. Napoleon was followed by his private establishment of political imposture; his Duke of Rovigo, Savary; his Archbishop of Molines, the Abbé Pradt; his Prince Pignatelli; and many other tools, more or less active, of his diplomatic frauds. *The ex-minister, Talleyrand, was also in his suite, but more as a passive observer than an agent.*

"I had warned Napoleon, on the eve of his departure, that the public opinion became irritated by the anxiety of expectation, and that the talk of the day had already reached a height far above the power of my three hundred regulators of Paris to suppress.

"This was still worse when events developed themselves; when by stratagem and perfidy, all the family of Spain found itself caught in the Bayonne nets; when the Madrid massacre of the 2d of May took place; and when the rising of nearly an entire nation had set almost the whole of the Peninsula in conflagration. All was known and ascertained in Paris, notwithstanding the incredible efforts of all the police establishments to intercept or prevent the knowledge of public events. Never in the whole course of my two ministries did I see so decided a reprobation of the insatiable ambition and machiavelism of the head of the state. This convinced me, that in an important crisis truth would assert all its rights, and regain all its empire. I received from Bayonne two or three very harsh letters respecting the bad state of the public mind, for which I seemed to be in some degree considered as responsible; my bulletins were a sufficient answer. Towards the end of July, after the capitulation of Baylen, it became impossible to restrain it. The counter-police, and the Emperor's private correspondents, took the alarm; they even deceived themselves so far as to put him on his guard against the symptoms of a conspiracy, totally imaginary, in Paris. The Emperor quitted Bayonne in all haste, after several fits of rage, which were metamorphosed in the saloons of the Chaussée d'Antin, and the Faubourg Saint-Germain, into an attack of fever. Traversing La Vendée, he returned to Saint-Cloud, by the Loire. I expected some severe observations upon my first audience, and was consequently on my guard. 'You have been too indulgent, Duke d'Otranto,' were his first words. 'How is it you have permitted so many nests of babblers and slanderers to be formed in Paris?'—'Sire, when every one is implicated, what is to be done; besides, the police cannot penetrate into the interior of families, and the confidences of friendship.'—'But foreigners have excited disaffection in Paris.'—'No, sire, the public discontent has been confined to itself; old passions have been revived, and in this respect there has been much expression of discontent. But nations cannot be aroused, without arousing the passions.

It would be impolitic, imprudent even, to exasperate the public mind by unseasonable severity. This disturbance has likewise been exaggerated to your majesty: it will be appeased, as so many others have been; all will depend upon this Spanish war, and the attitude assumed by continental Europe. Your Majesty has surmounted difficulties much more serious, and crises much more important.' It was then that, striding up and down his cabinet, he again spoke to me of the Spanish war as a mere skirmish, which scarcely deserved a few cannon shot; at the same time flying into a rage against Murat, Moncey, and especially Dupont, whose capitulation he stigmatized with the term infamous, declaring that he would make an example of him in the army. 'I will conduct this war of peasants and monks,' continued he, 'myself, and I hope to thrash the English soundly. I will immediately come to an understanding with the Emperor Alexander, for the ratification of the treaties and the preservation of the tranquillity of Europe. In three months I will reconduct my brother to Madrid, and in four I myself will enter Lisbon, if the English dare to set foot there. I will punish this rabble, and will drive out the English.'"—*Memoirs of Fouché.* (*Editor.*)

It is evident that Napoleon created no suspicion in the mind of Lord Ebrington as to the escape he was then meditating, and which he carried into effect only two months and a few days after his lordship's departure from Elba.

Napoleon, indeed, with equal skill concealed his purposes from long and close observers, whom we cannot accuse of being indolent, or men of low or weak capacities: but nevertheless a faint and uncertain glimmering of the truth now and then broke upon certain minds, while many thousand French partisans in different parts of Europe, who had been let into the secret, knew perfectly well that it was not Bonaparte's intention to give up the game and throw down his last card at Elba.

About the middle of May, 1814, Baron Kohler, the Austrian commissioner, took farewell of Napoleon, to return to Vienna. The scene of Napoleon's parting with this gentleman is said to have been quite pathetic on the Emperor's side. He wept as he embraced General Kohler, and entreated him to procure, if possible, his reunion with his wife and child—called him the preserver of his life—regretted his poverty, which prevented his bestowing on him some valuable token of remembrance—finally, folding the Austrian general in his arms, he held him there for some time, repeating expressions of warm attachment. This sensibility existed all upon one side; for an English gentleman who witnessed the scene, having asked Kohler afterwards what he was thinking of while locked in the Emperor's embraces—"Of Judas Iscariot," answered the Austrian.*

* See Quarterly Review, and Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon.

After the departure of Baron Kohler, Colonel Sir Niel Campbell was the only one of the four commissioners who remained at Elba by orders of the British cabinet. It was difficult to say what his office really was, or what were his instructions. He had neither power, right, nor means, to interfere with Napoleon's motions. The Emperor had been recognised by a treaty as an independent sovereign. It was, therefore, only as a nondescript kind of envoy that Sir Niel Campbell was permitted to reside at his court. In fact, Sir Niel Campbell had no direct or ostensible situation, and of this the French at Elba soon took advantage. Drouot, the governor of Porto-Ferrajo, made such particular inquiries into the character assumed by the British envoy, and the length of his stay, as obliged Campbell to declare, that his orders were to remain in Elba till the breaking up of the Congress, which was now settling the affairs of Europe; but if his orders should direct him to continue there after that period, he would apply to have his situation placed on some recognised public footing.

Napoleon did not oppose or murmur at the equivocal residence of Sir Niel Campbell at Elba; he affected, on the contrary, to be pleased with it. For a considerable time he even seemed to seek the society of the British envoy, held frequent intercourse with him, and conversed with apparent confidence on public affairs. It appeared from these conversations, that Napoleon's expressions were arranged, generally speaking, on a premeditated plan, yet it is equally evident that his ardent temperament, when once engaged in discourse, led him to discover more of his own private thoughts than he would on cool reflection have suffered to escape him.

On the 16th of September, 1814, for example, Sir Niel Campbell had an audience of three hours, during which, Napoleon, with his habitual impatience of a sedentary posture, walked from one end of the room to the other, and talked incessantly. He was happy, he said, that Sir Niel remained in Elba, *pour rompre la chimère* (to destroy, the idea that he, Bonaparte, had any further intention of disturbing the peace of Europe). "I think," he continued, "of nothing beyond the verge of my little isles. I could have supported the war for twenty years, if I had chosen. I am now a deceased person, occupied with nothing but my family, my retreat, my house, my cows, and my poultry." And yet not unfrequently the very moment after assertions like these, Napoleon's eye would flash, his lips quiver, and on some sudden reference to the Bourbons, or to his army, he would let words escape him that proved ambition was still alive and working within him.

On another occasion, he described the ferment in France, which he said he had learned from the correspondence of his guards with their native country, and so far forgot the character of a defunct person as to say plainly, that the present disaffec-

tion would break out with all the fury of the former revolution, and require his own resurrection. "For then," he added, "the sovereigns of Europe will soon find it necessary for their own repose, to call on me to tranquillize matters."

Sir Niel Campbell conceived some suspicions, but upon the whole, thought it unlikely that he meditated an escape, unless a very tempting opening should present itself in France or Italy.

Napoleon frequently talked about his wife and son, whose society at Elba he claimed as a right, and as a thing indispensable to his happiness. On these topics his language was furious. General Kohler, on the other hand, insisted that her remaining apart from her husband was entirely voluntary on the part of Maria Louisa. He also expressed a doubt that Napoleon was actuated by other feelings than those of domestic affection, and this, though we believe he tenderly loved his child and his wife also, we can readily believe.

A curious manœuvre made the simple-minded people of Elba believe for a short time that the Empress and the young Napoleon had really been among them to visit the fallen monarch. In August, 1814, a lady, with a fine little boy, arrived from Leghorn at Porto-Ferrajo in a very mysterious manner. She was received with distinction, around which, however, Bonaparte threw a certain veil of secresy. She was lodged in a retired casino, or country-house in the least frequented part of the island, where she only stopped two days, and then made sail for Naples. Even some of the French soldiery who had only seen the lady at a distance, or had not seen her at all, wrote to their friends that Maria Louisa had been to visit her husband, and that it was quite certain the Emperor of the French and the Emperor of Austria were on the point of making up matters, and then making common head against the allies.

The fine little boy was indeed the son of Bonaparte, but an illegitimate son: and the mysterious lady in question was not Maria Louisa, but a Polish countess, with whom Napoleon had intrigued at Warsaw during the winter of 1807. We have given a note from the Duke of Rovigo's Memoirs, wherein Savary alludes to this connexion.*

As the winter approached, a change was discernible in Napoleon. The alterations which he had planned in the island ceased to interest him; he rode less frequently on horseback, and sunk occasionally into fits of deep contemplation, mingled with gloomy anxiety. And yet it was after this that he could play his part so consummately with Lord Ebrington. "He became, also," says Sir Walter Scott, "subjected to uneasiness, to which he had hitherto been a stranger, being that arising from pecuniary inconveniences. He had plunged into expenses with imprudent eagerness, and without weighing the amount of his resources

* See *ante*, vol. iii., p. [illegible]

against the cost of the proposed alterations. The ready money which he brought from France seems to have been soon exhausted, and to raise supplies, he commanded the inhabitants of his island to pay up, in the month of June, the contributions of the last year. This produced petitions, personal solicitations, and discontent. It was represented to him, that, so poor were the inhabitants of the island, in consequence of want of sale for their wine for months past, that they would be driven to the most extreme difficulties if the requisition should be persisted in. In some of the villages, the tax-gatherers of the Emperor were resisted and insulted. Napoleon, on his side, sent part of his troops to quarter upon the insurgent peasantry, and to be supported by them at free cost, till the contributions should be paid up."

We cannot help thinking that at Elba as afterwards at St. Helena, Napoleon for very obvious purposes tried to make people believe he was much poorer than he really was. An exhibition of poverty and destitution could hardly fail of exasperating to madness and preparing for any enterprise, however desperate, his faithful followers and attached troops, who had been accustomed to see him with such immense wealth at his command—with the ample means of executing the most stupendous works.* It would besides sound badly in Europe, and tell against them that the dishonesty of the Bourbons in not executing the treaty of Fontainebleau, exposed the great Napoleon to want. We repeat that we suspect Bonaparte, who was then actually sending large sums of money to his brother Joseph for political objects, was not so poor as he seemed, but still that the Court of France did not keep the treaty.

Sir Walter Scott, who believes his poverty to have been real, and who can hardly be suspected of favouring Bonaparte in opposition to the Bourbons, remarks—

"We have said, that Napoleon's impatience to execute whatsoever plans occurred to his fertile imagination, was the original cause of these pecuniary distresses. But they are not less to be imputed to the unfair and unworthy conduct of the French ministry. The French administration were, of all others, most intimately bound in conscience, honour, and policy, to see the treaty of Fontainebleau, as forming the footstool by which Louis XVIII. mounted his restored throne, distinctly observed towards Napoleon. The sixth article of that treaty provides an annuity or revenue of two millions five hundred thousand francs, to be registered on the great book of France, and paid without abatement or deduction to Napoleon Bonaparte. This annual provision was stipulated by the Marshals Macdonald and Ney, as the price of Napoleon's resignation, and the French ministers, could not refuse a declaration of payment without gross injustice to Bonaparte, and at the same time a severe in-

* For an account of the sums spent by Napoleon in public works, see Addenda.

sult to the allied powers. Nevertheless, so far from this pension being paid with regularity, we have seen no evidence that Napoleon ever received a single remittance on account of it. The British resident observing how much the ex-emperor was harassed by pecuniary straits, gave it, not once, but repeatedly as his opinion, 'that, if these difficulties pressed upon him much longer, so as to prevent him from continuing the external show of a court, he was perfectly capable of crossing over to Piombino with his troops, or committing any other extravagance."

This was Sir Niel Campbell's opinion on the 31st of October, 1814; and Lord Castlereagh made strong remonstrances on the subject, although Great Britain was the only power among the allies, who, being no principal party to the treaty of Fontainebleau, might safely have left it to those States who were.

Not only were the claims of Napoleon left unsatisfied, but the pensions, stipulated for by the sixth article of the treaty of Fontainebleau, for the different members of his family were never paid by the restored Bourbons.

A portion of this disgrace most undeniably fell upon such of the allies as guaranteed the execution of the treaty of Fontainebleau. Baron Fain says—

"It must be recorded to the disgrace of European diplomacy, that those generous professions were never carried into execution. The legacies which Napoleon distributed to persons about him, on the faith of the treaty, have not been paid, and the legatees have not found in the signatures of princes, that irrevocable which is furnished by the signature of two attorneys in the most trifling matters of this nature between private individuals."

We cannot, indeed, believe for a moment, that Bonaparte ever intended to remain quietly at Elba; but the Bourbons, the Blacases, and the Ferrands, indisputably did all in their power to furnish him with justifiable grounds and excuses for leaving that island. The obstinate blindness (for such it was at last) of certain governments is altogether inexplicable, unless we seek explanations in causes of action or of passiveness most disgraceful to them. A distinguished writer, commenting on Bonaparte's projected return about the time of these events, observes—

"We have the best reason for believing that these accurate observers did not conceal their conviction from the principal governments of Europe, especially from the government of Great Britain. Indeed, from the condition of some of them, it was impossible that their opinion, with its reasons, should not have found its way to the British government. It is not our business to inquire in what country, or by what ministers, information relating to this subject was received with indifference and neglect, if not with scorn. The large remittances of money

made to Joseph Bonaparte in the Pays de Vaud,—the preparations made by him to assemble men, under pretence of the differences between that country and their ancient sovereigns at Bern,—his arrangement of quarters for several hundred French officers in his pay, are said to have been communicated by the Swiss government to the great courts with no other than a most mischievous effect on their policy. In the villages around Paris, as well as on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, the violet was the secret symbol by which they denoted their chief, and recognised each other. They wore rings of a violet colour, with the device, '*Elle reparaitra au printems*' (It will reappear in the spring.)

"When they asked, '*Aimez vous la violette*' (Do you love the violet)? if the answer was '*Oui*' (Yes), they inferred that the answer was not a confederate. But if the answer was, '*Eh bien*' (Well then), they recognised a brother, initiated in the secrets of the conspiracy, and they completed his sentence, '*Elle reparaitra au printems.*'

"These secret symbols, less important for their professed purposes of secrecy than as a romantic garniture of conspiracy, calculated to excite the imagination, and peculiarly adapted in that respect to the character of Frenchmen, had been employed a twelvemonth before by the partisans of the house of Bourbon. A royalist then sounded any man, of whom he entertained hopes, by saying '*Deli.*' If the answer was '*Vrance,*' the recognition of principle was reciprocal and satisfactory.

"M. Ferrand (one of the old regime heroes celebrated by Bourrienne), an old bigot of despotism, made a minister in France for no apparent merit but the extravagance of his monarchical opinions, who was intrusted with the department of the post-office, has, since the landing of Bonaparte, publicly stated, that he had read the whole project in the letters broken open at his office! The seizure of a Bonapartean correspondence on Lord Oxford, though it is said to have produced no discovery more interesting than a letter of Excelmans to Joachim, was a proof of the suspicions of the French government; though it is not improbable that Lord Oxford was chosen as bearer of so many letters to Italy, and information given of their number to the police, as a false scent, to divert the attention of that government from the real channels of information."*

The universality of the opinion that Napoleon was making mysterious preparations in Elba, ought to have opened the eyes of the blind; but those who could not, and those who *would not* see, preserved all their former apathy.

As early as the month of July, 1814, there was much fermentation in Italy, to which the close neighbourhood of Elba, and the sovereignty of Murat, at Naples, occasioned a general

* See Edinburgh Review.

resort of Bonaparte's friends and admirers. This agitation gradually increased, and means were adopted for disseminating a prospect of Napoleon's return to power. Parties of recruits came over from Italy to enlist in his guards, and two persons employed in this service were arrested at Leghorn, in whose possession were found written lists of the names of several hundred persons willing to serve Napoleon.

The embers of discontent were fanned into a flame by the unpopular, imprudent conduct of Prince Rospigliosi, the civil Governor of Tuscany, and of the other ministers of the restored governments. In Italy, as in France, these obsolete old men seemed to think, that twenty-five years of revolutions and wars had wrought no change in the spirits of men, and that the world was to be governed in 1815 as it had been in 1790.

In Piedmont, among other precious relics of the past, the legitimate sovereign of the House of Savoy had positively restored the use of torture to the criminal courts! All these things must be taken into consideration when we attempt to account for Napoleon's movements in 1815.

Napoleon's conduct towards those who joined him at Elba was well calculated to make devoted partisans. On the 11th of July, Colomboni, commandant of a battalion of the 4th regiment of the line in Italy, was presented to the Emperor as newly arrived. "Well, Colomboni, your business in Elba?"—"First, to pay my duty to your Majesty; secondly, to offer myself to carry a musket among your guards."—"That is too low a situation, you must have something better," said Napoleon; and instantly named him to an appointment of 1200 francs yearly.

About the middle of summer, Napoleon was visited by his mother, and his sister the Princess Pauline. Both these ladies had very considerable talents for political intrigue, and their natural faculties in this way had not lain dormant or been injured by want of practice. In Pauline this finesse was partially concealed by a languor and indecision of manner, and an occasional assumption of *niaiserie*, or almost infantine simplicity; but this only threw people the more off their guard, and made her finesse the more sure in its operation. Pauline was handsome too, uncommonly graceful, and had all that power of fascination which has been attributed to the Bonaparte family. She could gain hearts with ease, and those whom her charms enslaved were generally ready to devote themselves, absolutely to her brother. She went and came between Naples and Elba, and kept her brother-in-law, Murat, in mind of the fact, that the lion was not yet dead, nor so much as sleeping, but merely retiring the better to spring forward on his quarry.

Porto-Ferrajo gradually merited its name in the Greek sense, for it became really Cosmopolitan, being resorted to by men of all nations—by Italians, Sicilians, Corsicans, Frenchmen, Germans, and even Greeks. A certain Theologos, a Greek, was

much spoken of at the time as being one of the most active and skilful of Napoleon's secret agents. Another of these agents was one Domenico Ettori, a monk who had fled from his convent to Elba. These men were continually going to and fro, now to the Tuscan coast, scarcely three leagues off, now to Naples, and now to the shores of France. In the latter country, moreover, the cause of Bonaparte was served by a number of the soldiers of his guard, to whom he gave leave of absence, in order that they might *visit their friends.* In France, too, as we have already said, the conduct of the restored Bourbons was so unwise as necessarily to accelerate a crisis. The text of Bourrienne has shown some of the many follies committed there by an imbecile ministry; and the following are the comments of Fouché, who was at the time employed by Louis XVIII., and involved in some way or other in every intrigue that was carrying on. The astute old jacobin disliked Napoleon more than he did the Bourbons, but he was anxious to keep power and place under whichever of them might eventually prevail. He therefore closely studied the conduct and resources of both parties, and actually intrigued with both at one and the same time.

"I was convinced, beforehand, that the feeble and incompetent individuals who grasped the helm of government, would continue to follow erroneous maxims of policy, and to impart a false direction to affairs.

"What serious reflections, therefore, assailed my mind, with regard to the equivocal and incoherent position of the new government! As a statesman, it could not escape my notice, that a restoration had been effected without a revolution, since all the wheel-marks of the imperial government still subsisted; and nothing was changed, if I may so express it, except the individuality of power; and, in fact, what could be found after the lapse of twenty years in an immovable condition? Clergy, nobility, institutions, municipalities, hereditary proprietorships, nothing had escaped the general overthrow.

"The Bourbons, in reascending the throne, found support in public inclination, but not in national interest. Such was the origin and first cause of the commotion, the first indications of which already began to exhibit themselves to my eyes. France was divided between the votaries and adversaries of the restoration. Louis XVIII. reigned over a suffering and divided nation; all the favourers of imperial despotism, all the individuals who had distinguished themselves in our revolutionary crisis, feared to be obliged to share their dignities with the ancient nobility; they had required securities, and they had obtained them by that declaration which was solicited from the king, and promulgated by that prince before his entrance into his capital.

"But, on the other hand, the reverses of Napoleon had suc-

ceeded each other with so much rapidity, that the possessors of superior employments and great incomes had not sufficient time to retrench the luxury of their establishments. When the Bourbons were recalled, some calculation was necessary on their part, and it was indispensable to put a sudden stop to the unlimited course of their expenses. Here was a plentiful source of discontent and irritation among the upper ranks of the social order. Another still more alarming cause of instability for the new government, was to be found in the hitherto unmodified scale of the army; it had not received its *congé*, (an enormous error,) for all the old soldiers, and all the prisoners who were restored to France, were imbued with a spirit at variance with the restoration, and devoted to the interests of the ex-emperor.*

The king, instead of accepting the charter, had granted it; another subject of discontent to that great body of Frenchmen, whose political era dated from the revolution. The charter, it is true, confirmed titles, honours, and in some respect, places; it legalized the acquisition of national property; but that was not entirely satisfactory for so many restless and prejudiced individuals. The charter, moreover, had a multitude of objectors. According to one party it was not sufficiently liberal; according to the partisans of the ancient régime, the old constitution of the kingdom was preferable. To this state of things must be added, the laxity and uncertainty of the ministers, who, without being either royalists or patriots, took it into their heads that they could render France ministerial. The general apprehension must also be borne in mind which was entertained of the Congress of Vienna, which, while employed in the reconstruction of Europe, menaced such states as had become the seat of revolution with subjection to an anti-revolutionary régime; in this manner the interests produced by twenty-five years of troubles were thrown into alarm. The royalists enfeebled and divided their party in the same proportion as their adversaries, shuddering at the very name of the Bourbons, exhibited more pertinacity in disputing their rights. The possibility of Napoleon's return, considered at first as a chimera, became the favourite idea of the army; plots were formed, and the royal police countermined. It is easy to conceive, that having occupied so many elevated

* The allies most imprudently restored without any stipulation whatever, all the French prisoners they had taken during the war. In this manner more than 150,000 men, for the most part tried soldiers, were thrown like a lava-stream into France, where they soon openly expressed their old enthusiasm for Napoleon, and their contempt and hatred of the new government. They toasted the ex-emperor as "the little corporal," or, "Corporal Violet," and they confidently repeated wherever they went, "He will come back with the spring." It was impossible to prove to these men, that had they been present in France instead of being, as they were, prisoners to the Russians, the Prussians, and Austrians, Paris could never have been taken by the allies: there was no convincing them that Napoleon had not been betrayed, for when did the French ever acknowledge to have been defeated, except through treachery?—*Editor.*

posts in the state, and still preserving such numerous links of connexion with public affairs, and with so devoted a body of clients in the capital, my observations extended over all the intrigues which were concocting."*

When the Bourbon government evinced an intention of reclaiming part of the landed property of the emigrants, which they soon did, they threw a very large portion of the nation into great alarm. Every man who had risen to wealth during the revolution—nay, every peasant in the kingdom, who had bought his five or six acres of ground, trembled at the prospect of having them wrenched from him and restored to the old and noble proprietors. Much of this property had changed hands several times, and was then held by individuals who had had nothing to do with the revolution, but had bought their lands or houses at a fair market-price, from sellers whose rights were acknowledged by the existing laws.

An old emigrant, one of the objects of Bourrienne's scorn, was the first to make this dangerous move.

Monsieur Ferrand brought forward in the Chamber of Deputies, a motion for the restoration of such estates of emigrants as yet remained unsold. But this involved a question respecting the rights of the much more numerous class whose property had been seized upon by the state, and disposed of to third parties, to whom it was guaranteed by the charter. Since these gentlemen could not be restored *ex jure*, to their estates, as was proposed towards their more fortunate brethren, they had at least a title to the price which had been substituted for the property, of which price the nation had still possession.

These proposals called forth Monsieur Durbach, who charged Ferrand with the fatal purpose of opening the door on the vast subject of national domains. "Already," continued the orator, "the two extremities of the kingdom have resounded with the words of the minister, as with the claps which precede the thunderbolt. The effect which they have produced has been so rapid and so general, that all civil transactions have been at once suspended. A general distrust and excessive fear have caused a stagnation, the effects of which even the royal treasury has felt. The proprietors of national property can no longer sell or mortgage their estates. They are suddenly reduced to poverty in the very bosom of wealth. Whence arises this calamity? The cause of it is the declaration of the minister, that the property they possessed does not legally belong to them. For this is, in fact, the consequence of his assertion, that the law recognises in the emigrants a right to property which always existed in them."

The highminded and the most honourable Marshal Macdonald, who after serving Bonaparte to the very last with un-

* Fouché's Memoirs, vol. ii.

blemished faith, had entered the service of the Bourbons and the constitutional monarchy with a determination of being equally faithful to them, endeavoured to compromise these matters, by coupling a boon to the army with partial compensation to the emigrants so to satisfy both parties.

At the king's request he undertook to bring forward a plan for satisfying the emigrants, as far as the condition of the nation permitted; and for giving, at the same time, some indemnity for the pensions assigned by Bonaparte to veteran soldiers, which, during his reign, had been paid from countries beyond the verge of France, until after the retreat from Moscow, when they ceased to be paid at all. The marshal's statement of the extent of the sale of the national domains, shows how formidable the task of undoing that extensive transferrence of property must necessarily have been; the number of persons directly or indirectly interested in the question of their security, amounting to nine or ten millions. "Against this colossus," continued the marshal, "whose height the eye cannot measure, some impotent efforts would affect to direct themselves; but the wisdom of the king has foreseen this danger, even for the sake of those imprudent persons who might have exposed themselves to it." He proceeded to eulogize the conduct of the emigrants, to express respect for their persons, compassion for their misfortunes, honour for their fidelity, and proceeded to observe, that the existence of these old proprietors, as having claims on the estates which had been acquired by others, placed them in a situation which ought not to exist. He therefore proposed that the nation should satisfy the claims of these unfortunate persons, if not in full, at least upon such terms of composition as had been applied to other national obligations. Upon this footing, he calculated that an annuity of twelve millions of livres yearly, would pay off the claims of the various emigrants of all descriptions. He next drew a picture of the distressed veteran soldiers; pensioners of the state, who had been reduced to distress by the discontinuance of their pensions, bought with their blood in a thousand battles. Three millions more of livres he computed as necessary to discharge this sacred obligation.

The wise and manly plan of the marshal was rejected by government, because (as it was made to appear) they were too poor to afford to pay a yearly sum of fifteen millions of francs, unless, indeed, they continued the *droits-réunis*, which oppressive tax the Bourbons, on their entrance into France, had solemnly promised to abolish. As far as it applied to the emigrants, something like Macdonald's project was carried into execution some ten years later; but, at the crisis of 1815, things were left *in statu quo*; consequently, while the emigrants were abandoned to poverty and dissatisfaction, the veterans of the army were goaded into fury, and the alarms of the holders of national property continued. These, in themselves, were causes sufficient to

facilitate Napoleon's march from the coast of Provence to Paris, and there were many others almost equally strong in full operation during the spring of 1815.

One of these causes was only an extension or enlargement of what we have already alluded to. It arose out of the numerical preponderance, the deadly spite, and still untamed pride of the military—out of the warlike habits, recklessness, and ferocity of character, that so many years of war had produced on the great body of the French people, no fewer than seven hundred thousand of whom were said to have borne arms at one time.

In 1814 nearly all France looked like a disbanded camp. A friend of the editor, who visited the country in that memorable year, was forcibly struck by the appearance of the people. He says—

"The most impressive feature of the crowd before us, and that which most struck us with a sense of novelty and of interest, was its military aspect. Almost every man had some indication of the military profession about his person, sufficient to denote that he had been engaged in war; at the same time, there was a self-willed variety in the dress of each, which had a very unpleasant effect, inasmuch as it prevented us from recognising that stamped assurance of legitimacy as an armed force which is impressed on the aspect of British troops. We could scarcely imagine that the dark-visaged beings, some in long, loose great-coats, some in jackets, some in cocked-hats, some in round ones, some in caps, who darted at us keen looks of a very overclouded cast, had ever belonged to regiments, steady, controlled, and lawful;—they seemed, rather, the fragments of broken-up gangs, brave, dexterous, and fierce, but unprincipled and unrestrained. Much of this irregularity and angriness of appearance was, doubtless, occasioned by the great disbandment of the army that had just taken place. The disbanded had no call to observe the niceties of military discipline, although they still retained such parts of their military uniform as they found convenient. They had not then either pursuits to occupy their time, or even prospects to keep up their hopes; they still lounged about in idleness, although their pay had been stopped; and disappointment and necessity threw into their faces an expression deeper than that of irritation—approaching, in fact, to the indications of indiscriminate and inveterate hatred. They carried about with them in their air the branded characteristics of forlorn men, whose interests and habits were opposed to the peace of mankind;—men who would cry, with the desperate Constance—

"'War! war! no peace! peace is to me a war!'"—*King John.*"*

We deplore the carnage, but, taking a large view of the state of affairs, we *do* consider the return of Bonaparte, and the battle of

* See a Visit to France in 1814, by the late John Scott, Esq.

Waterloo, as having been indispensably necessary to the great settlement of Europe—a settlement not secured in 1814, when the allies showed so much forbearance to the French, that all the Bonapartists (giving them no credit for generosity) thought, and even boasted, that they were *afraid* of them. With a few exceptions on the part of Prussia, the allies left intact the wonderful Napoleon Museum, enriched with pictures and statues, forcibly torn from Italy, Spain, and Germany; which stolen works of art, and the books and rare manuscripts exacted in treaties, signed at the bayonet's point, were all considered by a large portion of the Parisians and military as trophies of victory. The influence exercised on public opinion by this single circumstance was really considerable, and it required the great moral lesson, the restitution of these treasures (which was made in 1815), to bring the French to reason. If at the time of that restitution it had been deemed right (which it *was*) and feasible (which in many cases it was not) to insist on the restoration of the works of art which had been seized by Napoleon's generals, and kept on their own account, how many more pictures would have been sent back to Italy and Spain than actually were sent! The history of Marshal Soult's collection, so rich in the pictures of Murillo, Velasquez, Alonzo Cano, Casa del Campo, Coello, and others of the best Spanish masters, is perfectly well known. Marshal Soult lately sold this collection to King Louis Philippe.

Even as respected the Bourbons, the returned emigrants, and all the ultra-royalists, the events of 1815, and the convulsion of the hundred days, were absolutely required to put them into a proper state of mind. On the second restoration, which took place in consequence of the battle of Waterloo, a great improvement was obvious in the spirit and in the measures of government; and though, undeniably, many errors continued to be committed, and some prejudices to be indulged in, France had never before seen so much *real* liberty as that which she enjoyed during the years which intervened between the second return and the death of Louis.

These facts, most of which were proved only after the event, did not enter into the calculations of the allied powers, whose object, and whose duty it was, at that period, to place Bonaparte in such a retreat as should offer the least possible facilities to him for endangering anew the peace of Europe. But instead of doing this, they positively selected the point most favourable to him for such an enterprise. Next to France the main strength of Napoleon's party was in Italy, and Elba was an Italian island lying close to the coast of Italy, and at a convenient distance from Naples, where his brother-in-law was king.

On the prudence of selecting that spot as the place of residence for the restless Napoleon we subjoin the following remarks:

"When the secret history of the negotiations which passed from the 20th of March to the 10th of April, is disclosed to our

posterity, the motives, if not the reasons, of this singular convention may be understood. At the moment of its publication, all its conditions, but especially the place of his residence, excited universal astonishment. This sentiment was expressed by men of all parties and conditions, from the most celebrated statesmen of England to the porters of Vienna; and the former might have expressed them as openly as the latter did, if they had not been silenced by the most obvious considerations of prudence. The island of Elba appears to have been (at least publicly) suggested by Marshal Ney. It is said that Bonaparte originally demanded Corfu, which was refused as too valuable a possession, under the ludicrous pretext that his residence there *might disturb the tranquillity of Turkey!* The island to which he was sent united every property which Bonaparte could have desired for new plans of ambition. Its small size and population disarmed jealousy, and gave it the appearance of a mere retreat. It contained an impregnable fortress, capable of being defended by a handful of faithful soldiers. It was within a few hours' sail of the coast of Italy, even then dreading the yoke of her old masters. Through Italy and Switzerland, communications with the French army might be opened through unsuspected channels; and, in the long line of the Alps and the Jura, it was scarcely possible to intercept them. The distance from the coast of France somewhat diminished the facility of watching the port; and he was near enough to Provence for such a sudden enterprise as his situation allowed. If the globe had been searched for that residence in which Napoleon was most dangerous to France, all sagacious searchers must have pointed to Elba.

"The decision of the majority who took a part in that deliberation, will not astonish those who know them. But it is not so easy to comprehend the acquiescence of such men as M. Talleyrand and M. Pozzo-di-Borgo; men certainly of distinguished talents, and familiarly acquainted with the character of Napoleon. Perhaps, indeed, it may one day appear, that they were both overruled. Perhaps in the noise of triumph, and in the eagerness to carry the main point, every contingent danger was overlooked; and in the insolence of victory, a prostrate enemy might be despised. The parade of cheap magnanimity which distinguishes some sovereigns—the family connexion of others with the deposed emperor—the remains of habitual deference from them all to their late master, probably contributed to their acquiescence in the plan which he had suggested, or which he had approved. The anxiety of all to prevent the bloodshed which the prolongation of uncertainty might still produce, was a commendable, and, within certain limits, a reasonable ground of action. It was thought proper, perhaps, to give a decent disguise to the conduct of the marshal or marshals who had betrayed him, and a reasonable satisfaction to the scruples of the marshals, who, though without personal attachment or poli-

tical connexion, were influenced by the military virtue of fidelity to him from whom they had accepted command. Forty thousand soldiers, in the neighbourhood of Fontainebleau, and probably thirty more in the provinces on the Loire, still showed symptoms of attachment to their chief; irregular, indeed, and fluctuating, sometimes appearing to be suspended, but at other times seeming to be capable of being kindled into a terrible flame. The dispositions of Soult were more than suspected; and it is now known that he fought the battle of Toulouse with a full knowledge of the changes at Paris. These military fears might, indeed, justify the purchase of Napoleon's abdication at a liberal price. But they do not account for the choice of his residence.

"The sudden and apparently complete change in the opinion of the army as well as of the people, which followed the abdication of Fontainebleau, is a symptom of the character of Frenchmen and of armies, which deserves much more reflection than we can bestow on it. He who, ten months before, had seemed the undisputed sovereign of France—who, a week before, seemed to retain the enthusiastic affection of the flower of the army, was then conducted by four foreign officers to the place of embarkation—unnoticed during the first part of his journey, and, during the latter part of it, protected by a foreign escort from destruction by the populace of Provence. Every opponent yielded to the Bourbons. Carnot, with the garrison of Antwerp, proclaimed their submission, and exemplified it by the surrender of that fortress—above all other conquests the object of national pride and policy. Davoust acknowledged the authority of a prince before whom he was sure to be accused by the people of Hamburg. Soult, who had rendered himself so odious to the royal family, by his insulting proclamations against the Duc d'Angoulême, evinced, by his tardy adhesion, that the torrent was too strong even for him to resist. The restoration of the house of Bourbon had every character of an unanimous national act. Louis XVIII. might almost wonder where his enemies had fled, and where his friends had been so long hidden. All seemed to be allegiance, and jubilee, and triumph."*

Having shown the facilities allowed him by his position, we may now proceed to Napoleon's escape into France.

Having taken his resolution, and chosen his time, he kept the secret of his expedition until the last moment; and means were found to make the requisite preparations. A portion of the soldiers were embarked in a brig called "The Inconstant," and the remainder in six small craft. It was not till they were all on board that the troops first conceived a suspicion of the Emperor's purpose; a thousand or twelve hundred men had sailed to regain possession of an empire containing a population of thirty millions! He commenced his voyage on Sunday, the 25th of

* Edinburgh Review.

February, 1815; and the next morning at ten o'clock, was not out of sight of the island, to the great annoyance of the few friends he had left behind. At this time, Colonel Sir Neil Campbell was absent on a tour to Leghorn, but being informed by the French consul and by Spanocchi, the Tuscan governor of the town, that Napoleon was certainly about to sail for the continent, he hastened back; and giving chase to the little squadron in the Partridge sloop of war, which was cruising in the neighbourhood, only arrived in time to get a distant view of the flotilla, after Bonaparte and his troops had landed.*

* The whole conduct of Sir Neil Campbell was severely censured at the time in various quarters. The following defence of it was put forward by his friends, and published in a London newspaper. Campbell was a gallant officer, and it is but justice to him to reprint that statement here:

"From this period, until the assembling of the congress at Vienna, Bonaparte evinced the greatest predilection for the constant personal presence and society of Sir Neil Campbell; but the discussion of the allied powers touching his future situation, and the arrangements of the Italian states, seemed to awaken his slumbering passions, and create rancour in his mind; he evidently alienated himself from the habits he had before cultivated with the British resident. Bonaparte's restlessness and dissatisfaction with his situation at Elba daily increased. About this time, several of his relations and old friends arrived at Elba from the continent; a frequent intercourse took place with Italy, and he evidently showed Sir N. Campbell, that his company was not so acceptable as formerly. Under these and other circumstances, Colonel Campbell found it expedient occasionally to visit the continent, for the purpose of being the better enabled to watch, ascertain, and communicate to his government and its functionaries on the continent, such intrigues of Bonaparte as might be carried forward, and which it was impossible to do by a constant residence at Elba; and there is reason to believe, that he did not fail to report, from time to time, what appeared to him deserving of notice, as well on the continent as in Elba. It is therefore to be presumed, that even this exposition of the footing on which he was at Elba, will evince the injustice of the disgraceful language in which the public prints have indulged, in attributing to him a situation which he would have scorned to hold,—a power which he did not possess, and a negligence, which the whole tenour of his military life most decidedly contradicts: nor will the public ascribe to an insulated individual, so situated, the means of preventing Napoleon's departure from Elba; the signal for which, had Colonel Campbell been on the spot, would have been his imprisonment, and consequent deprivation of all means of previous report to Government. It is necessary to observe, that Colonel Campbell's absence from Elba, at the time of Bonaparte's departure from it, was as short as possible, consistent with the performance of the public duty on which he was then employed."

The pointed allusion in this letter to discussions carried on at Vienna "*touching his* (Napoleon's) *future situation*," merits a very particular attention. It is confidently asserted by many that *the island of St. Helena was talked of in congress, and that Napoleon was told it was the intention of the allies to send him to that island, before he made up his mind to quit Elba, and again try the fortune of his sword.* Such an announcement was certainly enough to force him into the most desperate chances; and if it be true that those who were parties to the treaty of Fontainebleau contemplated the seizure and deportation of Bonaparte's person, why then they must have been, what we cannot designate without using very coarse language. There is, however, just one little doubt in favour of the allies at Vienna. May they not, must they not, have known of Bonaparte's plots of escape and counter-revolution? And did they not speak of the security of St. Helena after obtaining that knowledge? In such a case it was justifiable, and indeed a duty, to place the perilous man where he could do no further mischief.

There were between five and six hundred men on board the brig (The Inconstant) in which Bonaparte embarked. On the passage, they met with a French ship of war, with which they spoke. The guards were ordered to pull off their caps, and lie down on the deck or go below, while the captain exchanged some words with the commander of the frigate, whom he afterwards proposed to pursue and capture. Bonaparte rejected the idea as absurd, and asked why he should introduce this new episode into his plan?

As they stood over to the coast of France, the Emperor was in the highest spirits. The dye was cast, and he seemed to be quite himself again. He sat upon the deck, and amused the officers collected round him with a little history of his campaigns, particularly those of Italy and Egypt. When he had finished, he observed the deck to be encumbered with several large chests belonging to him. He asked the maître d'hôtel what they contained. Upon being told they were filled with wine, he ordered them to be immediately broken open, saying, "*Nous partagerons le butin.*" (We will divide the booty.) The Emperor superintended the distribution himself, and presented bottle by bottle to his comrades, till tired of this occupation, he called out to Bertrand, "*Grand maréchal, aidez-moi, je vous prie. Servons à ces messieurs.*" And then with emphasis, "*Ils nous serviront un jour!*" (Grand Marshal, assist me, if you please. Let us wait upon these gentlemen.—They will help us some day.) It was with this species of bonhomie that he captivated, when he chose, all around him. The following day he was employed in various arrangements, and among others in dictating to Colonel Raoul the proclamations to be issued on his landing. In one of these, after observing, "*Il faut oublier que nous avons donné la loi aux nations voisines*" (We must forget that we have given law to the neighbouring nations), Napoleon stopped. "*Qu'est-ce que j'ai dit?*" (What have I said?) Colonel Raoul read the passage. "*Halte!*" said Napoleon, "*Effaçez voisines, dites toujours aux nations!*" (Stop! Omit the word "neighbouring:" say simply "to nations.") It was thus his pride blazed out on every occasion; and his ambition seemed to rekindle at the very recollections of his former greatness. The world could have no hope of peace with such a man.

He landed without any accident on the 1st of March at Cannes, a small seaport in the Gulf of St. Juan, not far from Frejus, where he had disembarked on his return from Egypt sixteen years before, and where he had embarked the preceding year for Elba. A small party of the guards who presented themselves before the neighbouring garrison of Antibes, were made prisoners by General Corsin, the governor of the place. Some one hinted that it was not right to proceed till they had released their comrades; but the Emperor observed, that this was poorly to estimate the magnitude of the undertaking;

before them were thirty millions of men *waiting to be set free!* He, however, sent the war commissioner to try what he could do, calling out after him, "Take care you do not get yourself made prisoner too!" At nightfall the troops bivouacked on the beach.* Just before, a postilion, in a splendid livery, had been brought to Napoleon. It turned out that this man had formerly been a domestic of the Empress Josephine, and was now in the service of the Prince of Monaco, who himself had been equerry to the Empress. The postilion, after expressing his great astonishment at finding the Emperor there, stated, in answer to the questions that were put to him, that he had just come from Paris; that all along the road, as far as Avignon, he had heard nothing but regret for the Emperor's absence; that his name was constantly echoed from mouth to mouth; and that, when once fairly through Provence, he would find the whole population ready to rally round him. The man added, that his laced livery had frequently rendered him the object of odium and insult on the road. This was the testimony of one of the common class of society: it was very gratifying to the Emperor, as it entirely corresponded with his expectations. The Prince of Monaco himself, on being presented to the Emperor, was less explicit. Napoleon refrained from questioning him on political

* Napoleon himself bivouacked in an olive-grove a little above and in rear of the beach. The soldiers destroyed a few trees, and made good fires. The flames and the smoke thus produced attracted the attention of the peasantry, many of whom went to the spot from considerable distances. They were thunderstruck when they heard that the great Napoleon was there! One fine moonlight night, whilst sailing in a French ship along the coast of Provence, and near to the town of Cannes, we had this scene very graphically described to us by one of the sailors who had witnessed it, though he was at the time but young. Like many others he ran to the olive-grove, eager to get a glimpse of him whose name had filled their ears for so long a time. On coming to the spot he found an impenetrable wall of grenadiers drawn out into a circle. They were so tall, and stood so close, that he could not see within the circle. In the ardour of his boyish curiosity he went down on his knees and crept between the soldiers' legs, in doing which he got a smart tap on the nape of the neck from the butt-end of a musket. He, however, obtained his end—he saw the wonderful man. "But," said the sailor, "I was strangely disappointed, for, young as I was, I expected to see in the great Emperor a giant of a man, with a crown of gold on his head, and covered all over with diamonds; and, instead of this, I saw a corpulent middling-sized man, with a queer old hat on, and buttoned up in a plain gray great-coat! Every one of the officers that stood about him was finer and grander than he, but they all seemed to look up to him as to a god, and spoke to him hat in hand—so I knew it was Napoleon. As I looked into the Emperor's face the fire glared redly upon it, and it seemed as if it were *covered all over with blood.*" An elder brother of this sailor, who also went to the olive-grove got into conversation with some of Napoleon's guard, who so dazzled him with prospects of glory and promotion, that he not only enlisted, but went home and privately abstracted a mule from his father's stable for the service of the Emperor. A mule to carry baggage was of more consequence to the invaders than a peasant lad. Two days after his absconding he returned home, but he neither brought back the mule, nor any money to pay for it. "So that the return of the Emperor from Elba," sighed the sailor, "was a very sad thing indeed for our family!"

matters. The conversation therefore assumed a more lively character, and turned altogether on the ladies of the former imperial court, concerning whom the Emperor was very particular in his inquiries.

As soon as the moon had risen, which was about one or two in the morning of the 2d, the bivouacs broke up, and Napoleon gave orders for proceeding to Grasse. There he expected to find a road which he had planned during the empire, but in this he was disappointed, the Bourbons having given up all such expensive works through want of money. Bonaparte was therefore obliged to pass through narrow defiles filled with snow, and left behind him in the hands of the municipality his carriage and two pieces of cannon, which had been brought ashore. This was termed a capture in the bulletins of the day. The municipality of Grasse was strongly in favour of the royalist cause; but the sudden appearance of the Emperor afforded but little time for hesitation, and they came to tender their submission to him. Having passed through the town, he halted on a little height some way beyond it, where he breakfasted. He was soon surrounded by the whole population of the place; and he heard the same sentiments, and the same prayers, as before he quitted France. A multitude of petitions had already been drawn up, and were presented to him, just as though he had come from Paris, and was making a tour through the departments. One complained that his pension had not been paid; another, that his cross of the Legion of Honour had been taken from him. Some of the more discontented secretly informed Napoleon that the authorities of the town were very hostile to him, but that the mass of the people were devoted to him, and only waited till his back was turned to rid themselves of the miscreants. He replied, "Be not too hasty. Let them have the mortification of seeing our triumph, without having any thing to reproach us with." The Emperor advanced with all the rapidity in his power. "Victory," he said, "depended on my speed. To me, France was in Grenoble. That place was a hundred miles distant, but I and my companions reached it in five days; and with what weather and what roads! I entered the city just as the Count d'Artois, warned by the telegraph, was quitting the Tuileries."

Napoleon himself was so perfectly convinced of the state of affairs, that he knew his success in no way depended on the force he might bring with him. A picket of gendarmes, he said, was all that was necessary. Every thing turned out as he foresaw. At first he owned he was not without some degree of uncertainty and apprehension. As he advanced, however, the whole population declared themselves enthusiastically in his favour: but he saw no soldiers. It was not till he arrived between Mure and Vizille, within five or six leagues from Grenoble, and on the fifth day after his landing, that he met

Napoleon's return from Elba.

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a battalion. The commanding officer refused to hold even a parley. The Emperor, without hesitation, advanced alone, and one hundred grenadiers marched at some distance behind him, with their arms reversed. The sight of Napoleon, his well-known costume, and his gray military great-coat, had a magical effect on the soldiers, and they stood motionless. Napoleon went straight up to them, and, baring his breast, said, "Let him that has the heart, now kill his Emperor!"

The soldiers threw down their arms; their eyes moistened with tears; and cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* resounded on every side. Napoleon ordered the battalion to wheel round to the right, and all marched on together. At a short distance from Grenoble, Colonel Labédoyère,* who had been sent at the head of the 7th regiment to oppose his passage, came to join the Emperor. The impulse thus given in a manner decided the question. Labédoyère's superior officer in vain interfered to restrain his enthusiasm and that of his men. The tri-coloured cockades which had been concealed in the hollow of a drum were eagerly distributed by Labédoyère among them; and they threw away the white cockade as a badge of their nation's dishonour. The peasantry of Dauphiny, the cradle of the revolution, lined the road-side: they were transported and mad with joy. The first battalion, which has just been alluded to, had shown some signs of hesitation; but thousands of the country people crowded round it, and by their shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" endeavoured to urge the troops to decision; while others who followed in Napoleon's rear encouraged his little troop to advance, by assuring them that they would meet with success. Napoleon said he could have taken two millions of these peasants with him to Paris; but that then he would have been called the King of the Jacquerie.

Napoleon issued two proclamations on the road. He at first regretted that he had not had them printed before he left Elba; but this could not have been done without some risk of betraying his secret designs. He dictated them on board the vessel, where every man who could write was employed in copying them. These copies soon became very scarce; many of them were illegible; and it was not till he arrived at Gap, on the 5th of March, that he found means to have them printed. They were from that time circulated and read every where with the utmost avidity.

The proclamation to the French people was as follows

"Frenchmen! the defection of the Duke of Castiglione (Augereau), delivered up Lyons without defence to our enemies.

* Labédoyère was young, nobly born, gallant, handsome, and possessed of many high qualities, but his enthusiasm for Napoleon led him sadly astray. He was connected by his marriage with the loyal family of the Duke of Damas, and it was through that connexion he obtained active employment from Louis XVIII. He paid dearly for his disloyalty, for after the second restoration he was shot, like Ney.

The army, the command of which I had intrusted to him, was by the number of its battalions, the courage and patriotism of the troops that composed it, in a condition to beat the Austrian troops opposed to it, and to arrive in time on the rear of the left flank of the army which threatened Paris. The victories of Champ-Aubert, of Montmirail, of Château-Thierry, of Vauchamps, of Mormans, of Montereau, of Craonne, of Rheims, of Arcis-sur-Aube, and of St. Dizier, the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine and Champagne, of Alsace, Franche-Compté and Burgundy, and the position which I had taken in the rear of the hostile army, by cutting it off from its magazines, its parks of reserve, its convoys, and all its equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the *élite* of the enemy's army was lost without resource; it would have found a tomb in those vast plains which it had so mercilessly laid waste, when the treason of the Duke of Ragusa delivered up the capital and disorganized the army. The unexpected misconduct of these two generals, who betrayed at once their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the fate of the war; the situation of the enemy was such that at the close of the action which took place before Paris, he was without ammunition, in consequence of his separation from his parks of reserve. In these new and distressing circumstances, my heart was torn, but my mind remained immovable; I consulted only the interest of the country; I banished myself to a rock in the middle of the sea; my life was yours, and might still be useful to you. Frenchmen! in my exile I heard your complaints and your wishes; you accused my long slumber; you reproached me with sacrificing the welfare of the country to my repose. I have traversed seas through perils of every kind; I return among you to reclaim my rights, which are yours."

The address to the army was considered as being still more masterly and eloquent, and it was certainly well suited to the taste of French soldiers, who, as Bourrienne remarks, are wonderfully pleased with grandiloquence, metaphor, and hyperbole, though they do not always understand what they mean. Even a French author of some distinction praises this address, as something sublime. "The proclamation to the army," says he, "is full of energy: it could not fail to make all military imaginations vibrate. That prophetic phrase, 'The eagle, with the national colours, will fly from church-steeple to church-steeple, till it settles on the towers of Notre Dame,' was grand in the extreme."

The proclamation to the army ran thus:

"Soldiers!—We have not been conquered: two men, sprung from our ranks, have betrayed our laurels, their country, their benefactor, and their prince. Those whom we have beheld for twenty-five years traversing all Europe to raise up enemies

against us, who have spent their lives in fighting against us in the ranks of foreign armies, and in cursing our beautiful France, shall they pretend to command or enchain our eagles—they who have never been able to look them in the face? Shall we suffer them to inherit the fruit of our glorious toils, to take possession of our honours, of our fortunes; to calumniate and revile our glory? If their reign were to continue, all would be lost, even the recollection of those memorable days. With what fury they misrepresent them! They seek to tarnish what the world admires; and if there still remain defenders of our glory, they are to be found among those very enemies whom we have confronted in fields of battle. Soldiers! in my exile I have heard your voice; I have come back in spite of all obstacles and all dangers. Your general, called to the throne by the choice of the people, and raised on your shields, is restored to you: come and join him. Mount the tri-coloured cockade: you wore it in the days of our greatness. We must forget that we have been the masters of nations; but we must not suffer any to intermeddle in our affairs. Who would pretend to be master over us? Who would have the power? Resume those eagles which you had at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Wagram, at Friedland, at Tudela, at Eckmuhl, at Essling, at Smolensk, at the Moskwa, at Lutzen, at Wurtchen, at Montmirail. The veterans of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse, of the Rhine, of Italy, of Egypt, of the West, of the Grand Army, are humiliated: their honourable scars are stained; their successes would be crimes, the brave would be rebels, if, as the enemies of the people pretend, the legitimate sovereigns were in the midst of the foreign armies. Honours, recompences, favours, are reserved for those who have served with them against the country and against us. Soldiers! come and range yourselves under the banners of your chief: his existence is only made up of yours; his rights are only those of the people and yours; his interest, his honour, his glory, are no other than your interest, your honour, and your glory. Victory shall march at a charging-step; the eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, till it reaches the towers of Notre-Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honour; then you will be able to boast of what you have done: you will be the liberators of the country! In your old age, surrounded and looked up to by your fellow-citizens, they will listen to you with respect as you recount your high deeds; you will each of you be able to say with pride, 'And I also made part of that grand army which entered twice within the walls of Vienna, within those of Rome, of Berlin, of Madrid, of Moscow, and which delivered Paris from the stain which treason and the presence of the enemy had imprinted on it.' Honour to those brave soldiers, the glory of their country!"

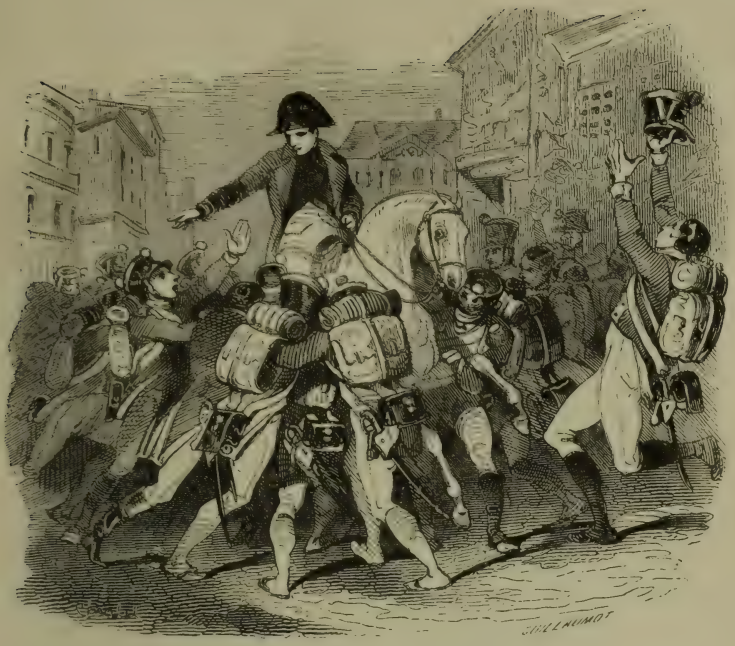
These words certainly produced an immense effect on the

French soldiery, who every where roared "Vive l'Empereur! Vive le petit Caporal!" "We will die for our old comrade!" till the welkin rang again.

It was some distance in advance of Grenoble that Labédoyère joined; but that officer could not make quite sure of the garrison of that city which was commanded by General Marchand, a man resolved to be faithful to the oath he had taken, and to the sovereign whose bread he was eating. The shades of night had fallen when Bonaparte arrived in front of the walls of Grenoble, where he stood for some minutes in a painful state of suspense and indecision. We were assured, some years after, while travelling in the south of France, that but for the tumultuous character of the people of Grenoble, and the revolutionary or Bonapartean spirit of the mass of the inhabitants, General Marchand would have succeeded in calming the mutiny of the troops, and maintaining his position, at least for some time. This would have been exceedingly awkward to Napoleon; but Ney with his powerful corps, was not far off, and the mass of the French soldiery was so thoroughly disaffected to the Bourbons, as not to allow those princes any hope of making a stand against Napoleon by their means.

It was on the 5th of March, and, as we have mentioned, at nightfall, that Bonaparte stood before the walls of Grenoble. He found the gates closed, and the commanding officer refused to open them. The garrison assembled on the ramparts, shouted *Vive l'Empereur!* and shook hands with Napoleon's followers through the wickets; but they could not be prevailed on to do more. It was necessary to force the gates; and this was done under the mouths of ten pieces of artillery, loaded with grape-shot. In none of his battles did Napoleon ever imagine himself to be in so much danger as at the entrance into Grenoble. The soldiers seemed to turn upon him with furious gestures: for a moment it might be supposed that they were going to tear him to pieces. But these were the suppressed transports of love and joy. The Emperor and his horse were both borne along by the multitude; and he had scarcely time to breathe in the inn where he alighted, when an increased tumult was heard without; the inhabitants of Grenoble came to offer him the broken gates of the city, since they could not present him with the keys.

From Grenoble to Paris, Napoleon found no further opposition. During the four days of his stay at Lyons, where he had arrived on the 10th, there were continually upwards of twenty thousand people assembled before his windows, whose acclamations were unceasing. It would never have been supposed that the Emperor had even for a moment been absent from the country. He issued orders, signed decrees, reviewed the troops, as if nothing had happened. The military corps, the public bodies, and all classes of citizens eagerly came forward to tender their homage and their services. The Count d'Artois,



Napoleon entering Grenoble.

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The gates of Grenoble presented to Napoleon.

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who had hastened to Lyons, as the Duke and Duchess of Angoulême had done to Bourdeaux, like them in vain attempted to make a stand. The national horse-guards (who were known royalists) deserted him at this crisis; and in his flight, only one of them chose to follow him. Bonaparte refused their services when offered to him, and sent the decoration of the Legion of Honour to the single volunteer who had thus shown his fidelity by following the duke. As soon as the Emperor quitted Lyons, he wrote to Ney, who, with his army, was at Lons-le-Saulnier, to come and join him. Ney had set off from the court with a promise to bring Napoleon, "like a wild beast in a cage, to Paris."

These were words of falsehood and treachery, for Ney had made up his mind to a very different line of action, even at the moment he uttered them. This is denied by the majority of French writers, though Ney himself afterwards proclaimed and boasted of his deliberate treason. We know that even Sir Walter Scott excuses Ney's heart at the expense of his head, and fancies that the marshal was rather carried away by circumstances, by vanity, and by fickleness, than actuated by premeditated treachery; yet still, after a careful examination of a mass of evidence, our conviction remains unchanged.

At all events, the facts of the case were these:

On the 11th of March, Ney being at Besançon, learned that Napoleon was at Lyons. To those who doubted whether his troops would fight against their old comrades, he said, "They *shall* fight! I will take a musket from a grenadier, and begin the action myself! I will run my sword to the hilt in the body of the first man who hesitates to fire!" At the same time he wrote to the minister of war at Paris, that he hoped "to see a fortunate close to this mad enterprise."

He then advanced to Lons-le-Saulnier, where, on the night between the 13th and 14th of March, not quite three days after his furious protestations of fidelity, he received, without hesitation, a letter from Bonaparte, inviting him by his old appellation of "the bravest of the brave," to join his standard. With this invitation Ney immediately complied, and published an order of the day that declared the cause of the Bourbons, which he had sworn to defend, lost for ever.

It is pleaded in extenuation of Ney's disloyalty, that both his officers and men were beyond his control, and determined to join their old master; but in that case he ought to have given up his command, and retired in the same way that Marshals Macdonald and Marmont and other honourable men did.* But even among his own officers, Ney had a proper example set him, for many of them, after remonstrating in vain, threw up their commands. One of them broke his sword in two, and

* Marshal Augereau kept himself aloof. He could not be much flattered by the mention made of him in Bonaparte's proclamation to the troops.

threw the pieces at Ney's feet, saying, "It is easier for a man of honour to break iron than to break his word."

The ex-emperor, when at Saint Helena, gave a very different reading to these incidents. On this subject he was heard to say, "If I except Labédoyère, who flew to me with enthusiasm and affection, and another individual, who, of his own accord, rendered me important services, nearly all the other generals whom I met on my route evinced hesitation and uncertainty; they yielded only to the impulse about them, if, indeed, they did not manifest a hostile feeling towards me. This was the case with Ney, with Massena, St. Cyr, Soult, as well as with Macdonald and the Duke of Belluno; so that if the Bourbons had reason to complain of the complete desertion of the soldiers and the people, they had no right to reproach the chiefs of the army with conspiring against them, who had shown themselves mere children in politics, and would be looked upon as neither emigrants nor patriots."*

Between Lyons and Fontainebleau Napoleon often travelled several miles ahead of his army, with no other escort than a few Polish lancers. His advanced guard now generally consisted of the troops (miscalled *royal*) who happened to be before him on the road whither they had been sent to oppose him, and to whom couriers were sent forward to give notice of the Emperor's approach, in order that they might be quite ready to join him with the due military ceremonies. White flags and cockades every where disappeared—the tri-colour resumed its pride of place. It was spring, and, true to its season, the violet had reappeared! The joy of the soldiers and the lower orders was almost frantic; but even among the industrious poor there were not wanting many who regretted this precipitate return to the old order of things—to conscription, war, and bloodshed; while in the superior classes of society there was a pretty general consternation. The vain, volatile soldiery, however, thought of nothing but their Emperor—saw nothing before them but the restoration of all their laurels—the humiliation of England, and the utter defeat of the Russians, Prussians, and Austrians.

On the night between the 19th and 20th of March Napoleon reached Fontainebleau, and again paced, as had formerly been his custom, with short, quick steps, through the antiquated but splendid galleries of that old palace. What must have been his feelings on revisiting the chamber in which, the year before, it is said he had attempted suicide! Baron Fain thus relates this report:

"On the night of the 12th, the silence which reigned in the long corridors of the palace was suddenly interrupted by the sound of hurried footsteps. The servants of the palace were heard running to and fro; candles were lighted in the inner

* Napoleon, we presume, called all the French who were for the Bourbons "emigrants," and all who were for himself "patriots."

MARSHAL NEY,

DUKE OF ELCHINGEN PRINCE OF MOSKOW.

Ney

apartment, and the valets-de-chambre were called up. Doctor Yvan and Grand Marshal Bertrand were also summoned. The Duke of Vicenza was sent for, and a message was despatched to the Duke of Bassano, who resided at the Chancellery. All these individuals arrived, and were successively introduced into the Emperor's bedchamber. Curiosity in vain lent an anxious ear; nothing was heard but groans and sobs escaping from the antechamber, and resounding through the gallery. At length Doctor Yvan came out of the chamber; he hastily descended into the courtyard, where, finding a horse fastened to the railing, he mounted him and galloped off. The secret of this night has always been involved in profound obscurity. The following story has, however, been related:

"During the retreat from Moscow Napoleon had, in case of accident, taken means to prevent his falling alive into the hands of the enemy. He procured from Surgeon Yvan a bag of opium,* which he wore hung about his neck as long as danger was to be apprehended. He afterwards carefully deposited this bag in a secret drawer of his cabinet. On the night of the 12th he thought the moment had arrived for availing himself of this last expedient. The valet-de-chambre, who slept in the adjoining room, the door of which was half open, heard Napoleon empty something into a glass of water, which he drank, and then returned to bed. Pain soon extorted from him an acknowledgment of his approaching end. He then sent for the most confidential persons in his service. Yvan was sent for also; but learning what had occurred, and hearing Napoleon complain that the poison was not sufficiently quick in its effect, he lost all self-possession, and hastily fled from Fontainebleau. It is added, that Napoleon fell into a long sleep, and that after copious perspiration every alarming symptom disappeared. The dose was either insufficient in quantity, or time had mitigated the power of the poison. It is said that Napoleon, astonished at the failure of his attempt, after some moments of reflection, said, "God has ordained that I shall live!" and yielding to the will of Providence, which had preserved his existence, he resigned himself to a new destiny. The whole affair was hushed in secrecy."

Louis XVIII. left the palace of the Tuileries at nearly the same hour that Bonaparte entered that of Fontainebleau.

The most forlorn hope of the Bourbons was now in a considerable army posted between Fontainebleau and Paris. Meantime the two armies approached each other at Melun; that of the king was commanded by the faithful Macdonald. On the 20th, his troops were drawn up in three lines to receive the invaders, who were said to be advancing from Fontainebleau. There was a

* It was not opium alone, but a preparation described by Cabanis, and the same which Condorcet made use of to destroy himself.

long pause of suspense, of a nature which seldom fails to render men more accessible to strong and sudden emotion. The glades of the forest, and the acclivity which leads to it, were full in view of the royal army, but presented the appearance of a deep solitude. All was silence, except when the regimental bands of music, at the command of the officers, who remained generally faithful, played the airs of "Vive Henri Quatre,"—"O Richard,"—"La Belle Gabrielle," and other tunes connected with the cause and family of the Bourbons. The sounds excited no corresponding sentiments among the soldiers. At length, about noon, a galloping of horse was heard. An open carriage appeared, surrounded by a few hussars, and drawn by four horses. It came on at full speed; and Napoleon, jumping from the vehicle, was in the midst of the ranks which had been formed to oppose him. His escort threw themselves from their horses, mingled with their ancient comrades, and the effect of their exhortations was instantaneous on men, whose minds were already half made up to the purpose which they now accomplished. There was a general shout of "Vive Napoleon!" The last army of the Bourbons passed from their side, and no further obstruction existed betwixt Napoleon and the capital, which he was once more—but for a brief space—to inhabit as a sovereign.*

Louis, accompanied only by a few household troops, had scarcely turned his back on the capital of his ancestors, when Lavallette hastened from a place of concealment and seized on the post-office in the name of Napoleon. By this measure all the king's proclamations† were intercepted, and the restoration of the emperor was announced to all the departments. General Excelmans, who had just taken a new oath to Louis (a gratuitous piece of perjury) pulled down with his own hands the white-coloured flag that was floating over the Tuileries, and hoisted the three-coloured banner.

It was late in the evening of the 20th, that Bonaparte entered Paris in an open carriage, which was driven straight to the gilded gates of the Tuileries. He received the acclamations of the military, and of the lower classes of the suburbs; but most of the respectable citizens looked on in silent wonderment. It was quite evident then that he was recalled by a party—a party, in truth, numerous and powerful, but not by the unanimous voice of the nation. The enthusiasm of his immediate adherents, however, made up for the silence and lukewarmness of others. They filled and crammed the square of the Carrousel, and the courts and avenues of the Tuileries—they pressed so closely upon him, that he was obliged to cry out, "My friends, you stifle me!" and his aides-de-camp were obliged to carry him in their arms up the grand

* Walter Scott, vol. viii.

† On the 12th of April, Louis XVIII. issued a declaration at Ghent (see notes at the end of the present chapter); but even that paper could not be circulated in France until after the battle of Waterloo

staircase, and thence into the royal apartments. It was observed, however, that amongst these *ardent friends* were very many men who had been the first to desert him in 1814, and that these individuals were the most enthusiastic in their demonstrations, the loudest in their shouts. But this was a matter of course!

And thus was Napoleon again at the Tuileries where, even more than at Fontainebleau, his mind ought to have been flooded by the deep and rushing recollections of the past! A few nights after his return thither, he is said to have fallen into a "melting mood." This was in talking about his former wife, poor Josephine, to whom he was certainly attached, even when he abandoned her. He had sent for M. Horan, one of the physicians who had attended her during her last illness:

"So, Monsieur Horan," said he, "you did not leave the empress during her malady?"

"No, sire."

"What was the cause of that malady?"

"Uneasiness of mind.... grief."

"You believe that?" (and Napoleon laid a strong emphasis on the word *believe*, looking steadfastly in the doctor's face.) He then asked, "Was she long ill? Did she suffer much?"

"She was ill a week, sire—her majesty suffered little pain."

"Did she see that she was dying?—Did she show courage?"

"A sign her majesty made when she could no longer express herself, leaves me no doubt that she felt her end approaching—she seemed to contemplate it without fear."

"Well!.... well!" and then Napoleon much affected, drew close to M. Horan, and added, "You say that she was in grief—from what did that arise?"

"From passing events, sire; from your majesty's position last year."

"Ah! she used to speak of me then?"

"Often.... very often."

Here Napoleon drew his hand across his eyes, which seemed filled with tears. He then went on.

"Good woman!—My excellent Josephine! She loved me truly—she—did she not?.... Ah! She was a Frenchwoman!"

"Oh! yes, sire, she loved you, and she would have proved it, had it not been for dread of displeasing you—she had conceived an idea...."

"How?.... What would she have done?"

"She one day said, that as empress of the French, she would drive through Paris with eight horses to her coach, and all her household in gala livery, to go and rejoin you at Fontainebleau, and never quit you more."

"She would have done it—she was capable of doing it!"

Napoleon again betrayed deep emotion, on recovering from which he asked the physician the most minute questions about

the nature of Josephine's disease—the friends and attendants who were around her at the hour of her death, and the conduct of her two children, Eugène and Hortense.

DECLARATION OF LOUIS XVIII.

"*Ghent, April* 12, 1815.

"At a moment when we are about to see a new war commence, we consider that we owe to France, in the face of Europe, to give the formal declaration of our allies.

"When Heaven and the nation recalled us to the throne, we made before God the solemn promise, very soothing to our heart, to forget injuries, and to labour without relaxation for the happiness of our subjects. The sons of St. Louis have never betrayed either Heaven or their country.

"Already had our people recovered, through our care, plenty at home and peace abroad—the esteem of all nations—already the throne, weakened by so many shocks, had begun to be firmly re-established, when treason forced us to quit our capital, and to seek refuge on the confines of our states. However, Europe has taken up arms—Europe, faithful to its treaties, will know no other King of France except ourselves. Twelve hundred thousand men are about to march, to assure the repose of the world, and a second time to deliver our fine country.

"In this state of things, a man whose whole strength is at present made up of artifice and delusion, endeavours to lead astray the spirit of the nation by his fallacious promises—to raise it against its king, and to drag it along with him into the abyss, as if to accomplish his frightful saying of 1814:—'If I fall, it shall be known how much the overthrow of a great man costs.'

"Amid the alarms which the present danger of France have revived in our hearts, the crown, which we have never looked upon but as the power of doing good, would to our eyes have lost all its charms, and we should have returned with pride to the exile in which twenty years of our life were spent in dreaming of the happiness of the French people, if our country was not menaced for the future with all the calamities which our restoration had terminated—and if we were not the guarantees for France to the other sovereigns. The sovereigns who now afford us so strong a mark of their affection, cannot be abused by the cabinet of Bonaparte, with the Machiavelism of which they are acquainted. United by the friendship and interests of their people, they march without hesitation to the glorious end where Heaven has placed the general peace and happiness of nations. Thoroughly convinced, in spite of all the tricks of a policy now at its last extremity, that the French nation has not made itself an accomplice in the attempts of the army, and that the small number of Frenchmen who have been led astray must soon be sensible of their error, they regard France as their ally. Wherever they shall find the French people faithful, the fields will be respected, the labourer protected, the poor succoured; they reserve the weight of the war to let it fall on those provinces who at their approach refuse to return to their duty.

"This restriction, directed by prudence, would sensibly afflict us, if our people were less known to us; but whatever the fears may be with which it is endeavoured to inspire them with respect to our intentions, since our allies make war only against rebels, our people have nothing to dread, and we rejoice to think that their love for us shall not have been altered by a short absence, nor by the calumnies of libellers, nor by the promises of the chief of a faction, too much convinced of his weakness not to caress those who burn to destroy him.

"On our return to our capital, a return which we consider as now near at hand, our first care shall be to recompense virtuous citizens who have devoted themselves to the good cause, and in labouring to banish even, to all appearance, disasters which may have withdrawn from us some of the French people.

(Signed) "Louis."

STATEMENT

OF THE EXPENSES INCURRED BY NAPOLEON ON ACCOUNT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

The following official tables, which were esteemed as correct, will convey a good notion of the outlay made during the power of Napoleon, or from 1804 to 1813, for great public works.

ROADS.

NAMES OF ROADS.	Calculated expense of the whole.	Sums actually spent upon them between 1804 and 1813.	Sums yet to be spent to complete the roads.
	frs.	frs.	frs.
Mont Cenis	16,000,000	13,500,000	2,500,000
The Simplon	9,200,000	6,100,000	3,100,000
La Corniche	15,500,000	6,500,000	9,000,000
Mont Genevre	5,400,000	2,800,000	2,600,000
Fenestrelle	1,800,000	800,000	1,000,000
Lantaret	3,500,000	1,800,000	1,700,000
From Alessandria to Savona	4,000,000	2,600,000	1,400,000
From Ceva to Port Maurice	2,600,000	560,000	2,040,000
From Genoa to Alessandria, by Garvi	1,800,000	150,000	1,650,000
From Piacenza to Genoa	5,500,000	300,000	5,200,000
From Parma to La Spezzia	3,700,000	2,000,000	1,700,000
From Paris to Madrid, by Bayonne	8,000,000	4,200,000	3,800,000
From Paris to Amsterdam	6,300,000	4,300,000	2,000,000
From Paris to Hamburg	9,800,000	6,000,000	3,800,000
From Maestricht to Venloo	2,100,000	1,960,000	140,000
From Paris to Mayence	5,000,000	5,000,000	
From Tournus to Chambery	4,000,000	100,000	3,900,000
	104,200,000	58,670,000	45,530,000
Different roads in the departments		218,814,549	
Total		277,484,549	

BRIDGES.

NAMES OF BRIDGES.	Total amount of the projects.	Expenses for work done between the years 1804 and 1813.	Expenses remaining to be made.
	frs.	frs.	frs.
Bridge of Vercelli	560,000	530,000	30,000
Bridge of the Scrivia	300,000	300,000	
Bridge of Tours	3,000,000	3,000,000	
Bridge of Tilsitt at Lyons	3,000,000	3,000,000	
Bridge of the Isere and others on that route	4,000,000	4,000,000	
Bridge over the Durance	1,500,000	1,500,000	
Bridge over the Po at Turin	3,500,000	1,850,000	1,650,000
Bridge over the Dora	1,100,000	820,000	280,000
Bridge of Bordeaux	6,000,000	1,000,000	5,000,000
Bridge and Quays at Rouen	5,000,000	800,000	4,200,000
Bridge of Rouanne	2,400,000	1,500,000	900,000
Bridge of Serin and Arsenal at Lyons	1,000,000	300,000	700,000
Bridge of Avignon	1,200,000	600,000	600,000
Bridge of Givet	700,000	500,000	200,000
Bridge of the Vey	1,500,000	500,000	1,000,000
Bridge of Arves	350,000	200,000	150,000
Bridges of Laune, Moisac, Agen, &c.	7,000,000	700,000	6,300,000
Bridge of Sevres	2,000,000	800,000	1,200,000
Bridge of St. Cloud	800,000	775,000	25,000
	44,910,000	22,675,000	22,235,000
Spent on different bridges since 1804		7,930,000	
Total		30,605,000	

CANALS AND DRAINING.

NAMES OF CANALS.	Total amount of the works as projected.	Sums actually spent between 1804 and 1813.	Expenses remaining to be made.
	frs.	frs.	frs.
St. Quentin	11,000,000	10,000,000	1,000,000
La Somme	5,000,000	1,200,000	3,800,000
La Haine (Mons à Conde)	5,000,000	3,000,000	2,000,000
Seine and Aube	15,000,000	6,000,000	9,000,000
Napoleon	17,000,000	10,500,000	6,500,000
Bourgogne	24,000,000	6,800,000	17,200,000
Ille and Rance	8,000,000	5,000,000	3,000,000
The Blavet	3,300,000	2,800,000	500,000
Nantes to Brest	28,000,000	1,200,000	26,800,000
Niort	9,000,000	1,500,000	7,500,000
Arles and Port de Bouc	8,500,000	3,800,000	4,700,000
The Cher	6,000,000	1,100,000	4,900,000
Dieuze	3,500,000	900,000	2,600,000
The Colancelle	2,000,000	900,000	1,100,000
	145,300,000	54,700,000	90,600,000
Draining, and works to recover bogs and swamped lands at—			
Rochefort	7,000,000	3,000,000	4,000,000
Carenton	4,500,000	2,600,000	1,900,000
The Scheldt	3,200,000	2,800,000	400,000
Blankemberg	3,000,000	3,000,000	
Dikes of the river Po	1,000,000	800,000	200,000
Works at Péraché, on the Saone, &c.	4,000,000	2,000,000	2,000,000
Total for Canals, Draining, &c.	168,000,000	68,900,000	99,100,000
Minor Works for Canals, Draining, &c.		53,687,898	
Total of real outlay		122,587,898	

WORKS AT PARIS.

	Amount of the Projects.	Money actually spent for work done between 1804 and 1813.	Expenses remaining to be made.
	frs.	frs.	frs.
Canal of L'Ouicq	38,000,000	19,500,000	18,500,000
Abattoirs (Slaughter-houses)	13,500,000	6,700,000	6,800,000
Market and Cellars for Wine	12,000,000	4,000,000	8,000,000
Market and Cellars for Corn	800,000	750,000	50,000
The Great Market (Grande Halle)	12,000,000	2,600,000	9,400,000
Market-places	8,500,000	4,000,000	4,500,000
Granaries of reserve	8,000,000	2,300,000	5,700,000
Mills and Magazines of St. Maur	8,000,000	1,000,000	7,000,000
Bridge of Austerlitz	3,000,000	3,000,000	
Bridge of Arts	900,000	900,000	
Bridge of Jena	6,200,000	4,800,000	1,400,000
Quays on the Seine	15,000,000	11,000,000	4,000,000
Schools (*Lycées*)	5,000,000	500,000	4,500,000
Church of St. Geneviève	2,500,000	2,000,000	500,000
Church of St. Denis	2,500,000	2,200,000	300,000
Expenses on Archbishop's Palace, &c.	2,500,000	2,500,000	
Grand Office of Foreign Affairs	6,000,000	1,000,000	5,000,000
Post Office (now Treasury)	6,000,000	1,800,000	4,200,000
Record and Archive Office	20,000,000	1,000,000	19,000,000
Temple of Glory (Church of the Magdalen)	8,000,000	2,000,000	6,000,000
Palace for the Corps Legislatif	3,000,000	3,000,000	
Column in Place Vendome	1,500,000	1,500,000	
Obelisk of Pont Neuf	5,300,000	1,200,000	4,100,000
Triumphal Arch de l'Etoile	9,000,000	4,500,000	4,500,000
Statues on the bridges and squares	1,500,000	600,000	900,000
Square of the Bastile	1,200,000	600,000	600,000
Opening of new streets and squares	4,000,000	4,000,000	
Botanical Garden (Jardin des Plants)	3,000,000	800,000	2,200,000
Exchange (la Bourse)	6,000,000	2,500,000	3,500,000
	212,900,000	92,250,000	120,650,000
Various works not designated		10,171,000	
Total spent		102,421,000	

SEAPORTS.

NAMES OF PORTS.	Estimated expense of the whole.	Sums actually spent upon them between 1804 and 1813	Sums yet to be spent to complete the works
	frs.	frs.	frs.
Port of Cherbourg		26,000,000	
Port of Antwerp		18,000,000	
Port of Flushing		5,600,000	
Port of New-Diep		1,500,000	
Port of Havre		6,300,000	
Port of Dunkirk		4,500,000	
Port of Ostend, with Canal	142,700,000	3,600,000	72,570,000
Port of Marseilles		1,500,000	
Port of St. Valery		200,000	
Port of Calais		500,000	
Port of Dieppe		1,100,000	
Port of Bayonne		430,000	
Port of Cette		900,000	
	142,700,000	70,130,000	72,570,000
Different works in Ports not designated		47,198,710	
Total		117,328,710	

DIFFERENT PUBLIC WORKS.

	Sums required for the whole.	Sums actually spent upon them between 1804 and 1813.	Sums yet to be spent to complete the works.
	frs.	frs.	frs.
Workhouses for Poor	29,000,000	12,000,000	17,000,000
Repairs of Prisons	30,000,000	6,000,000	24,000,000
Works of Napoleon-Ville, a new town in the Vendée	12,500,000	7,500,000	5,000,000
For rebuilding Houses and Churches in the West	1,800,000	1,500,000	300,000
Bathing Establishments	3,600,000	1,500,000	2,100,000
Works at Rome	6,000,000	2,000,000	4,000,000
Works at Napoleon (Morbihan)	1,500,000	1,100,000	400,000
Orphan Houses	1,500,000	1,200,000	300,000
Theatre at Strasburg	1,200,000	500,000	700,000
	87,100,000	33,300,000	53,800,000
Various works in the departments		115,808,550	
Total		149,108,550	

IMPERIAL PALACES, AND OTHER EDIFICES APPERTAINING TO THE CROWN.

NAMES OF THE PALACES, &c.	Amount of the projected improvement, &c	Expenses actually incurred between 1804 and 1813.	Value of work remaining to do
	frs.	frs.	frs.
The Louvre and Musée Napoleon	14,000,000	11,100,000	2,900,000
The Napoleon Gallery and Church	36,000,000	10,300,000	25,700,000
The Tuileries	6,700,000	6,700,000	
Triumphal Arch in the Carrousel	1,400,000	1,400,000	
The Palace of the King of Rome	30,000,000	2,500,000	27,500,000
Versailles	6,600,000	5,200,000	1,400,000
Water Machinery at Marly	3,000,000	2,450,000	550,000
Fontainebleau	6,242,600	6,242,000	
Compiegne	4,366,000	4,366,000	
Different improvements at St. Cloud, Rambouillet, Trianon, &c.	108,308,000	50,258,000	58,050,000
		11,796,583	
Total		62,054,583	

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1815.

Correspondence from Vienna, Ghent, and Copenhagen—Extracts from the letters of M. de Talleyrand, Count François de Jaucourt, and the Marquis de Bonnay.

I WILL now present to the reader some extracts from official letters which I received from M. de Talleyrand at Vienna, from Count François de Jaucourt at Ghent, and from the Marquis de Bonnay at Copenhagen. The Count de Jaucourt had, in consequence of M. de Talleyrand's departure for the congress, received from the king the portfolio of foreign affairs. After I wrote to M. de Talleyrand, acquainting him with my arrival in Hamburg, I received an answer, dated Vienna, April 19, 1815, in which he informed me, that the allied troops were approaching the French frontiers with all possible speed. "In the military measures," said he, "the greatest energy and activity every where prevails. The Russian troops, who were on the Vistula, have arrived in Bohemia four days sooner than they were expected, and will reach the Rhine at the same time with the Austrian troops. It is expected that operations will commence about the middle of May, and the immense resources which have been combined, leave no doubt respecting the issue of the events. Murat, thinking that at a moment when all the powers are uniting their efforts against Bonaparte, he would experience few obstacles in Italy, has entered the legations with his army, and advanced upon the Po. But he failed in an attack upon the bridge head of Occhio Bello, and has been obliged to retire. Since then, the Austrian troops, who are daily receiving reinforcements, have gained some advantages over Murat in the direction of Modena."

In my new place of abode, I did not wish to multiply my correspondence uselessly, and having rarely any thing of importance to communicate to M. de Talleyrand, I did not often address myself to him. In a second letter which I received from that minister, dated Vienna, March 5th he very obligingly

requested me to write oftener. In that letter he observed, "Since you received my communication of the 19th of April, you will have learned that the Duke d'Angoulême has been unable to maintain himself, as we hoped he would, in the southern provinces. France is, therefore, for the moment, entirely under the yoke of Bonaparte; but hostilities against him will not commence for some time, because it is wished to attack him simultaneously on all points, and with great masses. The most perfect concord prevails among the powers with respect to the military measures. The war is carried on against Murat with a degree of success which warrants the hope that it will not be of long duration. He has made two successive applications for an armistice, which has not been granted."

These extracts say more respecting the affairs of the time, than any reflections with which I could accompany them. Without further preamble, therefore, I lay before my readers a third letter of M. de Talleyrand, who, at the time he wrote it, was impatiently looked for at Ghent. When I urged M. de Jaucourt to send me my credentials, which I had not been able to obtain in the hurry of my departure, he wrote to me in a letter, dated the 12th of May, "We daily expect M. de Talleyrand here, and I shall not fail to remind him of your credentials." The following is the letter from M. de Talleyrand, which I have just mentioned: I need scarcely draw the reader's attention to the allusions it contains relative to those acts of the congress which I have already adverted to:

SIR,

Bonaparte, since his arrival in Paris, having first denied the authenticity of the declaration of the 13th of March, and next endeavoured to weaken its effect by different publications, some persons here have thought that it would be advisable to draw up a second. The congress submitted this question to the consideration of a committee who presented its report in the conference of the 12th instant. That report, after confirming the intentions manifested by the powers in the declaration of the 13th of March, refuting the sophisms of Bonaparte, and exposing his imposture, concludes, that his position with respect to Europe not being changed, either by the first success of his enterprise, or by his offer of ratifying the treaty of Paris, a second declaration is in no degree necessary. I have the honour to send you some copies of the minutes of the conference in which the report is literally inserted. From these documents you will perceive that Europe is not making war for the king, or on his appeal, but that she is making war on her own account, because her interests require it, and her safety demands it. This is the course most satisfactory to Louis XVIII., and most favourable to his cause. If it were supposed in France that war was renewed solely for the interests of the king, his subjects would regard him as the author of the disasters to which the conflict may expose them. Such an opinion could have no other effect than to alienate their affections from his majesty, and to

induce them to espouse the cause of Bonaparte; instead of which, on the grounds on which the war is maintained, its evil consequences must be attributed to Bonaparte alone. It is important that every one should be convinced of this truth, especially in France.

I cannot afford a better idea of what was doing at Vienna, and especially of the opinions that were formed there, than by quoting the letters of the first diplomatist of Europe, for such M. de Talleyrand undoubtedly proved himself at that difficult period. At Vienna he could not, as at Tilsit, support himself on the right of conquest: his task was to advocate the rights of the conquered, and yet he induced the allied powers to acknowledge as a principle, the legitimacy of the throne of Naples in favour of a Bourbon prince, and at the same time prevented Prussia from aggrandizing herself too far at the expense of Saxony. I soon received from M. F. de Jaucourt a letter fully explaining the instructions which the king wished to transmit to his diplomatic agents in foreign countries. As a supplement to his correspondence, M. de Jaucourt sent me the Journal Universel,* which was printed under the direction of the government. In his letter, which was dated May 29, 1815, he observed, "The allied powers have no design of encroaching on the independence of the French nation; they refrain from interfering in its internal government, or even prescribing the choice of a sovereign; but all their wishes and designs go to second their ally, Louis XVIII., and his august dynasty. The restoration of the legitimate authority is the object of their efforts, as it will infallibly prove the consequence of their success."

The preceding extracts are from letters which the ancients would have called *de negotiis;* those which I shall now subjoin are somewhat more *de hominibus.* They are copied from the correspondence addressed to me by the Marquis de Bonnay, Louis XVIII.'s minister at Copenhagen, and they threw considerable light on what was then going on abroad, and on the opinion entertained of some men of the time. M. de Bonnay, who was a faithful servant of the king, was well aware of the dangers which threatened the monarchy before the 20th of March.

Being informed at Hamburg of the exertions which were making at the head-quarters of the imperial diplomacy to get Bonaparte's government acknowledged abroad, and knowing

* M. Bertin, the elder, who gave so many proofs of his zeal in the cause of the restoration, took refuge at Brussels after the 20th of March, and was invited to Ghent to edit the official journal of the king. The first number was printed under the title of the Moniteur Universel; but at the moment when it was about to be published, M. Bertin received orders to substitute the title of Journal Universel, as the government of the Netherlands dared not allow it to appear under the title of the "Official Journal of France." M. Bertin had the sole management of the paper until Louis XVIII.'s return to France.

TALLEYRAND.

le Pce de Talleyrand

that the consuls appointed by the king had received letters stamped with the eagle, I communicated these facts to M. de Bonnay, who thus replied to me: "I thank you, sir, for your information respecting the letters, stamped with the eagle, addressed to the French consuls in the Baltic. I immediately found a pretence for recalling M. Desaugiers. I do not know whether you are acquainted with him. He is not a bad man, but he has the worst head in the world. At this moment, his horror at seeing the foreign troops enter France, has absolutely driven him mad. He wishes that Bonaparte had ended his days at Elba, or at the bottom of the sea. But since he is fairly in Paris, he would prefer seeing him reign tranquilly to the alternative of the evils with which the allied powers would visit France, under the pretence of delivering her. The king, he says, is nothing to him; but France is every thing."

While the French minister was making every effort to induce the allied powers a second time to recognise the integrity of France, Prussia betrayed views of aggrandizement at the expense of Alsace, Lorrain, and French Flanders. It is true that all these aggrandizements were not for herself; but her intention was, that those who partook of the spoil should give her an equivalent. The Marquis de Bonnay, being informed of these dispositions of Prussia, mentioned the subject to the Prussian minister at Copenhagen; and on the 9th of May he wrote a letter to me, in which he said, "The stupid Prussian minister, with whom I remonstrated against his claims upon Saxony, his pretended rights of indemnity, rights of conquest, &c., observed to me, with great simplicity, that if the right of conquest were not admitted, France must return to what she was before the treaty of Westphalia.—'Very well,' said I, 'but in that case I shall regard you only as the representative of the petty Marquis of Brandenburg, vowing fidelity, and doing homage to the republic of Poland for the duchy of Prussia. Your old acquaintance, the Prussian minister in Hamburg, is not such a fool as ours; but I believe he is ill-disposed towards France.'"

In the same letter, the Marquis de Bonnay added, that he knew for a certainty that M. de M———, who was sent to Vienna by Fouché, had taken part in a dialogue to the following effect:

"Do not go to war with us, and we will rid you of that man."—"Well, then, rid us of him at once."—"Would you like the King of Rome, or a regency?"—"No."—"The Duke of Orleans?"—"No."—"Well, Louis XVIII.? since it must be so. But no nobility, no priestcraft, and, above all, no Blacas."—"Begin by ridding us of Bonaparte and all his race."

In allusion to M. de Blacas, M. de Bonnay observed, "I am grieved to hear the universal outcry which is raised against a

man whose ascendancy appears to be indestructible, and whose presence about the king is said to be an irremediable evil. I know the king, and I know M. de Blacas. The latter has an upright heart and pure intentions: all his faults arise from an excess of vanity and presumption; but he is devoted to the king, and his majesty will never hear reason or truth as far as he is concerned."

Bonaparte opened registers for the acceptance of his additional act to the constitution of the empire; and as he affected love of liberty, every individual was entitled to give contrary votes, and to assign his reasons for so doing. M. Florian de Kergorlay published his vote, firmly rejecting the pretended additional act, on the ground that its last article excluded the Bourbons for ever from the throne of France. That he suffered no molestation for this act of courage, was doubtless owing to Carnot, who behaved admirably on several occasions. The first step he took, on accepting the office of minister of the interior, was to despatch an order to Lavallette, who had again resumed the superintendence of the post-office, directing that the privacy of correspondence should be respected. Me de Bonnay wrote me a letter full of exultation on hearing of the protest of M. de Kergorlay.

In another letter, dated the 29th of May, M. de Bonnay again said to me—

> It would appear, sir, that at length you and I agree about M. de Blacas. I believe I informed you that I wrote to him candidly on all that concerned him. I should certainly be sorry to distress the king uselessly; but it appears to me, that those who attack his confidant, have observed more delicacy than they are accustomed to do in similar cases. My opinion still is, that he cannot remain in office. For if he should, I defy the king ever to form, what the English call, a solid administration.

In spite of what M. de Bonnay says in this fragment of his correspondence, I did not concur with him so perfectly as he imagined on the subject of M. de Blacas, whom I always regarded as the principal author of the evils which assailed France in 1815. Another thing which much surprised me in one of M. de Bonnay's letters was, the rather unfavourable way in which he spoke of M. de Chateaubriand. Bonaparte, who was so well able to judge of men when he was not blinded by passion, did not hesitate to declare to his friends at St. Helena, that he would have had no chance of attempting his project had M. de Chateaubriand been at the head of affairs in 1814. On that point I was always of his opinion.

I shall subjoin a few more extracts from the letters of M. de Bonnay, begging the reader to bear in mind that the opinions expressed in them are not mine, but those of a man sufficiently well-informed to represent the intelligent portion of the royalist

party in 1815, though his prejudices, and the distance at which he was placed from the theatre of events, occasionally render the accuracy of his views doubtful. In June, 1815, he wrote to me thus:

You relieve me much by saying that you are sure the Duke of Orleans was sounded during his stay in Paris, and that he repelled all the advances made to him. Heaven grant that he may continue in this favourable disposition!

Though the Journal de Gand says nothing on the subject, it appears to me evident that the proclamation of the king to the French people, which is parcelled out to us by the German journals, is authentic, and that it is the work of M. de Lally-Tollendal. It is even more verbose than the report of M. de Chateaubriand, and that is too much so. How I wish that the arrival of M. de Talleyrand would put an end to all this scribbling!

Again in June, 1815, my correspondent says—

I am pressed for time to-day, and, therefore, write you a hurried letter. If Berthier has fallen from a window, he doubtless threw himself out. You will ask why? You will tell me what he said to you at Brussels, but do we know what he has done since? The German journals informed us that he was under supervision, and that he wished to return to France in disguise. Are we sure that he was not committed by some correspondence which was seized?

Copenhagen, June 17, 1815.

At length, sir, this eternal congress is at an end. Prince Talleyrand wrote to me on the 7th, to say that he would sign the minute on the 9th, and that he would immediately set out for Ghent. He leaves the Duke d'Alberg to sign the copies.

In spite of all that the Parisian journals may say on the subject, I am convinced that the Champ de Mai has not made a single dupe in France, nor obtained one partisan for Bonaparte. It is a farce which the Parisians have witnessed so often, that they now look on and shrug their shoulders. The eleven departments which did not answer the appeal, spoke more loudly than any who were present; and if Bonaparte's speech be well analyzed. it will be found that he possesses little of the confidence which he affects.

June 20th.

The postscript of the Borsen-hall has put us on the rack, and possibly we shall not be relieved for the next eight-and-forty hours. But if in the interval no courier or estafette arrive, I shall begin to think that the affair has not been of much consequence, or at any rate, that it has not had an unfavourable termination; for bad news flies apace. I confess I do not like the idea of Bonaparte having struck the first blow. I do not like that attack in the night, which was, perhaps, a surprise: I detest those battles which are still going on at the departure of the courier—a phrase invented to conceal a defeat—in short, I shall be all anxiety until the arrival of your next letter.

This moment the arrival of a Swedish estafette has relieved all my

apprehensions, by informing me of the happy issue of the attack of the 16th, which very likely commenced on the 15th. I cannot conceive how it was that the Duke of Wellington allowed himself to be taken unawares. He left Brussels on the morning of the 16th to make a reconnaissance, and calculated on returning in the evening. He must (if he took the right road) have found the battle commenced at six leagues from his own hotel. The Prince of Orange must have acquired great honour by sustaining the shock and repulsing, with great loss, as the letter says, Bonaparte and his eighty thousand men. You must excuse me for not deploring the loss of the Duke of Brunswick, who was not good for much except on the day of a battle. I hope to hear the details after to-morrow.

An officer, who left Paris on the 4th of June, and who, trusting to his memory, did not take any papers with him, gave to the Duke of Wellington all the requisite details respecting the force and distribution of the French army. According to a calculation, including all who were expected to join the army, the troops of the line amount to two hundred and twenty-seven thousand men, and the national guards to between one hundred, and one hundred and fifty thousand. The infantry is good, and in excellent condition; the cavalry poor, and unclothed. The light artillery is better than might have been expected; and, what is luckier than all for Bonaparte, there are five hundred pieces of artillery. The fortresses are in bad condition, and ill-provisioned, with the exception of Lille, Valenciennes, and Condé, which are intrusted to the national guard and the old disbanded soldiers. I hope that some of them will soon open their gates.

It is a great thing to have foiled Bonaparte's first enterprise. He can now neither recede nor stand still. The Austrians would do well to enter without waiting for the Russians. They have not 40,000 men before them.

A letter from M. de Staël (written perhaps to the prince royal himself) dated the 2d of May, states that Bonaparte can hold out no longer, and that France is divided into two parties, one in favour of a republic (for which Benjamin Constant writes and preaches), the other in favour of the Duke of Orleans. This party is composed of all those who are too deeply stained to expect to be employed by the king.

You name my most confidential and intimate friend when you speak of Pozzo-di-Borgo. I can answer for him as for myself. The king has not a better or a more useful servant. It is now sixteen years since he and I have been united in heart and opinion. I have constantly said that no man in Europe was better fitted to oppose and overthrow Bonaparte. Pozzo-di-Borgo is certainly not one of those who least contributed to his first fall; and I confidently hope that he will powerfully aid the second. He is one of the ablest men of the day; and I may add, that he possesses a noble heart, and is incapable of compromising principles. It is sometimes useful for him to have some one by him to moderate his warmth: but this is the man we should secure, if Russia will only resign him. Be assured, that to serve France is his sole ambition; and, in fact, he belongs to the king, since he is a Corsican.

Copenhagen, June 27, 1815.

The great events which have occurred seem to overwhelm us. We bow beneath their weight, and are unable to measure their extent, or calculate their results. It takes some time to arrange them in one's head. The news is scarcely credible; it seems, if I may say so, too good to be true. Such are my impressions after perusing the post-script of the Borsen-hall. Dare we believe that fifteen thousand prisoners, and two hundred pieces of cannon have been taken? Will there not be a deduction from this? If the next post, or some welcome courier should confirm all and every thing, it is evident that Bonaparte is lost beyond redemption, and that your prophecy of the king's return in the month of August will be fulfilled.

July 18, 1815.

Instead of waiting till August, you will have returned to Paris on the 8th of July, for I presume that you arrived in time to witness the entrance of the king. Honoured be the prophet! I hope to receive a letter from you by next post.*

July 25, 1815.

How happens it that all confidential places are given away, and that I do not find your name on any list? How happens it, on the contrary, that I find names which would seem to exclude yours? When you have time you must give me a key to this, and many other riddles.

At what time, and in what place, was the choice of Fouché determined upon? Who made the election? Did it come from the heart of the king?

I thank you for the quotation of that sublime passage from the king's letter to Prince Talleyrand, relative to the bridge of Jena.† The French used the Prussians ill, and the Prussians are now taking their revenge. When will concord resume her sway over this earth? When shall we see peace and justice hand in hand? Though I dislike national hatred, yet if the French must cherish any, I would rather it should be directed against the Prussians than against any other nation of the continent.

August.

As to Brennus Blucher and his Prussians, who are more barbarous than the ancient Gauls, our indignation against them will, I doubt not, descend to our children's children. I hope, however, that the other allies will bring them to reason, and that we shall not be forced to obtain justice for ourselves, an alternative which may cause the sacrifice of some millions of men in a few months. The foreign armies, it is true, would be exterminated; but France would be more ravaged, more desolated, and more ruined, than Spain has been after a six years' war.

* The reader will recollect that while Louis XVIII. was at Lille, previous to his departure from France, I mentioned to his majesty my conviction that he would be restored to his throne before three months.

† The letter here alluded to is that in which Louis XVIII. expressed his determination, that if the Prussians persisted in their design of destroying the bridge of Jena, he would station himself upon it at the moment of its being blown up.

August 26, 1815.

There is a man whom you name as the Marquis de Carabas (the Duke d'Alberg). It is he who has done all, appointed every one, decided, and disposed of every thing. How happens it that Prince Talleyrand did not himself form his ministry? Why has he shown so much deference to the choice of another? Is it subjection, seduction, or indifference?

How does it happen, that since M. de Talleyrand, who sees and listens to you, who hears and reads the truth every where, and who knows that natives and foreigners agree as to the necessity of a vigorous government, capable of punishing crime, and restoring morality and good principles, how happens it, I say, that M. de Talleyrand should obstinately persevere in a system of tolerance resembling carelessness? I am sometimes thinking he is merely looking forward to the meeting of the chambers, and that then, if he should obtain all the support which he requires, he will adopt a different course, and perhaps himself destroy the instruments he has employed. If the royalists prove themselves calm, prudent, and sensible; if they show that their strength is in their minds, and not in their lungs, France will be at their feet, and consequently at the feet of the king; but they must not be furious and extravagant, like the brawling party of our poor right side, which has done us so much harm.*

You tell me nothing about the army. As well as I can judge at the distance at which I am, I think a good plan has been adopted for reorganizing it. I am anxious to know whether the rebels will attempt resistance. Macdonald will deserve a statue if he extricate himself. His choice of some chiefs of division excites astonishment; but I am slow to blame men of whom I have a good opinion.

Bonaparte said of Madame,† that she is the only man in the family; but I hope Monsieur will prove to France and Europe that he also is a man. But he must command himself and those about him; and he must recollect that under a form of government like that which now prevails, the heir and the heirs to the throne have absolutely no part to perform. The king is the only centre; and the ministers and the king are but one. I fear the clamour of what was once called the *Œil-de-Bœuf*.‡

* These heirs of the *brawling* party of the right side of the constituent assembly brought about the dissolution of the chamber in 1815. M. de Talleyrand wisely adopted a system of toleration, which, with all due deference to the knights errant of morality and good principles, was much more salutary to the restoration than a contrary system would have been.

† The Duchess of Angoulême.

‡ An old court faction, composed of the heir to the throne, the princes of the blood, &c.—*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1815.

My departure from Hamburg—The king at Saint-Denis—Fouché appointed minister of the police—Delay of the king's entrance into Paris—Effect of that delay—Fouché's nomination due to the Duke of Wellington—Impossibility of resuming my post—Fouché's language with respect to the Bourbons—His famous postscript—Character of Fouché—Discussion respecting the two cockades—Declaration of the officers of the national guard—Manifestations of public joy repressed by Fouché—Composition of the new ministry—Kind attention of Blucher—The English at Saint-Cloud—Blucher in Napoleon's cabinet—My prisoner become my protector—Blucher and the innkeeper's dog.

THE fulfilment of my prediction was now at hand; for the result of the battle of Waterloo enabled Louis XVIII. to return to his dominions. As soon as I heard of the king's departure from Ghent, I quitted Hamburg, and travelled with all possible haste, in the hope of reaching Paris in time to witness his majesty's entrance. I arrived at Saint-Denis on the 7th of July, and, notwithstanding the intrigues that were set on foot, I found an immense number of persons assembled to meet the king. Indeed, the place was so crowded, that it was with the greatest difficulty I could procure even a little garret for my lodging.

Having resumed my uniform of a captain of the national guard, I proceeded immediately to the king's palace. The saloon was filled with ladies and gentlemen who had come to congratulate the king on his return. At Saint-Denis I found my family, who, not being aware that I had left Hamburg, were much surprised to see me.

They informed me that the Parisians were all impatient for the return of the king—a fact of which I could judge by the opposition manifested to the free expression of public feeling. Paris having been declared in a state of blockade, the gates were closed, and no one was permitted to leave the capital, particularly by the Barrière de la Chapelle. It is true that special permission might be obtained, and with tolerable ease, by those

who wished to leave the city; but the forms to be observed for obtaining the permission, deterred the mass of the people from proceeding to Saint-Denis, which, indeed, was the sole object of the regulation. As it had been resolved to force upon the king Fouché and the tri-coloured cockade, it was deemed necessary to keep apart from his majesty all who might persuade him to resist the proposed measures. Madame de Bourrienne told me, that on her arrival at Saint-Denis, she called upon M. Hue and M. Le Febvre, the king's physician, who both acquainted her with those fatal resolutions. Those gentlemen, however, assured her that the king would resolutely hold out against the tri-coloured cockade, but the nomination of the ill-omened man appeared inevitable.

Fouché minister of the police! If, like Don Juan, I had seen a statue move, I could not have been more confounded than when I heard this news. I could not credit it, until it was repeated to me by different persons. How, indeed, could I think that at the moment of a reaction the king should have intrusted the most important ministerial department to a man to whose arrest he had a hundred days before attached so much consequence; to a man, moreover, whom Bonaparte had appointed, at Lyons, to fill the same office. This was inconceivable! Thus, in less than twenty-four hours, the same man had been intrusted to execute measures the most opposite, and to serve interests the most contradictory. He was one day the minister of usurpation, and the next the minister of legitimacy! How can I express what I felt when Fouché took the oath of fidelity to Louis XVIII.—when I saw the king clasp in his hands the hands of Fouché! I was standing near M. de Chateaubriand, whose feelings must have been similar to mine, to judge from a passage in his admirable work, "La Monarchie selon la Charte." "About nine in the evening," he says, "I was in one of the royal antechambers. All at once the door opened, and I saw the president of the council enter, leaning on the arm of the new minister.—Oh! Louis-le-Désiré! Oh! my unfortunate master! you have proved that there is no sacrifice which your people may not expect from your paternal heart!" Fouché, as will be seen, was put forward through Wellington's influence.*

Fouché was resolved to have his restoration, as well as M. de Talleyrand, who had had his the year before; he therefore contrived to retard the king's entry into Paris for four days. The prudent members of the chamber of peers, who had taken no part in the king's government in 1814, were the first to declare that it was for the interest of France to hasten his majesty's

* The friends of the Duke of Wellington deny that his grace had any thing to do with this appointment.—*Editor.*

entrance into Paris, in order to prevent foreigners from exercising a sort of right of conquest in a city, which was a prey to civil dissension and party influence. Blucher informed me that the way in which Fouché contrived to delay the king's return, greatly contributed to the pretensions of the foreigners, who, he confessed, were very well pleased to see the population of Paris divided in opinion, and to hear the alarming cries raised by the confederates of the Faubourgs, when the king was already at Saint-Denis.

I know for a fact, that Louis XVIII. wished to have nothing to do with Fouché, and indignantly refused to appoint him, when he was first proposed. But he had so nobly served Bonaparte during the hundred days, that it was necessary he should be rewarded. Fouché, besides, had gained the support of a powerful party among the emigrants of the Faubourg Saint Germain, and *he possessed the art of rendering himself indispensable.* I have heard many honest men say very seriously, that to him was due the tranquillity of Paris. Moreover, as I have just stated, Wellington was the person by whose influence in particular Fouché was made one of the counsellors of the king. After all the benefits which foreigners had conferred upon us, Fouché was, indeed, an acceptable present to France and to the king!

I was not ignorant of the Duke of Wellington's influence upon the affairs of the second restoration; but for a long time I refused to believe that his influence should have outweighed all the serious considerations opposed to such a perfect anomaly as appointing Fouché the minister of a Bourbon. But I was deceived. France and the king owed to him Fouché's introduction into the council, and I had to thank him for the impossibility of resuming a situation which I had relinquished for the purpose of following the king into Belgium. Could I be prefect of police under a minister, whom, a short time before, I had received orders to arrest, but who eluded my agents? That was impossible. The king could not offer me the place of prefect under Fouché, and if he had I could not have accepted it. I was therefore right in not relying on the assurances which had been given me; but I confess, that if I had been told to guess the cause why they could not be realized, I never should have thought that cause would have been the appointment of Fouché as a minister of the King of France. At first, therefore, I was of course quite forgotten, as is the custom of courts when a faithful subject refrains from taking part in the intrigues of the moment.

I have already frequently stated my opinion of the pretended talent of Fouché; but admitting his talent to have been as great as was supposed, that would have been an additional reason for not intrusting the general police of the kingdom to him. His principles and conduct were already sufficiently known.

No one could be ignorant of the language he held respecting the Bourbons, and in which he indulged as freely after he became the minister of Louis XVIII., as when he was the minister of Bonaparte. It was universally known, that in his conversation the Bourbons were the perpetual butt for his sarcasms, that he never mentioned them but in terms of disparagement, and that he represented them as unworthy of governing France. Every body must have been aware that Fouché, in his heart, favoured a republic, where the part of president might have been assigned to him. Could any one have forgotten the famous postscript he subjoined to a letter he wrote from Lyons to his worthy friend Robespierre:—"To celebrate the fête of the republic suitably, I have ordered two hundred and fifty persons to be shot!" And to this man, the most furious enemy of the restoration of the monarchy, was consigned the task of consolidating it for the second time! But it would require another Claudian to describe this new Rufinus!

Fouché never regarded a benefit in any other light than as the means of injuring his benefactor. The king, deceived like many other persons by the reputation which Fouché's partisans had conjured up for him, was certainly not aware that Fouché had always discharged the functions of minister for his own interest, and never for the interest of the government which had the weakness to intrust him with a power always dangerous in his hands. Fouché had opinions, but he belonged to no party; and his political success is explained by the readiness with which he always served the party he knew must triumph, and which he himself overthrew in its turn. He maintained himself in favour from the days of blood and terror, until the happy time of the second restoration, only by abandoning and sacrificing those who were attached to him; and it might be said that his ruling passion was the desire of continual change. No man was ever characterized by greater levity or inconstancy of mind. In all things he looked only to himself, and to this egotism he sacrificed both subjects and governments. Such were the secret causes of the sway exercised by Fouché during the Convention, the Directory, the Empire, the Usurpation, and after the second return of the Bourbons. He helped to found and to destroy every one of those successive governments. Fouché's character is perfectly unique. I know no other man, who, loaded with honours, and almost escaping disgrace, has passed through so many eventful periods, and taken part in so many convulsions and revolutions.

On the 7th of July the king was told that Fouché alone could smooth the way for his entrance into Paris: that he alone could unlock the gates of the capital, and that he alone had power to control public opinion. The reception given to the king on the following day afforded an opportunity of judging of the truth of these assertions. The king's presence was the signal for a

feeling of concord, which was manifested in a very decided way. I saw upon the Boulevards, and often in company with each other, persons, some of whom had resumed the white cockade, while others still retained the national colours; and harmony was not in the least disturbed by these different badges.

The question of the cockades was again discussed at Saint-Denis on the 7th of July. In the evening Marshal Masséna arrived, and was immediately introduced to the king. It was reported that the object of Masséna's interview was to induce the king to make his entry into Paris with the national cockade. Masséna remained but a short time with the king, and his return was awaited by every one in the saloon with the greatest anxiety, excited by different causes. Several commanders of the legions of the national guard, seduced by Fouché, wished for the adoption of the tri-coloured cockade, and took no pains to conceal their opinion on that point. However, I have reason to believe that on the 7th of July, many of those who signed the following declaration, would have been glad to have withdrawn their names. The declaration, which was presented to the king by Masséna, who commanded the national guard, was as follows:

The undersigned, commanders of legions, and officers of the national guard of Paris, in reply to the order of the day of the 6th of July, 1815, have the honour of declaring to Marshal Masséna, their commander-in-chief, that they will consider it a point of honour, to preserve for ever the national colours, which cannot be abandoned without danger.

They venture to affirm that their individual opinion corresponds with that of the great majority of their brethren in arms; and therefore they beg their marshal to submit this declaration to the members of the committee of the government, and to request them to give it the greatest publicity in order to prevent the disorders which might result from any uncertainty on such a point.

I was informed that there existed among the king's counsellors a difference of opinion on the subject of this declaration, but it was at length understood that prudent considerations had prevailed, and that the king had firmly rejected the extraordinary proposition made to him. For my part I thought, and I expressed my mind to the persons around me, that it was enough that the provisional government of 1814, in neglecting Marmont's wise advice, should have committed the fault of not preserving the national colours, without our now wishing the king to commit the fault of adopting them in 1815. That which, the year before, would have been an act of good policy, would now have been nothing less than a weak concession. Fouché knew this well, and for that very reason he made himself the soul of the intrigue; for to him is to be attributed the mischievous suggestion. If I should be reproached with vili-

fying Fouché's memory, I only crave the reader's patience for a while. I shall presently describe a conversation I had with him, in which he manifested his hatred of the Bourbons without any reserve.

Having returned to private life solely on account of Fouché's presence in the ministry, I yielded to that consolation which is always left to the discontented. I watched the extravagance and inconsistency that were passing around me, and the new follies which were every day committed; and it must be confessed that a rich and varied picture presented itself to my observation. The king did not bring back M. de Blacas. His majesty had yielded to prudent advice; and on arriving at Mons, sent the unlucky minister as his ambassador to Naples. Vengeance was talked of, and there were some persons inconsiderate enough to wish that advantage should be taken of the presence of the foreigners, in order to make what they termed "an end of the revolution;" as if there were any other means of effecting that object, than frankly adopting whatever good the revolution had produced. The foreigners observed with satisfaction the disposition of these shallow persons; which they thought might be turned to their own advantage. The truth is, that on the second restoration our pretended allies proved themselves our enemies.

But for them, but for their bad conduct, their insatiable exactions, but for the humiliation that was felt at seeing foreign cannon levelled in the streets of Paris, and beneath the very windows of the palace, the days which followed the 8th of July might have been considered by the royal family as the season of a festival. Every day people thronged to the garden of the Tuileries, and expressed their joy by singing and dancing under the king's windows. This ebullition of feeling might perhaps be thought absurd, but it at least bore evidence of the pleasure caused by the return of the Bourbons.

This manifestation of joy, by numbers of persons of both sexes, most of them belonging to the better classes of society, displeased Fouché, and he determined to put a stop to it. Wretches were hired to mingle with the crowd, and sprinkle corrosive liquids on the dresses of the females: some of them were even instructed to commit acts of indecency, so that all respectable persons were driven from the gardens through the fear of being injured or insulted. As it was wished to create disturbance under the very eyes of the king, and to make him doubt the reality of the sentiments so openly expressed in his favour, the agents of the police mingled the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" with that of "Vive le Roi!" and it happened oftener than once, that the most respectable persons were arrested, and charged by Fouché's infamous agents with having uttered seditious cries. A friend of mine, whose royalist opinions were well known, and whose father had been massacred during the revolution, told me, that while

walking with two ladies, he heard some individuals near him crying out " Vive l'Empereur!" This created a great disturbance. The guard advanced to the spot, and those very individuals themselves had the audacity to charge my friend with being guilty of uttering the offensive cry. In vain the bystanders asserted the falsehood of the accusation; he was seized and dragged to the guard-house, and after being detained for some hours, he was liberated on the application of his friends.

By dint of these wretched manœuvres, Fouché triumphed. He contrived to make it be believed that he was the only person capable of preventing the disorders of which he himself was the sole author. He got the police of the Tuileries under his control. The singing and dancing ceased, and the palace was the scene of dullness.

While the king was at Saint-Denis he restored to General Desolles the command of the national guard. The general ordered the barriers to be immediately thrown open. On the day of his arrival in Paris, and not before, the king determined as a principle, that the throne should be surrounded by a privy council; the members of which were to be the princes and persons whom his majesty might appoint at a future period. The king then named his new ministry, which was thus composed:

Prince Talleyrand, peer of France, president of the council of ministers, and secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Baron Louis, minister of finance.

The Duke of Otranto, minister of the police.

Baron Pasquier, minister of justice, and keeper of the seals.

Marshal Gouvion-Saint-Cyr, war minister.

Count de Jaucourt, peer of France, minister of the marine.

The Duke de Richelieu,* peer of France, minister of the king's household.

The portfolio of the minister of the interior, which was not immediately disposed of, was provisionally intrusted to the minister of justice. But what was most gratifying to the public, in the composition of this new ministry, was, that M. de Blacas,

* Some time after it was thought proper to suppress the office of minister of the king's household, and to substitute in its stead the office of intendant-general;—an arrangement which I thought better calculated for a constitutional government. M. de Richelieu's successor in this office was the Count de Pradel, a man of great ability. The office of minister of the king's household was again restored in favour of my old friend Lauriston, whose elevation did not alter his sentiments towards his old comrades. After his death, the office underwent another metamorphosis, and received again the title of intendant-general, which it still retains, and is now filled by M. de la Bouillerie, one of those men whom Bonaparte, during the consulate and afterwards, esteemed for his talents and probity. I recollect often having heard him say, speaking of M. de la Bouillerie. " He is the man to manage money matters. There is no need to revise his accounts." Bonaparte sent for him from Paris to the camp at Boulogne, to examine the accounts, and afterwards appointed him treasurer of the crown after we lost Estève, our old companion, in the Egyptian expedition

who had made himself so odious to every body, was superseded by M. de Richelieu, whose name revived the memory of a great minister, and who, by his excellent conduct, throughout the whole course of his career, deserves to be distinguished as a model of honour and wisdom.

General satisfaction was expressed on the appointment of Marshal Macdonald to the post of grand chancellor of the Legion of Honour, in lieu of M. de Pradt. M. de Chabrol resumed the prefecture of the Seine, which, during the hundred days, had been occupied by M. de Bondy. M. de Molé was made director-general of bridges and causeways; I was superseded in the prefecture of police by M. de Cazes, and M. Ferrand continued director-general of the post-office.

I think it was on the 10th of July that I went to Saint-Cloud to pay a visit of thanks to Blucher. I had been informed, that as soon as he learned I had a house at Saint-Cloud, he sent a guard to protect it. This spontaneous mark of attention was well deserving of grateful acknowledgment, especially at a time when there was so much reason to complain of the plunder practised by the Prussians.* My visit to Blucher presented to observation a striking instance of the instability of human greatness. I found Blucher residing like a sovereign in the palace of Saint-Cloud, where I had lived so long in the intimacy of Napoleon, at a period when he dictated laws to the kings of Europe, before he was a monarch himself. In that cabinet in which Napoleon and I had passed so many busy hours, and where so many great plans had their birth, I was received by the man who had been my prisoner at Hamburg. The Prussian general immediately reminded me of the circumstance:—"Who could have foreseen," said he, "that after being your prisoner, I should become the protector of your property? You treated me well at Hamburg, and I have now an opportunity of repaying your kindness. Heaven knows what will be the result of all this! One thing, however, is certain, and that is, that the allies will now make such conditions as will banish all possibility of danger for a long time to come. The Emperor Alexander does not wish to make the French people expiate too dearly the misfortunes they have caused us. He attributes them to Na-

* The English occupied Saint-Cloud after the Prussians. My large house, that in which the children of the Count d'Artois were inoculated, was respected by them; but they occupied a small house forming part of the estate. The English officer who commanded the troops stationed a guard at the large house. One morning we were informed that the door had been broken open, and a valuable looking-glass stolen. We complained to the commanding officer, and on the affair being inquired into, it was discovered that the sentinel himself had committed the theft. The man was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to death; a circumstance which, as may naturally be supposed, was very distressing to us. Madame de Bourrienne applied to the commanding officer for the man's pardon, but could only obtain his reprieve. The regiment departed some weeks after, and we could never learn what was the fate of the criminal.

poleon, but Napoleon cannot pay the expenses of the war, and they must be paid by some one. It was all very well for once; but we cannot pay the expense of coming back a second time. However," added he, " you will lose none of your territory; that is a point on which I can give you positive assurance. The Emperor Alexander has several times repeated in my presence to the king my master, ' I honour the French nation; and I am determined that it shall preserve its old limits.' "

The above are the very words which Blucher addressed to me. Profiting by the friendly sentiments he expressed towards me, I took the opportunity of mentioning the complaints that were every where made of the bad discipline of the troops under his command. " What can I do?" said he. " I cannot be present every where; but I assure you that in future and at your recommendation I will severely punish any misconduct that may come to my knowledge."

Such was the result of my visit to Blucher; but, in spite of his promises, his troops continued to commit the most revolting excesses. Thus the Prussian troops have left in the neighbourhood of Paris, recollections no less odious than those produced by the conduct of Davoust's corps in Prussia. Of this an instance now occurs to my memory, which I will relate here. In the spring of 1816, as I was going to Chevreuse, I stopped at the *Petit Bicêtre* to water my horse. I seated myself for a few minutes near the door of the inn, and a large dog belonging to the innkeeper began to bark and growl at me. His master, a respectable-looking old man, exclaimed, " Be quiet, Blucher!" —" How came you to give your dog that name?" said I.—" Ah, sir! it is the name of a villain who did a great deal of mischief here last year. There is my house; they have left scarcely any thing but the four walls. They said they came for our good; but let them come back again..... we will watch them and spear them like wild boars in the wood."—The poor man's house certainly exhibited traces of the most atrocious violence, and he shed tears as he related to me his disasters.*

* There is no exaggeration in this account of the excesses and revengeful spirit of the Prussian troops, compared to whom even the Cossacks were angels of mercy. Even so late as the years 1819 and 1820 the ravages they had committed were sadly visible over a great part of France. The provocation the Prussians had received from the French was immense, but they ought to have remembered that their retaliation was a sure means of perpetuating the spirit that led to those enormities. The country people of France were generally much to be pitied—but it was *amusing* to hear the marauding soldiery of Bonaparte talking pathetically about the miseries and iniquities of foreign invasion—the fierce spirit of the Prussians, &c. To hear them, one might have thought they had never invaded the rights of others—had never subjected more than the half of Europe to all the horrors and exactions of warfare. But this time the war came round their own villages and homesteads—*voilà la guerre chez eux!* and they felt just as the Prussians, Russians, Austrians, and the rest must have felt, when they, the French, were ruining their countries and rendering their homes deso-

late. The evils inflicted by the allied troops on France were indeed nothing compared to those the French had perpetrated in Austria, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Portugal, and the south of Italy. During the whole time of the foreign occupation of France, the discipline of the English, Austrian, and even the Russian army (deducting a little for the *scapades* of the Cossacks) was admirable. —*Editor.*

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1815

My daughter's marriage contract—Rigid etiquette—My appointment to the presidentship of the Electoral College of the Yonne—My interview with Fouché—His hatred of the Bourbons—His invective against the royal family —My audience of the king—His majesty made acquainted with my conversation with Fouché—The Duke of Otranto's disgrace—Carnot deceived by Bonaparte—My election as deputy—My colleague, M. Randot—My return to Paris—Regret caused by the sacrifice of Ney—Noble conduct of Macdonald—A drive with Rapp in the Bois de Boulogne—Rapp's interview with Bonaparte in 1815—The Duke de Berri and Rapp—My nomination to the office of minister of state—My name inscribed by the hand of Louis XVIII.—Conclusion.

Before the king departed for Ghent, he had consented to sign the contract of marriage between one of my daughters and M. Massieu de Clerval, though the latter was at that time only a lieutenant in the navy. The day appointed for the signature of the contract happened to be Sunday, the 19th of March, and it may well be imagined that in the critical circumstances in which we then stood, a matter of so little importance could scarcely be thought about. In July I renewed my request to his majesty, which gave rise to serious discussions in the council of ceremonies. Lest any deviation from the laws of rigid etiquette should commit the fate of the monarchy, it was determined that the marriage contract of a lieutenant in the navy, could be signed only at the petty levee. However, his majesty, recollecting the promise he had given me, decided that the signature should be given at the grand levee. Though all this may appear exceedingly ludicrous, yet I must confess that the triumph over etiquette was very gratifying to me.

A short time after, the king appointed me a counsellor of state, a title which I had held under Bonaparte ever since his installation at the Tuileries, though I had never fulfilled the functions of the office. In the month of August, the king having resolved to convoke a new chamber of deputies, I was appointed president of the Electoral College of the department of the Yonne. As soon as I was informed of my nomination, I waited on M. de Talleyrand for my instructions; but he told me, that inconfor-

mity with the king's intentions, I was to receive my orders from the minister of police. I observed to M. de Talleyrand, that I must decline seeing Fouché on account of the situation in which we stood with reference to each other. "Go to him, go to him," said M. de Talleyrand, "and be assured Fouché will say nothing on the subject."

I felt great repugnance to see Fouché, and consequently I went to him quite against my inclination. I naturally expected a very cold reception. What had passed between us rendered our interview extremely delicate. I called on Fouché at nine in the morning, and found him alone, and walking in his garden. He received me as a man might be expected to receive an intimate friend whom he had not seen for a long time. On reflection I was not very much surprised at this, for I was well aware that Fouché could make his hatred yield to calculation. He said not a word about his arrest; and it may well be supposed that I did not seek to turn the conversation on that subject. I asked him whether he had any information to give me respecting the elections of the Yonne. "None at all," said he, "get yourself nominated if you can; only use your endeavours to exclude General Desfournaux. Any thing else is a matter of indifference to me."—"What is your objection to Desfournaux?"—"The ministry will not have him."

I was about to depart, when Fouché called me back saying, "Why are you in such haste? Cannot you stay a few minutes longer?" He then began to speak of the first return of the Bourbons, and asked me how I could so easily bring myself to act in their favour. He then entered into details respecting the royal family, which I conceive it to be my duty to pass over in silence; I will, however, describe the latter part of our conversation; and in so doing I shall endeavour to give it as accurately as possible, with a due observance of that decorum which Fouché lost sight of.

To his first question I replied, that wishing to see France released from the horrors of the revolution and military despotism, I eagerly contributed my assistance in bringing about the return of the royal family, an event which I had long foreseen and wished for. "I felt a conviction," added I, "that Louis XVIII. would acknowledge the necessity of a constitutional government, the only possible one in France; that he would guarantee true public liberty; and that, in short, he would conciliate the past and the present."—"Do you think there is a unison of opinion among the French people on the subject of the restoration?"—"I believe the majority are favourable to it."—"Then you are not aware that opposition to the government of the dynasty of the Bourbons was observable in all the departments during the first few months which succeeded their return? The old partisans of the republic, and the agents of Bonaparte, were taking great pains to impress upon

the public mind that the royal family had returned with all the superstitions of the emigration. I could show you a hundred reports, all coinciding in this particular. You must confess that all that the government has done, or attempted for a year past, proves but too well what were its intentions. Could any thing be more directly opposed to the interests and glory of the nation? The decided return to the past alarmed every one. The royalists of 1815 proved themselves to be what they were in 1789. In all the important transactions of 1814, there was a total disregard of past events, and of the progress of the age. The mad attempt was made to force a people enlightened by experience, to forget what they had learned, and to imbibe other ideas. The Bourbons determined at all hazards to retrograde, to bring every thing again into question, and to make the present decide on the past in their favour. This inexplicable conduct caused it to be said, that there was a wish to place the counter-revolution on the throne. This is still wished; but while I am here, I will oppose it with all my might. There must be an end to the grand conflict of the revolution, which is not yet terminated, after five-and-twenty years of trouble and lessons of experience. The nobility and clergy have no partisans, except in La Vendée. Scarcely one-sixth of the French people would be willing to adopt the old régime, and I assure you there is not one-fifth sincerely devoted to the legitimate authority. You seem not to be aware that in 1814, a foreign prince, the Duke of Orleans,* and a regency were openly talked of; and there is no foreign prince which the constitutional party would not have received from the hands of the allied powers in preference to Louis XVIII., because they might have required, as a condition of submission, that the rights of the people should be maintained. The constitutional party made but one exclusion, and that was the family of our old kings: certainly, you do not reckon the constitutional party among the partisans of the Bourbons?"

I was confounded to hear such language from the mouth of a minister of the king, yet I thus replied to Fouché: "I am far from approving in any way the system followed in 1814, and nobody that I know of has more loudly condemned it than myself; but permit me to say that I do not, like you, see the evils which superstition and the emigration are to bring upon France. No doubt there will be faults again: there will be men incrusted in old prejudices; but time will wear them away, and I think I can already perceive a gradual conciliation in favour of the Bourbons, the number of whose partisans increases daily. There will, of course, be stragglers in the march of civilization, as well as in the march of a triumphant army.

* For an account of the intrigues to place Louis Philippe on the throne in 1814, see notes at the end of present chapter.—*Editor.*

I have long been, as you well know, one of the most decided advocates for the propagation of knowledge, and you also know the disputes I had on this subject with the first consul. But the light of knowledge must, like the light of day, be progressive: a sudden transition from darkness to light would have its danger. There are no ameliorations which I do not wish for; but I would not have them abrupt and precipitate. I am, therefore, convinced that the Bourbons can only establish true public liberty gradually. The king is not a common man, and I am persuaded that he is as well assured as any one, that national franchises and true public liberty must, in course of time, become the strongest props of his throne. You, I confess, must be better informed than I of the state of public opinion; but those who address reports to you take their own view of affairs, and you know men well enough to be perfectly aware that they see things through the prism of their personal opinions. If the reports which you receive are accurate, our situation would be deplorable indeed. Complaints would be succeeded by threats, and threats by violence: an attempt would be made to overthrow the existing state of things, and civil war would infallibly ensue. From that, Heaven preserve us!"

Fouché listened to me with considerable attention, and after a few moments' consideration, drawing his long fingers across his pale forehead, he replied, "I think you are wrong; but even if civil war should break out, there would not be, in upwards of sixty departments, more than a handful of royalists to oppose the mass of the people. The royalists would prevail in one-eighth of the departments at most, and in the rest would be reduced to silence."—"From what you say, duke, it might be inferred that you do not think the Bourbons can remain in France."—"I do not tell you my opinion," said Fouche, with a significant smile. "However," added he, you may draw from my words what inferences you please. I care very little about that."

I now broke off this extraordinary conversation, which was more strange in reality than it can appear from my description. I have been under the necessity of suppressing things, the bare recollection of which is painful to me, and which I cannot repeat. I shall only observe that it was impossible to carry indecorum of language and revolutionary cynicism further than Fouché did. The Duke of Otranto spoke of the royal family in such terms of contempt, that he appeared like a bold conspirator or a perfidious seducer rather than a minister of the king. I could almost have fancied that he was attempting to practise upon me the treachery of which Joseph Bonaparte had once made me the dupe at Fouché's house: in short, that he was playing the part of a spy; but knowing, as I did, his odious principles, I felt no doubt that what he said to me in his usual tone of levity was the sincere expression of his sentiments.

The love of gold, which was Fouché's insatiable passion, made him bend to power, whatever it might be.

I conceived it to be my duty to make the king acquainted with this strange conversation, and as there was now no Count de Blacas to keep truth and good advice from his majesty's ear, I was, on my first solicitation, immediately admitted to the royal cabinet. I cautiously suppressed the most revolting details; for, had I literally reported what Fouché said, Louis XVIII. could not, possibly, have given credit to it. The king thanked me for my communication, and I could perceive he was convinced that by longer retaining Fouché in office he would become the victim of the minister who had been so scandalously forced upon him on the 7th of July. The disgrace of the Duke of Otranto speedily followed, and I had the satisfaction of having contributed to repair one of the evils with which the Duke of Wellington visited France.

Fouché was so evidently a traitor to the cause he feigned to serve, and Bonaparte was so convinced of this, that during the hundred days, when the ministers of the king at Ghent were enumerated in the presence of Napoleon, some one said, "But where is the minister of the police?"—"*Eh! parbleu,*" said Bonaparte, "that is Fouché? . . . . . ." It was not the same with Carnot, in spite of the indelible stain of his vote: if he had served the king, his majesty could have depended on him, but nothing could shake the firmness of his principles in favour of liberty. I learned from a person who had the opportunity of being well informed, that he would not accept the post of minister of the interior, which was offered to him at the commencement of the hundred days, until he had a conversation with Bonaparte, to ascertain whether he had changed his principles. Carnot placed faith in the fair promises of Napoleon, who deceived him, as he had deceived others.

Soon after my audience with the king, I set off to discharge my duties in the department of the Yonne, and I obtained the honour of being elected to represent my countrymen in the chamber of deputies. My colleague was M. Randot, a man who, in very trying circumstances, had given proofs of courage by boldly manifesting his attachment to the king's government. The following are some facts which I learned, and which I circulated as speedily as possible among the electors, of whom I had the honour to be president. Bonaparte, in his way from Lyons to Paris, after his landing at the gulf of Juan, stopped at Avalon, and immediately sent for the mayor, M. Randot. He instantly obeyed the summons. On coming into Napoleon's presence, he said, "What do you want, General!" This appellation displeased Napoleon, who nevertheless put several questions to M. Randot, who was willing to oblige him as a traveller, but not to serve him as an emperor. Napoleon having given him some orders, this worthy

servant of the king replied, "General, I can receive no orders from you, for I acknowledge no sovereign but the king, to whom I have sworn allegiance." Napoleon then directed M. Randot, in a tone of severity, to withdraw, and I need not add, that it was not long before he was dismissed from the mayoralty of Avalon.

The elections of the Yonne being over, I returned to Paris, where I took part in public affairs only as an amateur, while waiting for the opening of the session. I was deeply grieved to see the government resort to measures of severity to punish faults, which it would have been better policy to attribute only to the unfortunate circumstances of the times. No consideration can ever make me cease to regret the memory of Ney, who was the victim of the influence of foreigners. Their object, as Blucher intimated to me at Saint-Cloud, was to disable France from engaging in war for a long time to come; and they hoped to effect that object, by stirring up between the royal government and the army of the Loire, that spirit of discord which the sacrifice of Ney could not fail to produce. I have no positive proofs of the fact; but in my opinion, Ney's life was a pledge of gratitude, which Fouché thought he must offer to the foreign influence which had made him minister.

About this time, I learned a fact which will create no surprise, as it affords another proof of the chivalrous disinterestedness of Macdonald's character. When, in 1815, several marshals claimed from the allied powers their endowments in foreign countries, Madame Moreau, to whom the king had given the rank of a marshal's widow, and who was the friend of the Duke of Tarentum, wrote, without Macdonald's knowledge, to M. de Blacas, our ambassador at Naples, begging him to endeavour to preserve for the marshal the endowment which had been given him in the kingdom of Naples. As soon as Macdonald was informed of this circumstance, he waited upon Madame Moreau, thanked her for her kind intentions, but at the same time informed her, that he should disavow all knowledge of her letter, as the request it contained was entirely averse to his principles. The marshal did, in fact, write the following letter to M. de Blacas: "I hasten to inform you, sir, that it was not with my consent that Madame Moreau wrote to you, and I beg you will take no step that might expose me to a refusal. The King of Naples owes me no recompence for having beaten his army, revolutionized his kingdom, and forced him to retire to Sicily." Such conduct was well worthy of the man who was the last to forsake Napoleon in 1814, and the last to rejoin him, and that without the desire of accepting any appointment in 1815. M. de Blacas, who was himself much surprised at Macdonald's letter, communicated it to the King of Naples, whose answer deserves to be

recorded. It was as follows: "If I had not imposed a law upon myself, to acknowledge none of the French endowments, the conduct of Marshal Macdonald would have induced me to make an exception in his favour." It is gratifying to see princes such scrupulous observers of the laws they themselves make.

About the end of August, 1815, as I was walking on the Boulevard des Capucins, I had the pleasure of meeting Rapp, whom I had not seen for a long time. He had just come out of the house of Lagrenée, the artist, who was painting his portrait. I was on foot, and Rapp's carriage was waiting, so we both stepped into it, and set off to take a drive in the Bois de Boulogne. We had a great deal to say to each other, for we had not met since the great events of the two restorations! The reason of this was, that in 1814, I passed a part of the year at Sens, and since the transactions of March, 1815, Rapp himself had been absent from Paris. I found him perfectly resigned to his change of condition, though indulging in a few oaths against the foreigners. Rapp was not one of those generals who betrayed the king on the 20th of March. He told me that he remained at the head of the division which he commanded at Ecouen, under the orders of the Duke de Berri, and that he did not resign it to the war minister until after the king's departure.—"How did Napoleon receive you?" I inquired.—"I waited till he sent for me. You know what sort of fellow I am. I know nothing about politics; not I. I had sworn fidelity to the king. I know my duty, and I would have fought against the emperor."—"Indeed!"—"Yes, certainly I would, and I told him so myself."—"How! did you venture so far?"—"To be sure. I told him that my resolution was compulsory.—'Pshaw!' . . . . replied he, angrily. 'I knew well that you were opposed to me. If we had come to an action, I should have sought you out on the field of battle. I would have shown you the Medusa's head. Would you have dared to fire on me?'—'Without doubt,' I replied. —'Ah! Parbleu! this is too much,' he said. 'But your troops would not have obeyed you. They had preserved all their affection for me.'—'What could I do?' resumed I, 'You abdicated, you left France, you recommended us to serve the king—and then you return! Besides, I tell you frankly, I do not augur well of what will happen. We shall have war again. France has had enough of that.'—"Upon this," continued Rapp, "he assured me that he had other thoughts; that he had no further desire for war; that he wished to govern in peace, and devote himself solely to the happiness of his people. When I hinted opposition on the part of the foreign powers, he said that he had made alliances. He then spoke to me of the king, and I said I had been much pleased with him; indeed, the king gave me a very gratifying

reception on my return from Kiow, and I see no reason why I should complain, when I was so well used. During the conversation the emperor much extolled the conduct of the Duke of Orleans. He then gave me some description of his passage from the Isle of Elba, and his journey to Paris. He complained of being accused of ambition; and observing that I looked astonished and doubtful—'What!' he continued, 'am I ambitious, then?' And patting his belly with both his hands, 'Can a man,' he asked, 'so fat as I, be ambitious?' I could not for my soul, help saying, 'Ah! sire, your majesty is surely joking.' He pretended, however, to be serious, and after a few moments, noticing my declarations, he began to banter me about the cross of Saint Louis and the cross of the Lily, which I still wore."

I asked Rapp whether all was true that had been said about the enthusiasm which was manifested along the whole of Napoleon's route from the Gulf of Juan to Paris. "Ma foi!" he replied, "I was not there any more than you; but all those who accompanied him, have assured me of the truth of the details which have been published; but I recollect having heard Bertrand say that on one occasion he was fearful for the safety of the emperor, in case any assassin should have presented himself. At Fossard, where the emperor stopped to breakfast, on his way to Paris, his escort was so fatigued as to be unable to follow, so that he was for some time almost alone on the road, until a squadron, which was in garrison at Melun, met him, and escorted him to Fontainebleau. As to any thing else, from all I have heard, the emperor was exposed to no danger."

We then began to talk of our situation, and the singular chances of our fortune. Rapp told me how, within a few days only, he had ceased to be one of the discontented; for the condition of the generals who had commanded army corps in the campaign of Waterloo, was very different in 1815 from what it had been in 1814. "I had determined," he said, "to live a quiet life, to meddle with nothing, and not even to wear my uniform. I had, therefore, since the king's return, never presented myself at court; when, a week ago, while riding on horseback two or three hundred paces from this spot,* I saw a group of horsemen on the other side of the avenue, one of whom galloped towards me. I immediately recognised the Duke de Berri. "How, Monseigneur, is it you?" I exclaimed. "It is, my dear general; and since you will not come to us, I must come to you. Will you breakfast with me to-morrow morning?" "Ma foi!" continued Rapp, "what could I do? The tone of kindness in which he gave this invitation quite charmed me. I went, and I was treated so well, that I shall go again. But I will ask for nothing: I only want these Prussians and English

* We were then near the Barrière de l'Etoile.

out of the way!" I complimented Rapp on his conduct, and told him that it was impossible so loyal and honest a man as he should not, some time or other, attract the king's notice. I had the happiness to see this prediction accomplished. Since that time, I regularly saw Rapp, whenever we both happened to be in Paris, which was pretty often.

I have already mentioned that, in the month of August, the king named me counsellor of state.* On the 19th of the following month I was appointed minister of state and member of the privy council. I may close these volumes by relating a circumstance very flattering to me, and connected with the last-mentioned nomination. The king had directed M. de Talleyrand to present to him, in his official character of president of the council of ministers, a list of the persons who might be deemed suitable as members of the privy council. The king having read the list, said to his minister, "But, M. de Talleyrand, I do not see here the names of two of our best friends, Bourrienne and Alexis de Noailles."—"Sire, I thought their nomination would seem more flattering in coming directly from your majesty." The king then added my name to the list, and afterwards that of the Count Alexis de Noailles; so that both our names are written in Louis XVIII.'s own hand, in the original ordinance.

I have now brought to a conclusion my narrative of the extraordinary events in which I have taken part, either as a spectator or an actor, during the course of a strangely diversified life, of which nothing now remains but recollections.

END OF BOURRIENNE'S MEMOIR.

NOTE ON THE INTRIGUES OF THE ORLEANS PARTY.

The fact that the Duke of Orleans, who became King of the French by the revolution of 1830, was looked up to by a large party, as the man proper to be their ruler, both in 1814 and 1815, is established beyond the reach of doubt. The jacobin and the liberal parties feared the iron government of Napoleon, and thought the Duke of Orleans a man much more likely to submit to the guidance of a free representative government, or to their indulging in constitution-making, than Bonaparte would ever be.

In 1814 they thought he was just what they wanted—that the

* I discharged the functions of counsellor of state until 1818, at which time an ordinance appeared, declaring those functions incompatible with the title of minister of state.

temptation of a throne was too strong for human virtue to resist—that in ascending the throne of his relative, Louis XVIII., by their means, he would own that he held it by and through the revolution, and not by hereditary right. They also fancied that they should conciliate the allied powers, and the moderate constitutionalists of France, by choosing one who was at all events a prince of the House of Bourbon. The more cautious of these plotters recommended that Louis should be permitted to possess the crown as long as he lived, and that at his death, instead of devolving to the Count d'Artois (since Charles X.) it should be placed by the nation on the head of the Duke of Orleans; but the more impetuous part of the conspirators insisted on having Louis Philippe immediately. They sent to that prince a note without signature, and which merely contained these words: "*Nous le ferons sans vous; nous le ferons malgré vous; nous le ferons pour vous*" (We will do it without you—we will do it in spite of you—we will do it for you).

Though there are strong assertions to the contrary, it appears that the Duke of Orleans positively refused to involve himself in any of these plots.—*Editor.*

CONTINUATION OF THE MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1815.

The Hundred days—Napoleon at Paris—Political manœuvres—The meeting of the Champ-de-Mai—Napoleon, the Liberals, and the moderate Constitutionalists—His love of arbitrary power as strong as ever—Preparations for his last campaign.

We have described the return of the Emperor in safety to Paris and the Tuileries.* Napoleon, however, was scarcely reseated on his throne, when he found he could not resume that absolute power he had possessed before his abdication at Fontainebleau. He was obliged to submit to the curb of a representative government—but we are inclined to believe that he only yielded, *pro tempore*, and with a mental reservation, that as soon as victory should return to his

* See page 65

standard, and his army be completed and well organized, he would send the representatives of the people back to their departments, and make himself as absolute as he had ever been. His temporary submission was indeed obligatory.

The republicans and constitutionalists who had assisted, or not opposed his return, with Carnot, Fouché, Benjamin Constant, and his own brother, Lucien (a lover of constitutional liberty), at their head, would support him only on condition of his reigning as a constitutional sovereign: he therefore proclaimed a constitution under the title of "Acte additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire," which greatly resembled the charter granted by Louis XVIII. the year before. An hereditary Chamber of Peers was to be appointed by the Emperor, a chamber of representatives chosen by the electoral colleges, to be renewed every five years, by which all taxes were to be voted; ministers were to be responsible; judges irremovable; the right of petition was acknowledged, and property was declared inviolable. Lastly, the French nation was made to declare, that they would never recal the Bourbons.*

We all know how these oaths were kept—but we shall speak of the Champ-de-Mai presently.

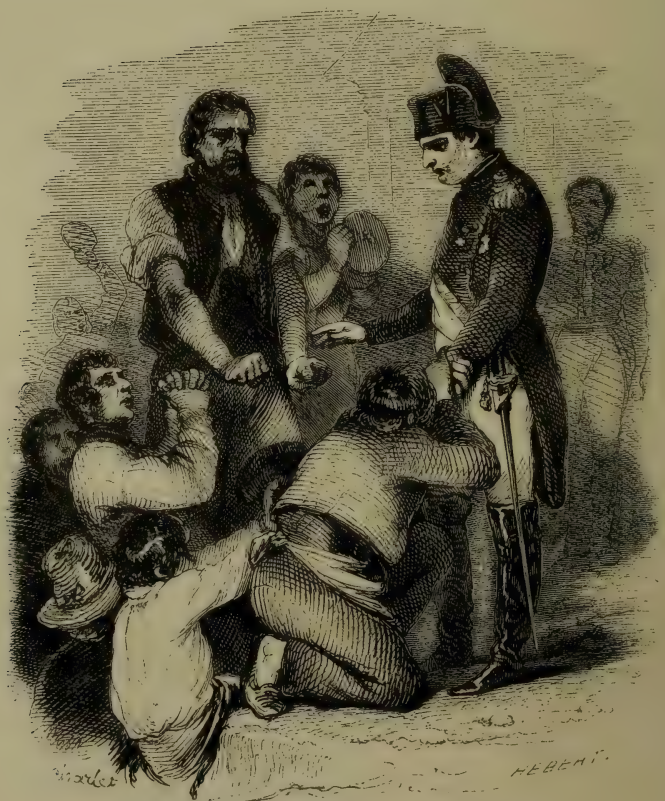
Even before reaching Paris, and while resting on his journey from Elba at Lyons, the second city in France, and the ancient capital of the Franks, Napoleon arranged his ministry, and issued sundry decrees, which show how little his mind was prepared for proceeding according to the majority of votes in representative assemblies.

Cambacérès was named minister of justice; Fouché, minister of police (a boon to the revolutionists); Davoust appointed minister of war. Decrees upon decrees were issued, with a rapidity which showed how Bonaparte had employed those studious hours at Elba, which he was supposed to have dedicated to the composition of his memoirs. They were couched in the name of Napoleon, by the grace of God, Emperor of France, and were dated on the 13th of March, although not promulgated until the 21st of that month. The first of these decrees abrogated all changes in the courts of justice and tribunals, which had taken place during the absence of Napoleon. The second displaced all officers belonging to the class of emigrants, and introduced into the army by the King. The third suppressed the order of St. Louis, the white flag, cockade, and other royal emblems, and restored the tri-coloured banner and the imperial symbols of Bonaparte's authority. The same decree abolished the Swiss Guard and the household troops of the King. The fourth sequestered the effects of the Bourbons. A similar ordinance sequestered the restored property of emigrant families.

* See article "Bonaparte," in the Cyclopædia published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; Reponse aux Mémoires du Général Lamarque; and other pamphlets by Lucien Bonaparte.

Napoleon in the Faubourg St. Antoine.

Vol. ii., page 493.



Scene in the Elysee, before Napoleon's Abdication.

Vol. ii., page 607.

The fifth decree of Lyons suppressed theancient nobility and feudal titles, and formally confirmed proprietors of national domains in their possessions. (This decree was very acceptable to the majority of Frenchmen.) The sixth declared sentence of exile against all emigrants not erased by Napoleon from the list previously to the accession of the Bourbons, to which was added confiscation of their property. The seventh restored the Legion of Honour, in every respect as it had existed under the Emperor, uniting to its funds the confiscated revenues of the Bourbon order of St. Louis. The eighth and last decree was the most important of all. Under pretence that emigrants who had borne arms against France had been introduced into the Chamber of Peers, and that the Chamber of Deputies had already sat for the legal time, it dissolved both chambers, and convoked the electoral colleges of the empire, in order that they might hold, in the ensuing month of May, an extraordinary assembly—the Champ-de-Mai.

This national convocation, for which Napoleon found a name, and a sort of precedent, in the history of the ancient Franks, was to have two objects: First, to make such alterations and reformations in the constitution of the empire as circumstances should render advisable; secondly, *to assist at the coronation of the Empress and of the King of Rome.* The presence of these parties was spoken of as something that admitted of no doubt, though Bonaparte well knew there was no hope of getting them from Vienna. These various enactments, in general, were admirably calculated to serve Napoleon's cause. They flattered the army, and at the same time heated their resentment against the emigrants, by insinuating that they had been sacrificed by Louis to the interest of his followers. They held out to the republicans a speedy prospect of confiscations, proscriptions, and revolutions of government; while the imperialists were gratified with a view of ample funds for pensions, offices, and honorary decorations. To the proprietors of national domains security was promised; to the Parisians the *grand spectacle* of the Champ-de-Mai; and to all France, peace and tranquillity, since the arrival of the Empress and her son, so confidently asserted to be at hand, must be considered as a pledge of the friendship of Austria.*

Napoleon at the same time endeavoured to make himself very popular with the common people—the mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and other obscure corners and extremities of Paris. On the first evening of his return, as he walked round the glittering circle met to welcome him in the state apartments of the Tuileries, he kept repeating, "Gentlemen, it is to the poor and disinterested mass of the people that I owe every thing—it is they who have brought me back to the capital. It is the poor

* See Sir Walter Scott; Fouché's Memoirs; Thiers's Histoire, &c.

subaltern officers and common soldiers that have done all this. I owe every thing to the common people and the ranks of the army. Remember that! I owe every thing to the *army* and the *people!*" Some time after he took a few rides through the Faubourg St. Antoine, but the vulgar demonstrations of the mob gave him little pleasure, and it was easy to detect a sneer in his addresses to them. He had some slight intercourse with the men of the revolution—the fierce, operative jacobins, but even now he could not conceal his abhorrence of them, and, be it said to his honour, he had as little to do with them as possible. Fouché remarks here—

"This affectation of popularity had upheld him in public opinion until the moment of his 'Acte additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire.' Napoleon considered the latter as his title deeds to the crown, and in annulling them he would have considered himself in the light of commencing a new reign. He who could only date from possession, *de facto*, preferred to model his system in a ridiculous manner, after the fashion of Louis XVIII., who computed time according to the data of legitimacy. Instead of a national constitution, which he had promised, he contented himself with modifying the political laws and the senatus consulta which governed the empire. *He re-established the confiscation of property, against which almost all his counsellors protested.* In short, he persisted, in a council held upon this subject, in his refusal to submit his constitution to public inquiry, and to present it to the nation as an 'Acte additionnel.' I strongly opposed his resolution, as did also Decrès, Caulaincourt, and almost all the members present. He determined, in spite of our exertions, to comprise all his concessions within the compass of this irregular design.

"The word *additional* disenchanted the friends of liberty. They recognised in it the ill-disguised continuation of the chief institutions, created in favour of absolute power. From that moment Napoleon to their view became an incurable despot; and I, for my part, regarded him in the light of a madman delivered bound hand and foot to the mercy of Europe. Confined to that description of popular suffrage, which Savary and Réal directed, he caused some of the lowest classes to be assembled, and the latter, under the name of Fédérés, marched in procession under the windows of the Tuileries, uttering repeatedly exclamations of *Vive l'Empereur!* there he himself announced to this mobocracy that if the kings dared to attack him he would proceed to encounter them at the frontiers. This humiliating scene disgusted even the soldiers. Never had the extraordinary individual in question, who had worn the purple with so much lustre, contributed so greatly to degrade it. He was no longer, in patriotic opinion, considered in other light than as an actor subjected to the applauses of the vilest of the populace. Scenes of this humiliating description made a strong impression on my

mind; well assured, moreover, that all the allied powers, unanimous in their resolution, were preparing to march against us, or, rather, against him, I proceeded early the next day to the Tuileries; and a second time I represented to Napoleon, in still stronger colours, that it was an absolute impossibility for France, in her divided condition, to sustain the assault of universal and united Europe; that it was incumbent upon him to explain himself frankly to the nation; to assure himself of the ultimate intentions of the allied sovereigns, and that if they persisted, as every thing gave reason to infer, there would then be no possibility of hesitation; that his interests, and those of his country, imposed upon him the obligation of withdrawing to the United States.

"But, from the reply which he stammered out in which he mingled plans of campaigns, punishments, battles, insurrections, colossal projects, decrees of destiny, I perceived that he was resolved to trust the fate of France to the issue of war, and that the military faction carried the day in spite of my admonitions.

"The assembly of the Champ-de-Mai was nothing but a vain pageantry, in which Napoleon, in the garb of a citizen, hoped to mislead the populace by the charm of a public ceremony. The different parties in France were no more satisfied with it, than they had been with the *acte additionnel*; one faction wished that he had re-established a republic; and the other that in divesting himself of the crown, he had left the sovereign people in possession of the right of offering it to the most worthy; and, finally, the coalition of statesmen, of whom I constituted the soul, reproached him with not having availed himself of that solemnity to proclaim Napoleon II.—an event which would have given us a *point d'appui* in certain cabinets, and, probably, would have preserved us from a second invasion. It will not be denied that, in the critical position of France, the last expedient would have been most reasonable.

"As soon as we had acquired the conviction that all attempts to produce this result in the interior of France would be unsuccessful, without proceeding to the extremity of a deposition, which the military party would not have suffered, it was necessary to make up our minds to the anticipation of seeing all the gates of war thrown open. My impatience then augmented, and I laboured to accelerate the march of events. It was in vain that Davoust, in council, had reiterated to the Emperor that his (Napoleon's) presence with the army was immediately called for, indeed indispensable. Relying too little on the capital to leave it behind him for any length of time without mistrust, Bonaparte did not resolve on his departure till every thing was ready to strike an effectual blow on the frontiers of Belgium, in the hope of making his debut by a triumph, and of reconquering popularity by victory."*

* Fouché's Memoirs, vol. ii.

When at last he did depart, he took care before hand to leave large sums of money for the fédérés, in the hands of his devoted creature Real, under whose management that mob was placed. These sums were to be distributed at appropriate seasons, to make the mob cry in the streets of Paris, "Napoleon or death." * He also left, in the hands of Davoust, a written authority for the publication of his bulletins, many clauses of which were written long before the battles were fought that they were to describe. He gave to the same marshal a plan of his campaign, which he had arranged for the defensive. This was not confided to him without an injunction of the strictest secrecy; but Fouché says that Davoust communicated the plan to him. Considering Davoust's character, this is very likely; and it is also very far from improbable that Fouché communicated the plan to the Allies, with whom, and more particularly with Prince Metternich, he is well known to have been corresponding at the time.

But we are anticipating events. Shortly after his arrival, M. Benjamin Constant, a moderate and candid man, was deputed by the constitutional party to ascertain Napoleon's sentiments and intentions. Constant was a steady lover of constitutional liberty, and an old opponent of Bonaparte, whose headlong career of despotism, cut out by the sword, he had vainly endeavoured to check by the eloquence of the pen.

There could not have been a more proper medium of communication with the Emperor; and our confidence in M. Constant's honour and integrity does not allow us to doubt of the perfect veracity of his account of the interview.

It took place at the Tuileries. Bonaparte, as was his wont, began the conversation, and kept it nearly all to himself during the rest of the audience. He did not affect to disguise either his past actions or present dispositions.

* The market-women *(dames de la halle)*, the fishwomen *(poissardes)*, those valuable allies of the sans culottes revolutionists, and formerly of Napoleon, had partaken of the national fickleness, and changed sides. They were all for Louis XVIII.; and went about Paris singing a song that had not only the merit of loyalty, but that of a pun, or *calembourg*, which is always so acceptable to the Parisians. The burden of the song was "*Donnez nous nôtre paire de gants*," which, so written, means "give us our pair of gloves," but which is, in pronunciation, just the same as, "*Donnez nous nôtre père de Ghent*,"—"Give us our father of Ghent." We remember asking one of the fishwomen, in 1819, why she and her sisterhood were so fond of Louis XVIII.? Her answer was, "*Mais mon enfant, il aimait tant les huitres!*" (But, my son, he was so fond of oysters.) The Paris joke on that monarch's name is well known: they converted *Louis Dix-huit* (Louis the Eighteenth), into *Louis des huitres* (Louis of the oysters). The Parisians, indeed, are profuse of this kind of small wit. When Louis was called to his fathers, and his brother, Charles X., was about to ascend the throne, they said, "*Louis Dix-huit a disparu et Charles Dix paraitra*," (Louis the Eighteenth has disappeared, and Charles the Tenth will appear): but, without the slightest change in pronunciation, these words sound as, "*Louis Dix-huit a disparu, et Charles disparaitra*" (Louis the Eighteenth has disappeared, and Charles will disappear). The effect that jokes of this sort have upon that volatile people is well known.

"The nation," he said, "has had a respite of twelve years from every kind of political agitation, and for one year has enjoyed a respite from war. This double repose has created a craving after activity. It requires, or fancies it requires, a tribune and popular assemblies. It did not always require them. The people threw themselves at my feet when I took the reins of government. You ought to recollect this, who made a trial of opposition. Where was your support—your strength? Nowhere. I assumed less authority than I was invited to assume. At present all is changed. A feeble government, opposed to the national interests, has given to these interests the habit of standing on the defensive, and evading authority. The taste for constitutions, for debates, for harangues, appears to have revived. Nevertheless, it is but the minority that wishes all this, be assured. The people, or if you like the phrase better, the multitude, wish only for me. You would say so, if you had only seen this multitude pressing eagerly on my steps; precipitating themselves from the tops of the mountains, calling on me, seeking me out, saluting me. On my way from Cannes hither I have not conquered—I have administered. I am not alone (as has been pretended) the emperor of the soldiers; I am that of the peasants—of the plebeians of France. Accordingly in spite of all that has happened, you see the people come back to me. There is sympathy between us. It is not as with the privileged classes. The noblesse have been in my service: they thronged in crowds into my antechambers. There is no place that they have not accepted or solicited. I have had the Montmorencys, the Noailles, the Rohans, the Beauvaus, the Montemarts, in my train. But there never was any cordiality between us. The steed made his curvets—he was well broke in; but I felt him quake under me. With the people, it is another thing. The popular fibre responds to mine. I have risen from the ranks of the people: my voice acts mechanically upon them. Look at those conscripts, the sons of peasants: I never flattered them; I treated them roughly. They did not crowd round me the less; they did not on that account cease to cry, Vive l'Empereur! It is that between them and me there is one and the same nature. They look to me as their support, their safeguard against the nobles. I have but to make a sign, or rather to look another way, and the nobles would be massacred in every province. So well have they managed matters in the last ten months; but I do not desire to be the king of a mob. If there are the means to govern by a constitution, well and good. I wished for the empire of the world; and to ensure it, a power without bounds was necessary to me. To govern France merely, it is impossible that a constitution can be better. I wished for the empire of the world; as who would not have done in my place? The world invited me to rule over it. Sovereigns and subjects alike emulously bowed the neck under

my sceptre. I have seldom met with opposition in France; but still I have encountered more of it from some obscure and unarmed Frenchmen, than from all these kings so resolute, just now, no longer to have a man of the people for their equal! —See then what appears to you possible: let me know your ideas. Public discussion, free elections, responsible ministers, the liberty of the press, I have no objection to all that, the liberty of the press especially: to stifle it is absurd. I am convinced on this point. I am the man of the people: if the people really wish for liberty, let them have it. I have acknowledged their sovereignty. It is just that I should lend an ear to their will, nay, even to their caprices. I have never been disposed to oppress them for my pleasure. I entertained great designs: fate has disposed of them; I am no longer a conqueror, nor can I be one. I know what is possible and what is not. I have no further object than to raise up France and bestow on her a government suitable to her. I have no hatred to liberty, I have set it aside when it obstructed my path; but I understand what it means; I was brought up in its school: besides, the work of fifteen years is overturned, and it is not possible to recommence it. It would take twenty years, and the lives of two millions of men to be sacrificed to it. As for the rest, I desire peace; but I can only obtain it by means of victory. I would not inspire you with false expectations. I permit it to be said that negotiations are going on; there are none. I foresee a hard struggle, a long war. To support it, I must be seconded by the nation; but in return, I believe they will expect liberty. They shall have it: the circumstances are new. All I desire is to be informed of the truth. I am getting old. A man is no longer at forty-five what he was at thirty. The repose enjoyed by a constitutional king may suit me: it will still more certainly be the best thing for my son."

From this remarkable address Benjamin Constant concluded that not the shadow of a change had taken place in Bonaparte's views or feelings in matters of government, but, *being convinced that circumstances had changed, he had made up his mind to conform to them.* The part of the conclusion marked in Italics, we cannot admit—M. Constant must have been mistaken *there.* He says, and we cannot doubt it, that he listened to Napoleon with the deepest interest;—that there was a breadth and grandeur of manner as he spoke, and a calm serenity seated on a brow "covered with immortal laurels."

While insisting, as we do, on the utter incompatibility of Napoleon and a constitutional government, we cannot, in fairness omit mentioning that the causes which repelled him from the altar and sanctuary of freedom were strong:—the real lovers of a rational and feasible liberty—the constitutional monarchy men were few—the mad ultra-liberals, the jacobins, the refuse of one revolution and the provokers of another, were numerous,

active, loud; and in pursuing different ends these two parties the respectable and the disreputable, the good and the bad, got somewhat mixed and confused with one another.

On the 14th of May, when the Fédérés or Federates were marshalled in processional order, and treated with what was called a solemn festival, as they moved along the Boulevards to the court of the Tuileries, they coupled the name of Napoleon, with jacobin curses and revolutionary songs. The airs and the words that had made Paris tremble to her very centre during the reign of terror—the "Marseillais hymn," the "Carmagnole," the "Jour du départ" (day of departure), the execrable ditty, the burden of which is, "And with the entrails of the last of the priests let us strangle the last of the kings"—were all roared out in fearful chorus by a drunken, a filthy, and furious mob. Many a day had elapsed since they had dared to sing these blasphemous, and antisocial songs in public. Napoleon himself, as soon as he had power enough, suppressed them, and he was as proud of this feat and his triumph over the dregs of the jacobins as he was of any of his victories: and in this he was right —in this he proved himself the friend of humanity. As the tumultuous mass approached the triumphal arch, and the grand entrance into the palace, he could not conceal his abhorrence. His guards were drawn up under arms, and numerous pieces of artillery, ready loaded, were turned out on the Place du Carrousel. He hastily dismissed these dangerous partisans, with some praise, some money, and some drink. On coming into *very close* contact with such a mob, he did not feel his fibre respond to that of the populace! Like Frankenstein, he loathed and was afraid of the mighty *monster* he had put together.

But it was not merely the mob that checked the liberalism or constitution of Napoleon—a delicate and doubtful plant in itself, that required the most cautious treatment to make it really take root and grow up in such a soil. Some of his counsellors, who called themselves "philosophical statesmen," advised him to lay aside the style of emperor, and assume that of president, or Grand General of the *Republic!* Fooled to the top of his bent, he withdrew from the Tuileries to the comparatively small and retired palace of the Elysée Bourbon, where he escaped these talking-dreamers, and felt himself again a sovereign. Shut up with Benjamin Constant and a few other reasonable politicians, he drew up the sketch of a new constitution, which was neither much better nor much worse than the royal charter of Louis XVIII. We will give an abridgment of its declarations.

The legislative power resides in the Emperor and two chambers. —The Chamber of Peers is hereditary, and the Emperor names them. Their number is unlimited.—The Second Chamber is elected by the people, and is to consist of 629 members; none

are to be under the age of twenty-five. The President is appointed by the members, but approved of by the Emperor.—Members to be paid at the rate settled by the Constituent Assembly.—It is to be renewed every five years.—The Emperor may prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve the House of Representatives.—Sittings to be public.—The Electoral Colleges are maintained.—Land tax and direct taxes to be voted only for a year; indirect taxes may be imposed for several years.—No levy of men for the army, nor any exchange of territory, but by a law.—Taxes to be proposed by the Chamber of Representatives.—Ministers to be responsible.—Judges to be irremovable.—Juries to be established.—Right of petition, freedom of worship, inviolability of property, are recognised.

The last article says, that "the French people declare that they do not mean to delegate the power of restoring the Bourbons, or any prince of that family, even in case of the exclusion of the Imperial dynasty."

The state of the popular mind, and the odd aspect presented by Paris to the stranger, during these days of sudden change, have often been described, but seldom better than in the words of an accomplished English lady, who had the courage to await the arrival of Bonaparte.

"The streets were quieter than usual; every person seemed to have a more serious mien, and to be preoccupied. Of the beau-monde, some had fled, others kept within their hotels. No carriages of the opulent contested the passage with the cabriolets, or with the vehicles of commerce—no belles skipped lightly along. In the shops, few purchasers, and those few looking gloomy and silent: suspicion and fear seemed to predominate. Entering two or three shops, where I had been in the habit of purchasing, they exclaimed, 'Softly! softly! Mademoiselle; speak low, we are surrounded with spies. It will not do for Mademoiselle to remain here—she is too English, too independent in her expressions.' At the open stalls, and in the shops on the bridges and on the quays, the proprietors were occupied in removing the engravings, and other emblems of the Bourbons, and replacing those of the usurper and of his military partisans. Ladders were placed at the corners of the streets and against the shops, while workmen were effacing the names and brevets of the Bourbon dynasty, to be replaced by those of the Corsican family—or in haste substituting a design analogous to the merchandise within. We entered for a moment the Chamber of Deputies. The *drapeaux* (flags) taken in the different campaigns were brought from their concealed depots. The President's chair, embroidered with *fleur-de-lis*, was being removed.—'Where will you find another?' I hastily demanded. '*L'ancien fauteuil est au grenier* (The old chair is up in the garret), Mademoiselle,' was the quick reply. In a few moments

it was brought down;—the portraits of the king and of the princes were already removed from their frames, and those of Napoleon and Marie Louise had replaced them."

A preceding letter, by the same intelligent writer, written a few days after Napoleon's flight from Elba, conveys an excellent notion of the partial confidence, the doubts, misgivings, and confusion, that prevailed in the court circles. Many of the poor old emigrants would hardly believe Bonaparte was in France, until they actually saw him showing himself to the people in the open glass gallery of the Tuileries. Some fanatic priests and confessors assured their penitents that the progress of the impious man would be arrested by a vengeance coming direct from Heaven; but those bolts, which weak, erring humanity should never presume to meddle with, remained motionless and silent, and if they spoke at last it was only in the mortal thunder of Waterloo.

"A few days have made an awful change in our position. When I closed my last letter, the great mass of the inhabitants of Paris disappeared to revel in imaginary security; all was animation and gaiety, under the sway of a constitutional monarch. Rapidly flew the hours in our circle, where harmony and love presided: wit, talent, and loyalty were our inmates. *Les fleurs-de-lis* decorated the vases on our chimneypiece—emblem of the Bourbons, to whom we unanimously rendered homage, little thinking that in the *bouquets de violettes* which were offered to us in our walks, were hidden sentiments of treason! and that *Princesse* was the conspirators' rallying word. What charming prospects we had formed for the future!—Another marriage in perspective—*la comédie*—and parties in the environs! '*Mais l'homme propose, et Dieu dispose.*' We went to enjoy the breezes of a fine March morning, when an officer issued from the palace, and whispered Madame de C——, *that Bonaparte had landed!* Had a thunderbolt fallen at our feet, its effects could not have produced a more terrible sensation than did this unexpected intelligence on our hearts. We instantly returned home; and that night it was no longer a secret in Paris. Some could not conceal the terror the name of Napoleon always inspires; others, judging from their own loyal sentiments exclaimed, '*La main de Dieu y est visible!*' (The hand of God is visible in this!) Another party, appreciating present circumstances, rejoiced in the idea that he would be taken and secured for ever; as if Napoleon, in risking the chance of success, had not secured the means of ensuring it. The King issued an ordonnance, declaring him a traitor. The Chamber of Deputies was convened; an express sent for Marshal Ney. The King, preserving admirable calmness, and confidence in his subjects, received the ambassadors,—'*Ecrivez, Messieurs, à vos cours respectives que je me porte bien, et que la folle entreprise de cet*

homme ne troublera plus la tranquillité de l'Europe ni la mienne.' (Write gentlemen to your respective courts that I am in good health, and that the mad enterprise of this man will no longer trouble the repose of Europe nor my own.) The Prince de Condé, notwithstanding his advanced age, offered his services.

His majesty passed in review the troops, addressed the most flattering compliments to their generals, who surrounded him, and said to General Rapp, '*Malgré que ce ne soit pas le siége de Dantzic, je compte toujours sur votre bravoure et votre fidélité!*" (Although this is not the siege of Dantzic, I still count on your bravery and fidelity.) Rapp, affected, turned away and exclaimed, '*Il faudroit être scélérat pour trahir un tel Roi*' (One must be a villain to betray such a king). He rendered himself justice, and unconsciously pronounced his own panegyric in advance. When the Duc de Berri appeared, he was received with enthusiasm. *La Maison du Roi* solicited to march with him against their common enemy; but elsewhere all remained in a state of apathy. An extensive confederacy on one side, want of means on the other, and inefficient organization in every department—our great confidence was in Ney: Ney departed, with promises to bring back Napoleon, dead or alive. He kissed the King's hand, and, shedding tears, renewed his oaths of fidelity for himself and his army.

"The Duc de Feltre was named minister of war. All seemed lost; and our fluctuating hopes rose and fell like the mercury in a weather-glass. But this nomination revived them: we may be said to have caught at straws. Clarke had been called '*the calculating Irishman*;' but, in the excitement of the moment, the loyal party now extol him, and say that he forgot himself at the epoch that others forgot only what they owed to their king. '*What will Talleyrand do?* Will he, amidst the congregated ministers of the allies, remain steady to his last oaths to Louis?' was constantly echoing through our salons, during the first days of consternation."

On the 19th of March, cries were heard of *Vive le Roi!* in the square of Louis XV.—On the morning of the 20th they were supplanted by shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!*

"The next morning I determined to see Napoleon; but when our carriage arrived at the Pont Royal, thousands were collected there. Our servant advised us to descend, and proceed on foot. The crowd civilly made way: they were waiting to see the review. An unusual silence prevailed, interrupted only by the cries of the children, whom the parents were thumping with energy for crying 'Vive le Roi!' instead of 'Vive l'Empereur!' which, some months before, they had been thumped for daring to vociferate! A friend recommended us to proceed to the review; to see which he had the good nature to procure me admittance to a small apartment in the Tuileries; and, from the window, I saw and heard

for the first time the scourge of the continent — his martial, active figure, mounted on his famed white horse. He harangued, with energetic tone (and in those bombastic expressions we have always remarked in all his manifestos, and which are so well adapted to the French), the troops of the divisions of Lepol and Dufour. There was much embracing of *Les anciens Aigles* of the Old Guard—much mention of 'great days, and souvenirs dear to his heart,' of the 'scars of his brave soldiers;' which, to serve his views, he will reopen without remorse, like the vampire of Greece. The populace were tranquil, as I had remarked them on the bridge. Inspirited by my still unsatisfied curiosity, I rejoined my escort, and proceeded to the gardens, where not more than thirty persons were collected under the windows. There was no enthusiastic cry; at least none deemed sufficient to induce him to show himself. In despair at not being able to contemplate his physiognomy at greater ease, I made my cavalier request some persons in the throng to cry *Vive l'Empereur!* Some laughed, and replied, '*Attendez un peu*' (Wait a little); while others advised us to desire some of the children to do so. A few francs thrown to the latter soon stimulated their little voices into cries of the loyalty of that day, and Napoleon presented himself at the window; but he did not stand there in a firm attitude—he retired often, and reappeared, standing rather sideways, as if wanting confidence in the disposition of our little assemblage. A few persons arrived from the country, and held up petitions, which he sent an aide-de-camp to receive. His square face and figure struck me with involuntary emotion. I was dazzled, as if beholding a supernatural being. There is a sternness spread over his expansive brow, a gloom on the lids of his darkened eye, which rendered futile his attempts to smile. Something Satanic sported round his mouth, indicating the ambitious spirit of the soul within!

"Much agitation seemed to reign in the saloon. The ministers and generals paced up and down with their master in reciprocal agitation and debate. The palace (alas!) how changed! it has now the appearance of a fortress,—the retreat of a despot, not the abode of a sovereign confiding in the loyalty of his people, and recalled by their unanimous voice: he must feel that he is only welcomed back by military power, whose path was smoothed by the peasantry of Dauphiny. A range of artillery is now placed before it: soldiers stretched on straw, repose under the finely-arched corridors, and military-casqued heads even appear from the uppermost windows. Napoleon had the gallant consideration, the day after his *entrée*, to renew the guard of honour, at the hotel of the Dowager Duchess of Orleans, to whom he has always accorded the respect due to royalty."

In tracing the political operations and secret movements of

Napoleon and those around him, we will follow a French writer, who certainly knew the truth, though he may not have chosen to tell it *all*, and who cannot possibly be suspected of any prejudice against the emperor. We mean General Count Lavallette, a stanch adherent to the Bonaparte cause, who, for what he did during the hundred days, would have met death at the hands of the Bourbons, had it not been for his wife, Sir Robert Wilson, and Mr. Hutchinson, who, among them, very ingeniously effected his escape out of prison, and across the French frontier.

After speaking of Napoleon's return from Egypt, and his overthrowing the tottering directory, in 1799, Lavallette goes on to say—

"How great was the difference in March, 1815; fallen from the throne, erased from the list of sovereigns, banished to the rock of Elba, he returned almost alone: scarcely did he set his foot on the French shore, when the people every where rose up. All France repeated with enthusiasm, 'Napoleon! no more royalty! no more Bourbons! It is Napoleon alone that France wishes to have; it is his glory, his genius she stands in need of. Woe to those who shall dare to raise a finger against him! or rather woe to those who shall not declare in his favour!' And in fact, peasants, soldiers, citizens, all hastened to meet him; all hailed him with their wishes and gratitude, like a good genius, like a providence. The royalty of the Bourbons was no longer any thing more than a dream: it appeared as if royalists, nobles, emigrants, had never existed. It was not the consequence of conspiracy;* it was a great national movement, like that of 1789 for liberty, of the 9th Thermidor against tyranny, of the 18th Brumaire against incapacity. At what period did man witness defections so sudden, so remarkable, and in some respects so sincere? What were the sentiments which at that time filled all hearts? Patriotism, love of glory, and an enlightened conviction that the newly accepted dynasty was unable to do any thing for the happiness and independence of the kingdom; and three months afterwards, this second dream also vanished! ! !

"In the mean while I had taken again upon me the business of the post-office, whither I returned on the morning of the 21st, nothing had been wanting in the material part of that service, for that would have been impossible; but the late postmaster-general had thrown the persons employed into the most deplorable confusion. He had not only urged and favourably received the most absurd informations, but he had even paid for them. In consequence, hatred and distrust had made the greater part of the clerks sworn enemies to one another. They were all either jacobins or noblemen. I learned for the first time, that in a department I had managed for thirteen

* There was, however, a conspiracy, and Lavallette *was* engaged in it.

years, there were priests, regicides, knights of St. Louis, and emigrants; the latter especially, so simple and incapable, had persecuted their superiors with incredible fury, in hopes to get into their places. I put an end to such scandalous practices, by refusing to take any interest in them; and these gentlemen were the foremost to sign the additional act to the constitution, and take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor.

"Within eight days' time, I was perfectly aware of the deep gulf that was opening beneath us. The too famous proclamation of the Congress of Vienna, had reached France before that of the Emperor. It was impossible to entertain a doubt of its authenticity; and the Emperor, although he did not acknowledge it, was as sensible as any one that the storm could not be averted. I had wished that, renouncing the past, he had taken no other title than Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom, governing in the name of his son. I was, however, soon convinced that such a measure would have been impossible. Nothing therefore remained but to advance boldly with the imperial crown upon his head. Was he to maintain the constitution? I knew that that question was debated very warmly, and that it found able antagonists. In putting it aside, it was said, nothing remained.

"The great fault of Napoleon's reign and system was then paid for: I mean the want of *ensemble*, the absence of all those laws, so strongly claimed by the old friends of liberty, which, before, had ruined all, and which still poisoned our present situation. What a deplorable idea it was, to wish to maintain these numerous contradictory decrees, a hundred times more dangerous than the ordinances of the King! It was in the name of independence that he ought to have spoken; in the name of his son that he ought to have commanded. The foreign enemy once beaten, it was then time, and not too late, to think of settling the internal contest. But I must confess that the Emperor was awed by the energy of all who surrounded him. The eleven months of the King's reign had thrown us back to 1792, and the Emperor soon perceived it; for he no longer found *the submission*, *the deep respect*, and *imperial etiquette* he was accustomed to.* He used to send for me twice or three times a day, to talk with me for hours together. It happened sometimes that the conversation languished. One day, after we had walked up and down the room two or three times in silence, tired of that fancy, and being pressed by my business, I made my obeisance, and was

* It is indeed perfectly well known that the easy, good-tempered princes of the ancient and most royal House of Bourbon, were infinitely less exacting on points of submissiveness and court etiquette than the *parvenu* dynasty of the Bonapartes. Napoleon was dreadful on this head, and so was his sister, Caroline Murat, who, when Queen of Naples, invariably made her *dames d'honneur*, the noblest of the land, ladies of better birth, and patrimonially of much better fortunes than herself, *stand* behind her chair all the time she was at the opera.

going to retire. 'How!' said he, surprised, but with a smile; 'do you leave me so?' I should certainly not have done so a year before; but I had forgotten my old paces, and I felt that it would be impossible to get into them again. In one of these conversations, the subject of which was the spirit of liberty that showed itself on all sides with so much energy, he said to me, in a tone of interrogation: 'All this will last two or three years?'—'That, your majesty must not believe. It will last for ever.'

"He was soon convinced of the fact himself, and he more than once acknowledged it. I have no doubt, that if he had ever beat the enemy at Waterloo, and restored peace, his power would have been exposed to great danger from civil broils. The allies made a great mistake in not letting him alone."

We see this matter in a very different light from Lavallette. Had the allies not interfered, Bonaparte, with his army, as it then existed, and his soldiers, *en retraite*, scattered over the kingdom, would have put down parties and factions in four-fifths of France. He knew how to deal with such things, *en maître;* he understood the character of the French, and saw all their weakness and vanity, the good and bad of them through and through. A civil war might have been got up again in the Vendée and in the south; it might even have been maintained for a long time, but surely the French ought to be the last to regret such a result as that. It was fair, however, in us to give Lavallette's opinion; and indeed, throughout this work we have been anxious to collect various and opposing opinions, in order that the reader might judge for himself, and choose from among them. In his very next sentence, Lavallette comes to the support of what we have ourselves said as to the incompatibility of Napoleon and a constitutional monarchy.

"I do *not* know," he says, "what concessions he would have made, but I *do* know, and *well*, all those the nation would have demanded; and I sincerely think he would have been disgusted with reigning, when he must have found himself a constitutional king after the manner of the patriots. Nevertheless, he submitted admirably well to his situation, at least in appearance. At no period of his life had I seen him enjoy more unruffled tranquillity. Not a harsh word to any one; no impatience, he listened to every thing, and discussed with that wonderful sagacity and devoted reason that were so conspicuous in him. He acknowledged his faults with most touching ingenuousness, or examined his own position with a penetration, which his enemies themselves were strangers to.

"The enthusiasm of the nation soon cooled. It has often been said that the change was caused by the additional acts. That measure, no doubt, contributed greatly to it; but there was another reason still, which was, that the people felt less love for the Emperor than hatred for the Bourbons. The latter

being once driven away, the nation was satisfied; and when they received the Emperor with so much warmth, *the French, according to their custom, did not think of the morrow.* Contented to see the royalists, who had made themselves the enemies of every body, humbled and restrained, they were soon shocked at discovering that their victory would cost them peace, the advantages of trade, and all the sacrifices that an obstinate war draws after it; and, nevertheless, such a revolution could not be made without running some risk, the foreign sovereigns considering it a point of honour to maintain the House of Bourbon on the throne. In the meanwhile, all those who had already fought, nobly answered to the call of honour and necessity; but as it was no longer possible to think of conscription, instead of 500,000 men whom government declared to be under arms, there were scarcely 250,000, and with those we were forced to begin the war.* The Bourbons had considerably declined in public opinion; the Emperor had suffered more in general estimation. The royalists, who had not shown themselves, because they had been taken unawares, began to feel more easy under the shelter of a liberty they intended to crush; and all the patriots, who should be carefully distinguished from the friends of the country, found themselves face to face, covered with the colours under which they fought. Old quarrels sprang up again, and the new camp was soon involved in anarchy. The election was made in the same spirit, and the same divisions appeared in the chamber of representatives. The Emperor had meditated the ceremony of the Champ-de-Mai with a view of making an impression on the public mind; but the electors who were sent there were shocked at the sight of the throne, at the splendour of the court, and even at the mass that was celebrated; for, under the influence of their prejudices they saw nothing but the Emperor and his arbitrary law, without thinking of the enemies that were assembling. A great many were thinking of the miracles of 1792, without reflecting on the difference of the periods.

"The Emperor had resumed all his titles, and even the offensive form of 'Napoleon, by the grace of God, and the constitution of the empire.' The council of state took a fancy to proclaim the sovereignty of the people. This declaration was not very agreeable to him, but he let it pass: he could no longer dictate laws. I recollect, that on the day it was signed at the council, I was not at the sitting. When I crossed the section of the interior, the secretary proposed to me to sign it. I did so without even reading it; and meeting Regnaud de Saint-Jean-

* This seems an understating of the number of men really under arms in June, 1815. Perhaps Lavallette means to speak only of the troops collected since Napoleon's return to Elba; and if to this 250,000 we add 150,000 of the troops that had been kept up by the Bourbons, we shall have a grand total of 400.000, which was about the number.

d'Angély, I asked him what it was. 'It is,' replied he, laughing, 'an act that commits you very seriously.' I was not much perplexed at what he said. But M——, to whom I mentioned the circumstance the next morning, told me he had thought proper to sign it also. I appeared surprised that he should have done it; but he told me, in confidence, 'The Emperor has not taken it amiss.'"

Here we see the ministers and courtiers of Bonaparte trembling lest they should offend him by putting their names to a public act which he had permitted his council of state to draw up, and with which he intended to cajole the people. Never was juggle more evident; and yet Napoleon had reason on his side in disliking the phrase "Sovereignty of the People." It was too revolutionary—too jacobinical—it savoured too strongly of the reign of terror—it was associated with too much civil slaughter, to be agreeable to his taste.

"The fatal division of opinions in some measure put a stop to the national enthusiasm, and extended its influence over all the details of the administration. Many prefects were changed. That was an indispensable measure; but among some excellent selections, favour also produced many that were bad. Several young men, full of ardour, were chosen, but these could not inspire much confidence. The reign of the laws was proclaimed every where, whilst the commissaries extraordinary of the Emperor sent into the departments, every where summarily dismissed the persons in employment, to put in their places either those who had held the situations before them, or some who had in former times given proofs of patriotism. These measures not only impeded public business, in which despatch was so absolutely necessary, but added also greatly to the number of the disaffected. Such changes were undoubtedly indispensable, in as far as the principal functionaries were concerned, who corresponded, directly with the ministers; but it was easy to have an eye on the subalterns, and their treasonable practices could not be very dangerous in the beginning."

Lavallette, continuing his curious disclosures concerning the Hundred Days, says—

"I spoke to the Emperor about the harm people were thus doing him. He replied, 'I want a victory;—a great victory! I can do nothing before *that*. I am, perhaps, the only man in the empire that is cool; and still I cannot give the impulse every where, and direct all motions.' A few days after his arrival, general Bourmont presented himself at his *levée;* he was in full regimentals, and although he had placed himself in the first rank, the Emperor went by without stopping, and without looking at him. He was not disheartened, and came back three days successively. I soon learned that he had obtained the command of a division in the grand army. I expressed my surprise, and asked, with indignation, who had achieved such a

masterpiece. 'I,' answered Labédoyère, turning round, 'I pledged myself for him. He is a good officer, who loves only his country. He will fight well, and serve faithfully.'—'I wish it may be so,' was all the reply I made; and when I saw Labédoyère again, after he had returned from the campaign, I spoke to him of his protégé. 'What could he do?' he observed: 'his father had been arrested in the Vendée.' A fine excuse, indeed! Could he not have solicited the Emperor to set him at liberty, who would certainly not have refused him? And, besides, was that a sufficient motive to betray his country and the sovereign he had acknowledged?*

"Napoleon had undoubtedly expected that the Empress and his son would be restored to him: he had, at least, published his wishes as a certainty; and it was, in fact, the worst thing the Emperor of Austria could have done. His hope was, however, soon destroyed. About a month after his arrival, the Duke de Vicenza called upon me, and presented to me a letter without address, which a courier, just arrived from Vienna, had delivered to him among several others, saying that it had been sent to him by M. de ——, who had not dared to put the direction on it. I was not intimate enough with M. de —— to suppose he could have written to me, so I refused to take the letter. Caulaincourt said, 'Be not too hasty; I am convinced it is for you. You would, perhaps, do well to open it, for, if you persist, I shall give it to the Emperor.'—'You may do so,' I replied; 'I have no interests in Vienna, and I wish the Emperor may read it.'

"In the evening I was summoned to the palace. I found the Emperor in a dimly-lighted closet, warming himself in a corner of the fireplace, and appearing to suffer already from the complaint which never afterwards left him. 'Here is a letter,' he said, 'which the courier from Vienna says is meant for you—read it.' On first casting my eyes on the letter, I thought I knew the handwriting; but, as it was long, I read it slowly, and came at last to the principal object. The writer said that we ought not to reckon upon the Empress, as she did not even attempt to conceal her hatred of the Emperor, and was disposed to approve all the measures that could be taken against him; that her return was not to be thought of, as she herself would raise the greatest obstacles in the way of it, in case it should be proposed; finally, that it was not possible for him to dissemble his indignation that the Empress, wholly enamoured of ——, did not even take pains to hide her ridiculous partiality for that man, who had made himself master of her mind as well as of her person. The handwriting of the letter was disguised; yet not so much but that I was able to discover whose it was. I found, however, in the manner in which the secret was ex-

* During the battle of Waterloo, Bourmont deserted Bonaparte and went over to the allies.

pressed, a warmth of zeal, and a picturesque style, that did not belong to the author of the letter. While reading it, I all of a sudden suspected it was a counterfeit, and intended to mislead the Emperor. I communicated my idea to him, and spoke of the danger I perceived in this fraud. As I grew more and more animated, I found plausible reasons enough to throw the Emperor himself into some uncertainty. 'How is it possible,' I said, 'that —— should have been imprudent enough to write such things to me, who am not his friend, and who have had so little connexion with him? How can one suppose that the Empress should forget herself, in such circumstances, so far as to manifest hatred to you, and, still more, to cast herself away upon a man who undoubtedly still possesses some power to please, but who is no longer young, whose face is disfigured, and whose person, altogether, has nothing agreeable in it?'—'But,' answered the Emperor, '—— is attached to me; and though he is not your friend, the postscript sufficiently explains the motive of the confidence he places in you.' The following words were, in fact, written at the bottom of the letter: 'I do not think you ought to mention the truth to the Emperor; but make whatever use of it you think proper.' I persisted, however, in maintaining that the letter was a counterfeit; and the Emperor then said to me, 'Go to Caulaincourt. He possesses a great many others of the same handwriting. Let the comparison decide between your opinion and mine.'

"I went to Caulaincourt, who said eagerly to me, 'I am sure the letter is from ——; and I have not the least doubt of the truth of the particulars it contains. The best thing the Emperor can do is to be comforted: there is nothing to be expected from that side.'

"So sad a discovery was very painful to the Emperor, for he was sincerely attached to the Empress, and still hoped again to see his son, whom he loved most tenderly.

"Fouché had been far from wishing the return of the Emperor. He was long tired of obeying, and had, besides, undertaken another plan, which Napoleon's arrival had broken off. The Emperor, however, put him again at the head of the police, because Savary was worn out in that employment, and a skilful man was wanted there. Fouché accepted the office, but without giving up his plan of deposing the Emperor, to put in his place either his son, or a sort of a republic, with a president. He had never ceased to correspond with Prince Metternich, and, if he is to be believed, he had tried to persuade the Emperor to abdicate in favour of his son. That was also my opinion; but, coming from such a quarter, the advice was not without danger for the person to whom it was given. Besides, that advice having been rejected, it was the duty of the minister either to think no more of his plan, or to resign his office. Fouché, however, remained in the cabinet,

and continued his correspondence. The Emperor, who placed but little confidence in him, kept a careful eye upon him. One evening the Emperor had a great deal of company at the Elysee; he told me not to go home, because he wished to speak to me. When every body was gone, the Emperor stopped with Fouché in the apartment next to the one I was in. The door remained half open. They walked up and down together, talking very calmly. I was therefore greatly astonished when, after a quarter of an hour, I heard the Emperor say to him, gravely, 'You are a traitor! Why do you remain minister of the police, if you wish to betray me? It depends on me to have you hanged, and every body would rejoice at your death!' I did not hear Fouché's reply, but the conversation lasted above half an hour longer, the parties all the time walking up and down. When Fouché went away, he bade me cheerfully good night, and said that the Emperor had gone back to his apartments. In truth, when I went in the latter was gone; but the next day he spoke to me of that conversation. 'I suspected,' he said, 'that the wretch was in correspondence with Vienna. I have had a banker's clerk arrested on his return from that city. He has acknowledged that he brought a letter for Fouché from Metternich, and that the answer was to be sent at a fixed time to Bâle, where a man was to wait for the bearer on the bridge. I sent for Fouché a few days ago, and kept him three hours long in my garden, hoping, that in the course of a friendly conversation, he would mention that letter to me; but he said nothing. At last, yesterday evening, I myself opened the subject.' (Here the Emperor repeated to me the words I had heard the night before, 'You are a traitor,' &c.)

"'He acknowledged, in fact,' continued the Emperor, 'that he had received such a letter; but that it was not signed, and that he had looked upon it as mystification. He showed it me. Now that letter was evidently an answer, in which the writer again declared, that he would listen to nothing more concerning the Emperor, but that, his person excepted, it would be easy to agree to all the rest.'

"I expected that the Emperor would conclude his narrative by expressing his anger against Fouché; but our conversation turned on some other subject, and he talked no more of him. Two days afterwards I went to Fouché to solicit the return to Paris of an officer of musqueteers, who had been banished far from his family. I found him at breakfast, and sat down next to him. Facing him sat a stranger. 'Do you see this man?' he said to me, pointing with his spoon to the stranger; 'he is an aristocrat, a Bourbonite, a Chouan: it is the Abbé * * *, one of the editors of the Journal des Débats—a sworn enemy to Napoleon, a fanatic partisan of the Bourbons; he is one of our men.'

"I looked at him. At every fresh epithet of the minister, the

abbé bowed his head on his plate, with a smile of cheerfulness and self-complacency, and with a sort of leer. I never saw a more ignoble countenance. Fouché explained to me, on leaving the breakfast-table, in what manner all these valets of literature were men of his; and while I acknowledged to myself that the system might be necessary, I scarcely knew who were really more despicable—the wretches who thus sold themselves to the highest bidder, or the minister who boasted of having bought them, as if their acquisition were a glorious conquest. Judging that the Emperor had spoken to me of the scene I have described above, Fouché said to me, 'The Emperor's temper is soured by the resistance he finds, and he thinks it is my fault. He does not know that I have no power but by public opinion. To-morrow I might hang before my door twenty persons obnoxious to public opinion, though I should not be able to imprison for four-and-twenty hours any individual favoured by it.' As I am never in a hurry to speak, I remained silent, but reflecting on what the Emperor had said concerning Fouché, I found the comparison of their two speeches remarkable. The master could have his minister hanged with public applause, and the minister could hang—whom? Perhaps the master himself, and with the same approbation. What a singular situation!—and I believe they were both in the right; so far public opinion, equitable in regard to Fouché, had swerved concerning the Emperor."

Shortly after the return of Napoleon from Elba, believing it to be impossible to make the Emperor of Austria consent to his wife's rejoining him (and Maria Louisa had no inclination to a renewal of conjugal intercourse), a plan was concocted by him for carrying off from Vienna both his wife and his son. In this project, force was no less necessary than stratagem. A number of French, of both sexes much devoted to the Emperor, who had given them rank and fortune, had accompanied Maria Louisa, in 1814, from Paris to Blois and thence to Vienna. A correspondence was opened with these persons, who embarked heart and soul in the plot: they forged passports, procured relays of horses, and, altogether arranged matters so well, that but for a single individual—one who revealed the whole project a few days previously to that fixed upon for carrying it into effect—there is little room to doubt that the plan would have succeeded, and that the daughter of Austria, and the titular King of Rome would have given such *prestige*, as their presence only could give at the Tuileries and the Champ-de-Mai. No sooner had the Emperor of Austria discovered this plot, which, had it been successful, would have placed him in a very awkward predicament, than he dismissed all the French people about his daughter, compelled her to lay aside the armorial bearings and liveries of Napoleon and even to relinquish the title of

Empress of the French. No force, no art, no police could conceal these things from the people of Paris, who, moreover, and at nearly the same time, were made very uneasy by the failure of Murat's attempt in Italy, which greatly increased the power and political influence of Austria. Murat being disposed of, the Emperor Francis was enabled to concentrate all his forces in Italy, and to hold them in readiness for the re-invasion of France.

Let us now turn to Napoleon in his novel character of constitutional monarch. One of his first and loudest boasts, in that capacity was his granting full liberty to the press. "The press," said he, "that mighty engine of enlightenment, shall be infinitely more free in France than in England!" To carry this into execution he established *inspectors of the booksellers!* "The minister of police (Fouché), a friend of liberty, but, as Lecompte, the editor of Le Censeur observed, 'only of liberty after the fashion of Monsieur Fouché,' used every art in his power to prevent the contagion of freedom from spreading too widely." This Lecompte thought he was aiding the cause of liberty, in contributing, as he had done, to the return of Napoleon; but soon "seeing the prevailing influence of the military, he published some severe remarks on the undue weight the army assumed in public affairs, which he hesitated not to say, was bringing France to the condition of Rome, when the empire was disposed of by the pretorian guards. This gave great offence: the journal was seized by the police, and the minister (Fouché) endeavoured to palliate the fact in the Moniteur (*the government paper and the paper of all governments*), by saying, that although seized, it had been instantly restored. But Lecompte was not a man to be so silenced; he published a contradiction of the official statements, and declared that his journal had not been restored. He was summoned the next day before the prefect, alternately threatened and wheedled; upbraided at one moment with ungrateful resistance to the cause of the Emperor, and requested at the next to think of something in which government might serve him. "Steeled against every proffer and entreaty, Lecompte only required to be permitted *to profit by the restored liberty of the press;* nor could the worthy magistrate make him rightly understand that when the Emperor gave all men liberty to publish what pleased themselves, it was under the tacit condition that it should also please the prefect and minister of police."*

We now come to the famous Champ-de-Mai, and the results that arose from it. As this was a culminating point in Napoleon's life, we will give more statements than one, leaving, as usual, the reader to draw his own conclusions. The first account which is not unfavourable to Napoleon, is from the pen of Lavallette.

* Setlirr Scott.

"The ceremony of the Champ-de-Mai at length took place; it was on the 1st of June. Nothing could be more singular than that assemblage in the open air. It produced, however, but little effect, because it had been badly announced. The Emperor wanted time: the minds of the people were not prepared; the patriots had not had sufficient opportunity to exercise their power, or rather no one knew where to find them. Those who had begun the revolution were old, retired from public life, and few in number; the men of 1793 were fallen into contempt. The imperialists, or Bonapartists, were not much regarded: they had so frequently abused the popularity lavished upon them. There were no persons truly respectable but the military: though discontented and humbled, they alone still knew how to express themselves with dignity concerning their country. But they were no longer mixed with the people, having already joined their regiments. The majority of the electors, and many deputies, were animated with a zealous spirit; but the French, whose imagination is so lively, never know how to enter into the reality of things until their first excitement is passed. In the beginning they only think of advancing, without caring which way. Now, the way they had taken was bad. At first they saw only a despot in the Emperor, and entirely forgot the enemy: they could not feel that it was first of all necessary to beat their foreign foes. I never could impress people with that idea, who otherwise had discrimination and long experience. 'We will have no more *senatus consultum*, no double legislative body, no arbitrary practices, no master. We want a moderator, and nothing else. We are numerous enough to beat the enemy, if he attack us. Should he triumph, each department will become a Vendée. France will never hesitate between slavery and civil war.' These imprudent men did not observe that by such speeches they stopped the enthusiasm of the people who preferred to live in expectation of what was to happen, rather than throw themselves into the fatigues and dangers of a struggle which appeared distant and uncertain, notwithstanding the evident approach of the enemy. The ceremony of the Champ-de-Mai was however a noble one; but all France was not there, and even there the feeling for the Emperor was confined to the crowd. The magistracy were opposed to him. All the judges preferred Louis XVIII. to the Emperor: the pretension they put forward of succeeding to the parliaments, of which they were the dross, flattered their vanity. Under a weak prince they enjoyed real authority, and the love of the Bourbons for old institutions gave them a degree of power they fondly hoped to augment. Under the Emperor, on the contrary, they were *forced to obey*. All the heads and clerks in the public offices were in a false position: they had every thing to fear, and nothing to hope; for they could not help seeing that we were beginning a new era of revolutions, in which all things would become uncertain. Finally, the impression of the horrors that had accompanied the *first* invasion was far from being blotted out, and the public mind shuddered at the idea of a *second!*

"The speech delivered to the Emperor by M. Dubois d'Angers was full of energy. It contained a summary of all that was desired, and expressed clearly the national will. But could a power that had nothing left, give all that was expected? The answer of the Emperor, which

was not directed to that speech, was sincere. He promised a great deal; but still he was obliged to explain what he wished, in his turn, as the executive power. By this he displeased his auditors, as I soon perceived in talking with some deputies who had heard him. After the celebration of mass, *to which, by the by, every one turned his back*, the Emperor went down and took his place on an amphitheatre in the middle of the Champ-de-Mars, whence he was to distribute the eagles to all the cohorts of the departments. This was a beautiful scene, for it was a national one. The Emperor took care to address a word to each of the corps that received these colours, and that word was flattering and calculated to inspire enthusiasm. To the department of the Vosges he said, 'You are my old companions.' To those of the Rhine, 'You have been the first, the most courageous, and the most unfortunate in our disasters.' To the departments of the Rhône, 'I have been bred among you.' To others, 'Your bands were at Rivoli, at Arcole, at Marengo, at Tilsit, at Austerlitz, at the Pyramids.' These magic names filled the hearts of those old warriors, the melancholy wreck of so many victories, with a very profound emotion. But, as I have already said, all France was not present at that ceremony, and the enthusiasm of the spectators was not communicated to the people in the departments."

We shall now give a concise account of this imposing ceremony from the pen of an eminent English writer,* who says—

"The new constitution, with the *Acte Additionnel*, was offered to the suffrages of the French people at large, and accepted by them by a majority of above a million and a half of votes to about four thousand against it. Louis did not put himself to this kind of probation: it would have been inconsistent with his dignity and pretensions to do so; since his rights were deemed superior to and independent of the choice of the people, which was merely a vulgar appendage to them. That of itself, with me, is decisive of the whole question. This event was celebrated in the Champ-de-Mars, held on the 1st of June in the open space facing the Military School, where the electors of the departments, the representatives of the people, and the deputations from the army, met in an immense concourse. The Imperial and National Guard, and the troops of the line, were drawn up in squares in the Champ-de-Mars. Napoleon appeared in the midst of them like a new Charlemagne, surrounded by his brothers, his court, and the members of his government, on a magnificent throne. An altar was raised in the centre, and the ceremony began by invoking the God of battles. After the religious solemnity, a deputation of five hundred electors advanced to the foot of the throne, and pronounced an eloquent and patriotic address. The result and number of the votes was then proclaimed; and Napoleon, turning towards the side where the electors were, said aloud, 'Emperor, consul, soldier, I hold all from the people: in prosperity, in adversity, in the field of battle, in council, on the throne, in exile, France has been the sole

* Hazlitt.

object of all my thoughts and actions.' Having ended his discourse, the Emperor proceeded to the altar with his escort, swearing to observe and maintain the constitutions of the state; the oath was repeated by the ministers and the electoral deputations. The eagles were then distributed among the troops: cries of *Vive l'Empereur* resounded on all sides; and the crowd (whether of men or women), as they looked on, were filled with admiration and delight, and seemed to think that the enemy could never again pierce through those numerous and dense phalanxes, winding slowly along, as if incapable of flight!"

The great meeting of the Champ-de-Mai was less favourably described by many writers who were eyewitnesses to it. Napoleon and his brothers, who had again collected around him, were dressed in antique and somewhat fantastic robes: he, as Emperor, was so arrayed as to resemble Charlemagne; and his relatives were royally attired. The republicans were much annoyed by this display. The report of the votes* was read, the electors, with their usual promptitude, swore to the Additional Act, the hollow trumpets brayed after them, and the cannon thundered. The popular acclamations, however, were few, and cold. Napoleon felt he was acting as in a melodrama on the stage, and he showed little interest—no enthusiasm, until he came to that part of the ceremonies in which he had to distribute the eagles to the newly-raised troops. Then his brow expanded, his eye beamed gloriously, and his voice became firm and sonorous. On the whole, the Parisians considered the field of May *une pièce tombée* (an unsuccessful play). Some few thought it *un spectacle imposant* (an imposing spectacle), but many more considered it a ridiculous exhibition. Opera-dancers and fencing-masters figured in the procession. On the following day (the 2d of June) Napoleon gave a second fête to the deputies of the army and the electors of the departments, who met in the spacious galleries of the Louvre. More eagles were distributed, and those who received them from the hands of the Emperor swore, as a matter of course, to defend them and him to the death. The quantity of oath-taking, and of tricking and turning of all kinds, that took place at Paris between Bonaparte's return in March and the return of the Bourbons in July, was prodigious almost beyond example. The journalists (as became their calling) particularly distinguished themselves. The following fact, though well known, merits repeating. One of the gentlemen of the press, in announcing the escape from Elba, said, "A report is circulated that the brigand of Corsica has landed at Cannes." A few days after the same man wrote, "Do you know what news is circu-

* These votes were oddly obtained. A French writer of high reputation says, "On the publication of the Additional Act, all the citizens were invited to sign it in the municipalities, in the offices of notaries public, and in the different government offices. Many of them considered themselves rather commanded than invited; many went and signed through sheer dread of the Bonapartists."

lated? They say the rash usurper has been received at Grenoble." Then it was, "I have it from a good source that General Bonaparte has entered Lyons." But, a few days after, again changing his tone, he reported, "It appears certain that Napoleon is at Fontainebleau." And, finally, on the 20th of March, he respectfully announced that "His Majesty the Emperor and King alighted this evening at his palace of the Tuileries."

The legislative body met on the 3d of June, and the deputies or commons, among whom were many constitutionalists and not a few jacobins, showed, from the first, a spirit of opposition, and a firm determination to obtain guarantees for their newly-acquired liberties. Their first quarrel with the Emperor was on the very first day of their sitting, and arose out of mere points of etiquette. The good humour of the deputies was not increased when Napoleon, on being waited upon for his confirmation of their election of their president, contemptuously referred the deputation to one of his chamberlains, who, he said, would deliver his (the Emperor's) answer the next day through the court page in waiting. This certainly showed very little constitutional feeling, and a majority in the house began to murmur and whisper that Napoleon was unchanged, and he and freedom as incompatible as fire and water.

A certain deputy of the name of Sibuet, in a very violent speech, made a motion against the use of such titles as duke, count, baron, &c., in the chamber of representatives, and was very nigh carrying his point. On the same day another very stormy debate arose out of the demand made by a member of the lower house, for a list of the personages raised to the new house of peers. Carnot, in his capacity of minister, declined giving the list until the session should actually begin real business. On his refusal the uproar was tremendous, and the president's bell was for a long time rung in vain. They then proceeded to scrutinize the form and substance of the oath to be taken by the deputies, and it was with great difficulty the Bonapartists carried their point, that the oaths should go in the name of "Napoleon and the Constitution," without mentioning the nation or the people. On the 7th of June the whole house was in fire and fury. Felix Lepelletiere, a zealous partisan of the Emperor, proposed that the chamber should vote to Napoleon the title of "Saviour of his country."—"This is absurd: we will not have it so," shouted a hundred deputies at once; "the country is not yet saved!" and they passed to the order of the day by acclamation. We cannot help thinking that in most of these petty proceedings the French showed little political wisdom, and did not take the course proper to conciliate and constitutionalize the fierce Napoleon, who was heard frequently to say in private, "The empty fools, the babblers, they are talking when we ought to be fighting! They want to fetter my strong arm—will their weak one save the nation? One thing is clear, France does not

possess the elements of a representative government—she wants a dictator like me." In his answer to the address of the two chambers, he did not conceal his dissatisfaction. He said—

"The struggle in which we are engaged is serious. The seductions of prosperity are not the danger which menaces us at present. It is under the Caudine Forks that foreigners wish to make us pass. The justice of our cause, the public spirit of the nation, and the courage of the army are strong grounds to hope for success: but should we encounter reverses, it is then that I should trust to see displayed all the energy of a great people. It is then that I should find in the chambers proofs of their attachment to the country and to me. It is in times of difficulty that great nations, like great men, unfold all the energy of their character, and become objects of admiration to posterity. I will set out to-night and proceed to join the army. The movements of the different corps of our enemies render my presence indispensable. The constitution is our rallying-point: it should be our pole-star in these stormy times. Every public discussion tending directly or indirectly to diminish the confidence which should be placed in its arrangements, would be a misfortune to the state: we should then find ourselves in the midst of rocks without compass or pilot. The crisis in which we are involved is arduous. Let us not imitate the example of the Lower Empire, which, pressed on all sides by the barbarians, rendered itself the scoff of posterity by entering into abstract discussions at the very moment when the battering-ram was at the gates of the city. In all circumstances, my conduct will be direct and firm. Aid me to save the country. First representative of the people, I have contracted the obligation which I now renew, to employ in more tranquil times all the prerogatives of the crown and the little experience which I have acquired, to ameliorate our institutions."

The wrath of Napoleon was confined to the lower house; the peers, from the very nature of their composition, being complacent and passive enough. The vast majority of them were in fact mere shadows gathered round the solid persons of Joseph, Lucien, Louis, and Jerome Bonaparte, and Siéyès, Carnot, and the military men of the revolution. As a political body, Napoleon despised them himself, and yet he wanted the nation to respect them. But respect was impossible, and the volatile Parisians made the peers a constant object of their witticisms. The punsters of Paris made the following *jeu-de-mot*, or play upon words. Lallemand, Labédoyère, Drouot, and Ney, they call *Les Quatre Pair fides* (*perfides*), which in pronunciation may equally mean the four faithful peers, or the four perfidious men. The infamous Vandamme, and another, were called *Pairs-sifflés*, the hissed peers, or the hissed pair, or (*persifflés*), men made objects of derision. In such a manner did these light-headed and light-hearted people amuse themselves when

war and desolation were approaching their frontiers and their very capital with giant strides.

Meantime intrigues were carrying on by all parties. Fouché, who was never so happy as when he was working in the dark, with two or three plots in hand, was in full activity. He says—

"Napoleon caused the Emperor Alexander, and Prince Metternich to be written to by Hortense, and also the latter by his sister, the Queen of Naples, hoping in this way to deaden the force of the blows which he was not yet prepared to encounter. He at the same time commissioned Eugène, and the Princess Stephanie of Baden, to neglect nothing in order to detach them from the coalition. Meanwhile he caused overtures to be made to the cabinet of London by an agent whom I pointed out to him. In conclusion he hoped to ingratiate himself with the English nation, by a decree, abolishing the negro slave trade. Notwithstanding this, all our external communications were intercepted by order of the various cabinets. The proceedings of the Congress of Vienna furnished a subject of deep attention, and the most painful anxiety at the Tuileries. We at length learned, in a specific manner, what the public already knew; the declaration of the Congress of Vienna, dated the 13th of March, which pronounced the outlawry of Napoleon. France was from that time terrified at the evils which the future prepared for her; she groaned at the thought of being exposed to the horrors of a new invasion, for the sake of a single man. Napoleon affected not to be moved, and told us in full council, 'This time they will find that they have not to deal with the France of 1814; and their success, if they obtain it, will only serve to render the war more sanguinary and obstinate; while, on the other hand, if victory favours me, I may become as formidable as ever. Have I not on my side Belgium, and the provinces on this side of the Rhine. With the aid of a proclamation, and a tricolour flag, I will revolutionize them in twenty-four hours.' I was far from allowing myself to be lulled into security by such gasconades as these.—The moment I obtained knowledge of the declaration, *I did not hesitate to request the King, by means of an agent on whom I could rely, to permit me to devote myself, when opportunity occurred, to his service.* I demanded no other condition in return, but the right of preserving my repose and fortune in my seclusion at Pont-Carré. The overture was fully accepted, and sanctioned by Lord Wellington, who arrived just then at Ghent from the Congress at Vienna; the same kind of convention had already been concluded, as far as I was concerned, between Prince Metternich, Prince de Talleyrand, and the generalissimo of the allies."

Lavallette hints that even before Napoleon left Paris many of the deputies had resolved to prevent his ever returning thither as sovereign. He says—

"I saw, with grief, too many unworthy Frenchmen forming

wishes for his defeat. The assembly of representatives did not adopt the attitude or speak the language which its influence over the public mind rendered necessary. Old hatreds, former opinions, hopes for the return of the Bourbons, and great anxiety in many as to the constitutional line of conduct the Emperor would pursue if he returned victorious, threw confusion into the labours of the chamber. It had been said to them that the first point was to save the country; but they answered, 'Let us save liberty!' as if liberty could be saved when the soil of France was invaded by foreign armies."

Fouché, from whom no secret could be kept, details the futile diplomatic measures resorted to by Napoleon, in an amusing and, as we believe, a very correct manner.

"The treaty of the 25th of March, by which the great powers engaged on their side not to lay down their arms while Napoleon was on the throne, was but a natural consequence of the decision of the 13th. All indirect overtures had completely failed. 'No peace, no truce, with that individual,' replied the Emperor Alexander to Queen Hortense; 'any one but him.' Flahaut, who was sent to Vienna, was not allowed to pass Stutgard; and Talleyrand refused to enter the service of Napoleon. Notwithstanding, however, the manner in which his first overtures were discountenanced, he decided on making new applications to the Emperor of Austria. He despatched to him Baron de Stassart, and at the same time sent to M. de Talleyrand, Messrs. de S. L. and de Monteron, both well known by their connexion with that statesman, and the latter being his most intimate and devoted friend. But these attempts at second hand could scarcely produce much effect upon the general course of things.

"I daily became an object of great umbrage to Napoleon, so much the more as I never let slip any opportunity of repressing his despotic inclination, and the revolutionary measures which he promulgated. I was known among his partisans by no other name than that of minister of Ghent. He had also new sources of uneasiness. M. de Blacas, who, deaf to all advice, suffered the affair of the 20th of March to ripen, without believing it—without even troubling his head about it, forgot, in the hurry and anxiety of his departure, a mass of papers, which might have endangered a number of very respectable persons. As I was immediately made acquainted with this, I had, with a sort of instinctive foresight, thought it right to authorize the notary, Lainé, colonel of the national guard, from the 21st of March to occupy the cabinet of M. de Blacas, to arrange all his papers, and to burn those whose signatures might have committed the safety of individuals. Savary and Réal having tracked me in this operation, the Emperor demanded the papers of me, which I gave him in a bundle. Finding among them nothing but such as were unimportant, he did not fail to suspect me of having withdrawn such as he had an interest in seeing."

CHAPTER XL.

1815.

Preparations of Napoleon for the campaign—The Emperor leaves Paris to join the army—State of Brussels—Proclamation of Napoleon to the Belgians——Effective strength of the French and allied armies—The Emperor's proclamation to the French army.

By this time the thunder-cloud of war had gathered, and was ready to burst. Let us see how Napoleon prepared to meet it. Fire-arms formed one of the most important objects of attention. There was a sufficient quantity of sabres, but a want of muskets. The imperial factories could in ordinary times furnish monthly twenty thousand stand of new arms: by the extraordinary activity and encouragements used, this number was doubled. Workmen were also employed in repairing old muskets. There was displayed at this momentous period the same activity in the capital as in 1793, and better directed, though without the same success. The clothing of the army was another difficulty; and this was got over by advancing large sums of money to the cloth manufacturers beforehand. The contractors delivered twenty thousand cavalry horses before the 1st of June; ten thousand trained horses had been furnished by the dismounted gendarmerie. Twelve thousand artillery horses were also delivered by the 1st of June, in addition to six thousand which the army already had. The facility with which the ministers of finance and of the treasury provided for all these expenses astonished every body, as it was necessary to pay for every thing in ready money. The system of public works was at the same time resumed throughout France. "It is easy to see," said the workmen, "that the great contractor is returned: all was dead, now every thing revives." To account for all this lavish expenditure, an opinion prevailed that the Emperor on his return had found a hundred millions of livres in gold at the Tuileries. The King had, indeed, quitted Paris with such precipitation that he had not been able to carry away the crown-plate, valued at six millions; nor the treasury-chests of the departments, containing fifty millions more. But the chief resource which Napoleon found on his return was in the good will of the people, and in the confidence of the great French and Dutch capitalists arising out of it. Voluntary donations were also numerous, and in some departments exceeded a million. At

the military parades he was often presented with bundles of bank-bills; and on his return to the palace had to give the minister of the treasury eighty or a hundred thousand francs, which he had received in this manner.

It was soon evident that the scene of the grand conflict would be the Flemish border—the old battle-field of Europe. The whole of the fortified line of the low countries towards France was occupied by strong garrisons, chiefly in English pay. From the time of the alarm excited by Bonaparte's success, reinforcements had arrived from England without intermission; and the Duke of Wellington was on the spot to take the supreme command of the troops, native and foreign, in Belgium. In the latter end of May, the head-quarters of the French army of the North were established at Avesnes, in French Flanders; and in the apprehension of an invasion by the allied armies on that part, Laon and the castle of Guise were put in a defensible state. Field-Marshal Prince Blucher about this time arrived with the Prussian army in the neighbourhood of Namur, and held frequent conferences with the Duke of Wellington.

Bonaparte left Paris on the 12th of June, accompanied by Marshal Bertrand and General Drouot, and proceeded to Laon. Lavallette, who was with Napoleon till midnight on the 11th of June, informs us that the Emperor was unwell when he set off to open the campaign; that he suffered a great deal from a pain in the breast; but that notwithstanding this, he stepped into his coach with a cheerfulness that seemed to show he was confident of victory.

An English writer who was at Brussels during the gathering and the bursting of the war-cloud, gives some amusing details.

"The town," he says, "was crowded to excess. The bright and varied uniforms of so many different nations, mingled with the gay dresses of females in the park, and the *Allée Verte* thronged with superb horses and brilliant equipages, gave to the city unusual animation. The *tables-d'hôte* resounded with a confusion of tongues which might have rivalled the tower of Babel. Balls and plays, routs and dinners, were the only topics of conversation; and though some occasional rumours were spread that the French had made an incursion within our lines, and carried off a few head of cattle, the tales were too vague to excite the least alarm. On the 3d of June, I went to see 10,000 troops reviewed by the Dukes of Wellington and Brunswick. The splendid uniforms of the English, Scotch, and Hanoverians, formed a strong contrast with the gloomy black of the Brunswick hussars, whose veneration for the memory of their old duke, could be only equalled by their devotion to his son. I was particularly struck with the handsome features of the Duke of Brunswick, whose fine, manly figure, as he galloped across the field, realized my *beau idéal* of a warrior."

As soon as it was whispered in Brussels that Napoleon was

positively approaching that city,* the most absurd and contradictory reports were circulated, and strong proofs were given that small reliance could be placed on the Belgians,† who seemed resolved to side with whichever party might prove victorious. As early as the night of the 15th of June, when Bonaparte's artillery was first heard thundering in the distance, they reported that the French were actually at the gates of Brussels lying in ambush to surprise the city, while others said that the apparent confidence and security of the Duke of Wellington

* "It was on the 12th instant that the news of Napoleon having set out from Paris to join the army of Flanders was known at Brussels. The following morning, when the Duke of Richmond and some officers were at a cricket-match, the Duke of Wellington arrived, and shortly after the Prince of Orange, which put a stop to the game. Though the hero of the Peninsula was not apt to let his movements be known, on this occasion he made no secret, 'that if he was attacked from the South, Halle would be his position: and if on the Namur side, Waterloo.' The army being ordered to be ready to march on the shortest notice, his Grace returned to Brussels. A few days after my arrival, it was publicly known that a movement would soon take place on the frontier; but as it extended from Ostend to Charleroi, no conjecture could be made on what point the French would make their attack, yet the duke has been abused for not having had the second sight of a Highlander to know this, and it was insisted that he was taken by surprise! There was also a great clamour among the *quidnuncs*, that he with his staff and a great many officers were dancing at a ball, instead of being at their posts; but the fact is, that Wellington had previously issued the necessary orders for the march of the troops quartered in the city as well as in the cantonments, which was very properly kept a profound secret. About midnight the drums, bugles, and bagpipes sounded the signal of march. I was stepping into bed when the well-known *pibroch*, so familiar to my ear (the Camerons' Gathering) sounded under my windows On opening my casement, I beheld my countrymen assembling like bees from all quarters; and never was there a more prompt turn-out; within half an hour, every officer and soldier was at his post. The 42d, 92d, and 79th paraded in our street. The division of Brussels and its neighbourhood amounted to 9000; about noon it reached Quatre-Bras, a march of 18 miles, in a very hot day, and through a country that afforded but little water; so that between fatigue and thirst the men were much exhausted before they were attacked, and they hardly had time to settle their knapsacks, when the French, concealed in the field of long rye, and suddenly debouching from a neighbouring wood, commenced a vigorous fire, which was repelled with the utmost bravery: and though the British were but ill-supported by artillery or cavalry, they succeeded in driving the French from their positions, and became masters of the field, but with an immense loss, particularly in the ranks of the Highlanders."—*Pryce Gordon's Memoirs.*

† The following proclamation was issued by Napoleon on entering Belgium, and was dated *prematurely* from the palace of Lacken.

"To the Belgians and the inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine.

"The ephemeral success of my enemies detached you for a moment from my empire. In my exile, upon a rock in the sea, I heard your complaint; the God of Battles has decided the fate of your beautiful provinces; Napoleon is among you; you are worthy to be Frenchmen. Rise in a body; join my invincible phalanxes to exterminate the remainder of these barbarians, who are your enemies and mine: they fly with rage and despair in their hearts.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

The Imperial Palace of Lacken, June 17, 1815.

By the Emperor,

The Major-General of the Army,

COUNT BERTRAND.

arose from his having bought over the French, whom he dared not fight *armes à la main*, with British gold. The gossips and quidnuncs of the town were dreadfully embarrassed by these contradictory stories, and according as one or other prevailed they were all for Bonaparte or all for Wellington. This confusion of ideas is said to have produced the most laughable mistakes, people frequently beginning invectives which ended in panegyrics of the persons they, at first, did not mean to praise.

"We have just learnt," says a writer, who was at Brussels at this time, and to whom we have been already indebted, "that Napoleon had left the capital of France on the 12th; on the 15th the frequent arrival of couriers excited extreme anxiety; and towards evening General Mufflin presented himself at the hotel of the Duke of Wellington, with despatches from Blucher. We were all aware that the enemy was in movement, and the ignorant could not solve the enigma of the duke going tranquilly to the ball at the Duke of Richmond's—his coolness was above their comprehension. Had he remained at his own hotel, a panic would have probably ensued amongst the inhabitants, which would have embarrassed the intended movement of the British division of the army.

"I returned home late, and we were still talking over our uneasiness, when our domestic distinctly heard the trumpet's sound within the city-walls, and the drum beat to arms. Before the sun had risen in full splendour, I heard martial music approaching, and I soon beheld from my windows the 5th reserve of the British army passing; the Highland brigade were the first in advance, led by their noble thanes, the bagpipes playing their several pibrochs; they were succeeded by the 28th, their bugles' note falling more blithely upon the ear. Each regiment passed in succession with its band playing."

The gallant Duke of Brunswick was at a ball at the assembly-rooms in the Rue Ducale on the night of the 15th of June, when the French guns, which he was one of the first to hear, were clearly distinguished at Brussels.

"Upon receiving the information that a powerful French force was advancing in the direction of Charleroi, 'Then it is high time for me to be off;' he exclaimed, and immediately quitted the ball-room."

The assembly broke up abruptly; and, in half an hour, drums were beating and bugles sounding. The good burghers of the city, who were almost all enjoying their first sleep, started from their beds at the alarm, and hastened to the streets. The most ridiculous and absurd rumours were rapidly circulated and believed. The general impression seemed to be that the town was on fire; the next, that the Duke of Wellington had been assassinated; but when it was discovered that the French were advancing, the consternation became general, and every one

hurried to the Place Royale, where the Hanoverians and Brunswickers were already mustering.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 16th, the whole population of Brussels was in motion. The streets were crowded as in full day; lights flashed to and fro; artillery and baggage waggons were creaking in every direction; the drums beat to arms, and the bugles sounded. The noise and bustle surpassed all description. Here were horses plunging and kicking amongst a crowd of terrified burghers; there, lovers parting from their weeping mistresses. Now, the attention was attracted by a park of artillery thundering through the streets; and now again by a group of officers disputing loudly the demands of their imperturbable Flemish landlords, for not even the panic which prevailed could frighten the Flemings out of a single stiver; screams and yells occasionally rose above the busy hum that murmured through the crowd, but the general sound resembled the roar of a distant ocean. Between two and three o'clock the Brunswickers marched from the town.

"At four, the whole disposable force under the Duke of Wellington was collected together, but in such haste, that many of the officers had no time to change their silk stockings and dancing-shoes; and some, quite overcome by drowsiness, were seen lying asleep about the ramparts, still holding, however, with a firm hand, the reins of their horses, which were grazing by their sides.

"About five o'clock the word 'march' was heard in all directions, and instantly the whole mass appeared to move simultaneously. I conversed with several of the officers previous to their departure, and not one appeared to have the slightest idea of an approaching engagement.

"The Duke of Wellington and his staff did not quit Brussels till past eleven o'clock; and it was not till some time after they were gone that it was generally known that the whole French army, including a strong corps of cavalry, was within a few miles of Quatre-Bras."

We shall now state the respective forces of the allied Sovereigns, and of the Emperor Napoleon. It was calculated that, by the end of May, nearly five hundred thousand troops of the allies would be assembled to oppose the operations of Napoleon; comprising 160,000 Russians, 80,000 Austrians, 120,000 Prussians, 75,000 of the Anglo-Belgian army, and 65,000 of the Bavarian and other German troops. In the beginning of June, the allied armies occupied the following positions: The 1st corps of infantry of the Duke of Wellington's army, under the command of the Prince of Orange, occupied Enghien, Braine-le-Compte, Nivelles, and Soignies. The 2d corps, commanded by Lieutenant-General Lord Hill, was stationed at Ath, Lens, Oudenarde, Grammont, and the places adjacent; and the reserve occupied Ghent, Brussels, and the neighbourhood. The

cavalry attached to this army, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Earl of Uxbridge, were chiefly posted about Gram mont and Ninove.

The Prussian army consisted of four corps, and were thus stationed: The 1st, commanded by General Ziethen, occupied Fontaine l'Evesque, Fleurus, and Charleroi. The 2d, under General Pirch, was distributed in the neighbourhood of Namur. The 3d corps, under the command of General Thielmann, was posted in the vicinity of Ciney. The 4th corps, commanded by General Bulow, was collected about Hannut. These, with four corps of cavalry and artillery in proportion, constituted a force of 120,000 men.

Having described the number and positions of the English and Prussian armies in Flanders, it now remains to detail the force and composition of Napoleon's invading army, which was styled the Army of Flanders. General Count d'Erlon commanded the 1st corps, consisting of four divisions of infantry, one division of light cavalry, and six batteries of artillery, the total strength of which amounted to about 34,000 men. This corps was posted at Lille. The 2d corps, under General Count Reille, was assembled about Valenciennes; and was similarly constituted to the first corps, but exceeded it in numbers, by about 2000 men. The 3d corps, commanded by Count Vandamme, had one division of infantry less than the other two corps. The 4th corps, under Count Girard, formed the basis of the army of the Moselle, and was so placed that it might easily form a junction with the Army of Flanders, or with the army of the Rhine; it consisted of about 24,000 men. Count Rapp commanded the 5th corps collected at Strasbourg, and denominated the army of the Rhine; it was composed like the 3d and 4th corps, and amounted to 23,000 men. The 6th corps, under Count Lobau, which was stationed at Laon, formed the reserve of the Army of Flanders; its force may be reckoned at 27,000 men. The 7th corps, commanded by Marshal Suchet, was collected about Chambery, and amounted to 36,000 men. The cavalry of the Army of Flanders consisted of four corps, under the command of Marshal Grouchy: the 1st, under Pajol, amounting to near 4000 men, was assembled between the Aisne and the northern frontier; the 2d, commanded by Excelmans, was of about the same strength; the 3d, under the orders of Kellermann, was 5000 strong; the 4th, commanded by Milhaud, consisted of 4500 cuirassiers. Besides these seven corps of infantry, and the four corps of cavalry, various other corps of national guards, mixed with troops of the line, were stationed as armies of observation on the most important parts of the frontier, exhibiting a total of about 100,000 men. The Imperial Guard, the flower of the French army, was assembled in the neighbourhood of Paris, and consisted of upwards of 30,000 men. Paris and Lyons were strongly forti-

fied, and it was supposed by many that Napoleon, contrary to his usual tactics, would remain on the defensive; but he adopted the bolder alternative of attacking the allies before they should become too formidable by combination.

On the 7th of June, the French army began to move at Valenciennes. At four o'clock in the morning of the 12th, Napoleon, as we have said, left Paris to join the army. On arriving at Laon the same evening, he inspected the city and ramparts. The next day he proceeded to Avesnes, and on the 14th rode to Beaumont, whence, on the same day, being the anniversary of the battles of Marengo and Friedland, he addressed the following energetic proclamation to his army:

Soldiers!—This day is the anniversary of Marengo and Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after the battles of Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We believed in the protestations and oaths of princes, to whom we left their thrones. Now, however, leagued together, they strike at the independence and sacred rights of France. They have committed unjust aggressions. Let us march forward and meet them. Are we not still the same men? Soldiers! at Jena, these Prussians, now so arrogant, were three to one; at Montmirail six to one. Let those who have been captives to the English describe the nature of their prison ships, and the sufferings they endured. The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are obliged to use their arms in the cause of princes who are the enemies of justice, and destroyers of the rights of nations. They well know the coalition to be insatiable. After having swallowed up twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, they now wish to devour the states of the second order among the Germans. Madmen! one moment of prosperity has bewildered them. To oppress and humble the people of France is out of their power: once entering our territory, there they will find their doom. Soldiers! we have forced marches before us, battles to fight, and dangers to encounter; but firm in resolution, victory must be ours. The honour and happiness of our country are at stake! and, in short, Frenchmen, the moment is arrived when we must conquer or die!

The positions of the French army at this time were as follows: The head-quarters were at Beaumont; the first corps at Loire-sur-Sambre; second, at Ham-sur-Heure; third, in front of Beaumont; fourth, in front of Philippeville; sixth, in front of Beaumont; the Imperial Guard around Beaumont; the four corps of cavalry, under Marshal Grouchy, between Beaumont and Walcourt.

CHAPTER XLI.

1815.

THE BATTLES OF LIGNY AND QUATRE-BRAS

The moment for striking a decisive blow had now arrived; and, accordingly, early on the morning of the 15th, the whole of the French army was in motion. The first and second corps proceeded to Marchiennes to attack the Prussian outposts at Thuin and Lobes, in order to secure the communication across the Sambre between those places. The third corps, supported by General Pajol's cavalry, advanced upon Charleroi, followed by the Imperial Guard and the sixth corps, with the necessary detachments of pontoniers. The remainder of the cavalry, under Grouchy, also advanced upon Charleroi, on the flanks of the third and sixth corps. The fourth corps was ordered to march upon Chastelet.

On the approach of the French advanced guards, an incessant skirmish was maintained during the whole morning with the Prussians, who, after losing many men, were compelled to yield to superior numbers. General Ziethen, finding it impospossible, from the extent of frontier he had to cover, to check the advance of the French, fell back towards Fleurus by the road to Charleroi, resolutely opposing the pursuit of the enemy wherever it was possible. In the repeated attacks sustained by him, he suffered considerable loss. It was nearly mid-day before a passage through Charleroi was secured by the French army, and General Ziethen continued his retreat upon Fleurus, where he took up his position for the night. Upon Ziethen's abandoning, in the course of his retreat, the chaussée which leads to Brussels through Quatre-Bras, Marshal Ney, who commanded the left of the French army, was ordered to advance by this road upon Gosselies, and found at Frasnes part of the Duke of Wellington's army, composed of Nassau troops, under the command of Prince Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, who, after some skirmishing, maintained his position. "Notwithstanding all the exertions of the French at a moment when time was of such importance, they had only been able to advance about fifteen

English miles during the day, with nearly fifteen hours of daylight."*

It was the intention of Napoleon during his operations this day, to effect a separation between the English and Prussian armies, in which he had nearly succeeded. Napoleon's plan for this purpose, and the execution of it by his army, were alike admirable; but it is hardly probable that the allied generals were taken by surprise, as it was the only judicious course which Napoleon could have taken. His line of operation was in the direct road to Brussels, and there were no fortified works to impede his progress; while, from the nature of the country, his numerous and excellent cavalry could be employed with great effect.

In the French accounts, Marshal Ney has been much blamed for not occupying Quatre-Bras with the whole of his force on the evening of the 15th. "Ney might probably have driven back the Nassau troops at Quatre-Bras, and occupied that important position; but hearing a heavy cannonade on his right flank, where General Ziethen had taken up his position, he thought it necessary to halt, and detach a division in the direction of Fleurus. He was severely censured by Napoleon for not having literally followed his orders, and pushed on to Quatre-Bras."† This accusation forms a curious contrast with that made against Grouchy, upon whom Napoleon threw the whole blame of the defeat at Waterloo, because he strictly fulfilled his orders, by pressing the Prussians at Wavre, unheeding the cannonade on his left, which might have led him to conjecture that the more important contest between the Emperor and Wellington was at that moment raging.

It was at six o'clock in the evening of the 15th that the Duke of Wellington received the first information of the advance of the French army; but it was not until eleven o'clock that positive news reached him that the French army had moved upon the line of the Sambre. This information induced him to push forward reinforcements on Quatre-Bras, at which place he himself arrived at an early hour on the 16th, and immediately proceeded to Brie, to devise measures with Marshal Blucher, in order to combine their efforts. From the movement of considerable masses of the French in front of the Prussians, it was evident that the first grand attack would be directed against them. That this was Napoleon's object on the 16th may be seen by his orders to Ney and Grouchy, to turn the right of the Prussians, and drive the British from their position at Quatre-Bras, and then to march down the chaussée upon Brie in order effectually to separate the two armies. Ney was accordingly detached for this purpose with 43,000 men. In the event of the success of Marshal Ney, he would have been enabled to detach a portion

* Captain Pringle. † Ibid.

of his forces for the purpose of making a flank attack upon the Prussians in the rear of St. Amand, whilst Napoleon in person was directing his main efforts against that village—the strongest in the Prussian position. Ney's reserve was at Frasnes, disposable either for the purpose of supporting the attack on Quatre-Bras or that at St. Amand: and, in case of the marshal's complete success, to turn the Prussian right flank by marching on Brie.

On the morning of the 16th Marshal Blucher concentrated the 1st, 2d, and 3d corps of his army, amounting to 80,000, and took up a position with his right wing at Brie, and his left at Sombref, on a chain of gentle heights, and occupying in force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, the substantial buildings of which having been loopholed by the Prussians presented formidable defences. The right of this position communicated with the British at Quatre-Bras, upon which point the Duke of Wellington was making every possible effort to concentrate his army. General Bulow, with the 4th Prussian corps, not being able from the distance of his position, near Liege, to arrive in time, Marshal Blucher nevertheless undertook to receive the assault of the French at Ligny, relying upon receiving assistance from the British army, who, by a flank movement to the left, were to form a junction with the Prussians. As two distinct battles took place upon this day (the 16th), it is necessary to give a separate account of each.

Early on the morning of the 16th, the French army appeared on the plain of Fleurus, driving before them the Prussian light troops into the valley of the Ligne. Having reconnoitred the Prussian position, Napoleon instantly formed the plan of cutting off the retreat of a great portion of Blucher's army, hoping by so decided an advantage on half the allied troops in Belgium, to be able to overwhelm with his whole force the army of Wellington. In taking this determination, he was doubtless influenced by the consideration, that Ney's reserve in position at Frasnes, which was somewhat in rear of the Prussians, would be available for his purpose, as he supposed that the Marshal had sufficient force to drive the British from Quatre-Bras. Had this manœuvre completely succeeded, the ruin of Blucher's army would have ensued. Napoleon, confident of success, then directed the attack. Marshal Grouchy was ordered to attack Sombref on the right; Gérard, the village of Ligny, in the centre; and Vandamme was to attack St. Amand, on the left. General Girard was posted on the left of Vandamme, and the imperial guards were stationed as a reserve before Fleurus. At two o'clock Napoleon sent an order to Marshal Ney, informing him of his intended attack upon the Prussians, and ordering him to manœuvre so as to envelop their rear.*

At three o'clock a similar despatch was sent off, urgently

* Captain Batty.

pressing the execution of Napoleon's instructions. It was not before this hour that the Emperor was able to concentrate his forces, so as to attack the Prussians simultaneously. The battle then began with uncommon fury along the whole Prussian line. The village of St. Amand was vigorously defended. It formed the strength of the Prussian right, and from the intersection of several gardens and hedges, was very capable of defence, although so much in advance of the rest of the Prussian position. After a continued attack for two hours, the French had obtained possession of only half the village of St. Amand; that of Ligny had been taken and retaken several times. The French pursued their success at St. Amand by pushing light troops across the rivulet of Ligne, who then formed on the left bank. The position of Blucher's army was in some measure defective. The main body being drawn up on the heights, and the remainder posted in the villages below, the French artillery was enabled to range with destructive effect upon the reinforcements despatched during the murderous conflict raging in the contested villages.

The Prussians having been reinforced by the 2d brigade of General Ziethen's corps, were now vigorously attacked by the division of General Girard, who, supported by a portion of General Vandamme's corps, and his reserve cavalry, attempted to carry the heights towards Brie. Marshal Blucher, in order to avert the threatened danger, led on in person a furious attack against the French, and drove them back beyond the ravine. General Girard, one of the most gallant and intelligent of Napoleon's officers, was slain in this attack at the head of his division, the majority of which shared his fate, so destructive was the Prussian charge. Napoleon had in the mean time sent for Ney's reserve, posted at Frasnes; but before it could reach him, it was countermarched in consequence of the Marshal having received a check at Quatre-Bras.

Blucher now brought together masses of troops behind St. Amand, and Bonaparte determined to change his point of attack. His reserves, consisting principally of the imperial guard, had been at first directed to advance upon St. Amand, but were now ordered to co-operate in a general attack upon Ligny, which after a most determined resistance, was taken by the French. While this contest was going on, the French guards, supported by a heavy cavalry, rushed up the heights in the rear of Ligny. Blucher's reserves of infantry having been moved to St. Amand, there remained no other means of resisting this attack than by the employment of cavalry. The Prussian marshal accordingly placed himself at their head, and attempted, with chivalrous but unavailing gallantry, to repel the French. After an unsuccessful charge, his cavalry was overpowered and dispersed in confusion. In retreating before the vigorous pursuit of the French squadrons, Blucher's horse was struck by a cannon-shot, and he

himself was thrown on the ground, the hostile cavalry passing unconsciously over him. In the confusion of the fray he was unnoticed, and was luckily rescued by his own troops. The French infantry continued to gain ground; the imperial guard advanced with irresistible impetuosity, and Friant's grenadiers threatened the mill of Bussy, near Brie. In vain did the Prussian cavalry attempt to shake these superb masses of infantry; they were unable to destroy the squares formed to receive their attacks. Napoleon had now penetrated through the Prussian lines, and had thereby so disorganized their formation that there remained for Blucher no other resource than to make an orderly retreat. This was successfully accomplished. Brie was not evacuated by them until the morning of the 17th.

This battle, though unattended with any material consequences in itself, was contested with a determination, founded upon the most implacable hatred on both sides. The Prussians could not have forgotten the humiliating recollections of Jena, the destruction of their army, the subjugation of their country by Napoleon, and the part they were compelled to take in the invasion of Russia; they knew also the character of their enemy, and how little mercy they were to expect at his hands, in case of defeat. The French, on the other hand, were smarting at the recent discomfiture they had experienced, in which the Prussians had conspicuously assisted. The illusion of their glory had been dispelled by enemies whom they affected utterly to despise. But above all, the French soldier looked up to Napoleon with a devotion, with an enthusiasm of affection that elevated his feelings to the highest pitch of human energy.

In the course of the night the Prussian army fell back on Tilly and Gembloux. Their loss at Ligny, according to their own account, amounted to 14,000 men, and 15 pieces of cannon. The French official account, in the Moniteur, makes it reach to 15,000. On their own side, the French acknowledge a loss of 7000.

At the moment of the interview between the Duke of Wellington and Blucher, the force of the French before Quatre-Bras, was so insignificant, that there appeared to be no probability of a decided attack being made in that quarter. On his return, however, to the British position, about three o'clock in the afternoon, he found that a considerable body of French troops had been collected at Frasnes, preparatory to an attack which was made about half an hour afterwards by infantry and cavalry, supported by a heavy cannonade. The French had commenced their attack at five o'clock in the morning, by skirmishing with the troops of the Netherlands, under the Prince of Orange, and at first obtained some success. This desultory fight lasted till noon, without any more decided demonstrations on the part of the French. The Belgians were, however, losing ground, when, at two o'clock Sir Thomas Picton opportunely reached the scene

of action with the 5th English division, comprised of Sir James Kempt's and Sir Dennis Pack's British brigades and the 5th Hanoverian brigade, under Colonel Vinche.

"Sir James Kempt's brigade (28th, 32d, 79th, and 95th regiments) moved to the left of the position with the 3d battalion of the Royals, part of the brigade of Sir Dennis Pack, who, with the remainder of his brigade (42d, 44th, and 92d regiments), formed on the great Namur road, and in the corn-fields extending to the wood on the right. The 92d was formed in line in the ditch bordering the great road, and was of the greatest service in repelling an attack of the French cavalry, who daringly pursued the Brunswick hussars into the British line, after they had made an unsuccessful attack on the French cavalry."*

Sir Thomas Picton, as he approached the field with his division, had heard the continued and increasing fire kept up by the skirmishers, which made him push forward to the support of the Belgians, and by this means he succeeded in reaching Quatre-Bras before any other British force. Nearly at the same time, however, the first division of Brunswickers, led by the gallant duke, arrived to share with Picton and his soldiers the honour of arresting the progress of the French in this first stage to Waterloo.

The Prince of Orange was anxiously looking for the arrival of some of his allies, when he was gladdened by the spectacle of this reinforcement pouring forward with steady but quick steps to relieve his almost exhausted troops. Before half-past two in the afternoon, a formidable reinforcement had reached the field, namely, Picton's division, 6815; 1st division of Brunswick Oels, 5000; one regiment of Brunswick cavalry, containing about 900; and the 2d Belgian hussars, amounting to 1200 men.

The force which the French had now concentrated to attack this position amounted to about 40,000 men, under the intrepid Ney: the odds were therefore fearful; but the firmness of the allies was not shaken by the reported strength of their opponents. As the different regiments arrived on the ground, they instantly took up the posts to which they were directed by their respective commanders.

Immediately the French perceived that this additional force had taken the field, Ney moved down with two columns of infantry and a cloud of cavalry to the attack. The English and Brunswickers had but just taken up their ground, when they were exposed to a furious and galling fire from the immense park of artillery attached to this wing of the French army. The receding smoke showed the advancing columns rushing on to break the line of the allies: the brunt of this movement fell upon Picton's soldiers, and Sir Thomas Picton's 'superb divi-

* Captain Batty.

sion' was singly engaged with the French for nearly two hours. Every man fought with a desperation which no language can describe. Picton was himself amongst his soldiers, calling upon them to stand firm and receive the enemy with a steady front. A murderous conflict now commenced; a rolling discharge of musketry from the British line was answered with deadly rapidity and closeness by that of the French: the havoc was terrible; but Picton was in the midst, watching the progress of the fight; wherever death was thickest there could he be seen encouraging—exhorting the soldiers to be firm.

After the French infantry had been repulsed, and before the heavy smoke had cleared off, the cavalry came thundering on. The English were instantly formed into squares to receive them. Upon the steadiness and celerity with which this manœuvre was executed the safety of the men depended: then it was that Picton's calmness and penetration were conspicuous in watching and directing each movement; before the French cavalry was upon them, the squares were closed up.

Another furious onset was then made by the Lancers, which obliged General Kempt to take refuge in the square; but they again repulsed their assailants; and at that moment Sir Thomas Picton riding up, ordered them to advance, for the enemy were giving way. Picton led them to the charge himself, and they drove the French from their position with great loss.

In reference to this movement, and to the French cavalry having surrounded the British squares, Captain Kincaid also makes the following remarks: "This was a crisis in which, according to Bonaparte's theory, the victory was theirs by all the rules of war, for they had superior numbers both before and behind us: but the gallant old Picton, who had been trained in a different school, did not choose to confine himself to rules in these matters. Despising the force in his rear, he advanced, charged, and routed those in his front; which created such a panic amongst the others, that they galloped back through the intervals in his division, with no other object in view than their own safety."*

"The third English division, under General Alten, comprised of Sir C. Halket's British brigade, the second brigade of King's German Legion under Colonel Ompteda, and the first Hanoverian brigade under General Kielmansegge, arrived next on the field in time to sustain a fresh attack made by the French about four o'clock."† From the superior force of the French artillery, this division sustained its ground with great difficulty, and one regiment (the 69th) lost a colour. After suffering great loss, it succeeded in repelling the French from the positions they occupied at the Farm of Gemincourt, and the village of Pierremont. The French troops were still partly in possession

* Life of Sir Thomas Picton. † Captain Batty.

of the wood of Boss, which extends about a mile on the road from Quatre-Bras towards Frasnes. This favoured an attack on the right of the British position, which Marshal Ney directed to be made after having been repulsed on the left. At this critical moment, when the French had nearly succeeded in establishing their light troops on the great road of Nivelle, the division of guards under General Cooke, amounting to 4000 men, accompanied by two brigades of artillery, arrived, after a fatiguing march from Enghien, and essentially contributed to repel this attack. Exhausted as the men were from their long march, they were, nevertheless, instantly led into action. The second and third battalions of the first guards formed line, and with loud cheers entered the wood, which they cleared of the French in a few minutes. Their order, however, was necessarily broken by the irregularity of the ground, and, on emerging from the wood, they found themselves directly opposed to a body of French infantry prepared to receive them. Rushing forward without waiting to form in line, they succeeded in driving the French up the rising ground before them. During this contest, the artillery of both armies kept up an incessant and destructive cannonade. By a rapid charge of cavalry, the French endeavoured to cover their retreating infantry, whilst the guards still remained unsupported, and in some disorder. General Maitland therefore directed them to retreat into the wood, as all attempts to form squares appeared to be hopeless. Here they formed, and under its cover, opened a most galling fire on the French cavalry, which was compelled to fall back with great loss. This contest was renewed several times. Day was now drawing to a close, and Marshal Ney, having been foiled in all his efforts, retired to the heights before Frasnes, leaving Quatre-Bras in possession of the allies.

To the Duke of Wellington it has been imputed as a fault on this occasion, that there was not sufficient cavalry and artillery at Quatre-Bras. It is remarkable that no portion of either was with the reserve at Brussels. The loss to the allied army was very severe, amounting to 5000 men, among whom were numbered many brave officers. The gallant Duke of Brunswick was killed* at the head of his troops. Colonel Macara, of

* The gallant duke (Frederick William), was born in 1771, and was the fourth and youngest son of Duke Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick, (who was slain in the battle of Jena, and whose remains Napoleon would not suffer to be deposited with those of his ancestors). He embraced with ardour the military profession, and served in the Prussian army in 1792 and 1793, when he was twice wounded. He joined Blucher's corps in 1806, and was made prisoner with him at Lubeck. On the breaking out of the war between Austria and France in 1809, he raised a body of volunteers in Bohemia. The famous Major Schill had already perished at Stralsund, when the duke made an incursion into Saxony; he was, however, compelled by the King of Westphalia, to evacuate Leipsic and Dresden with his black hussars. Subsequently, he was forced to retreat to his native city, where he was closely pressed. In an action fought at Oelper, near Brunswick, the duke's horse was killed

the 42d, was severely wounded; and, whilst some of his men were conveying him to the rear, a party of French cavalry rode up, and atrociously murdered him and his faithful attendants. Colonel Cameron, of the 92d, fell whilst bravely leading on his regiment; and, at the close of the day, Colonels Askew, Stuart, and Townsend, were all severely wounded, at the head of the last attack of the guards, which decided the fate of the day.

The loss of the French was supposed to have been much greater than that of the allies; but the policy of Napoleon would not allow of any returns being made,—in fact, he boasted that he had gained a victory,—that the vanquished English were flying before his victorious soldiers.

"His bulletins announced two victories of the most dazzling description as the work of the 16th. Blucher would be heard of no more, they said; and Wellington, confounded and amazed, was already within the jaws of ruin."*

"The British had maintained possession of the field of Quatre-Bras, because the Duke of Wellington conceived that Blucher would be able to make his ground good at Ligny, and was consequently desirous that the allied armies should retain the line of communication which they had occupied in the morning. But the Prussians, evacuating all the villages which they held in the neighbourhood of Ligny, had concentrated their forces to retreat upon the river Dyle, in the vicinity of Wavre. By this retrograde movement, they were placed about six leagues to the rear of their former position, and had united themselves to Bulow's division, which had not been engaged in the affair of Ligny. Blucher had effected this retreat, not only without pursuit by the French, but without their knowing for some time in what direction he had gone. This doubt respecting Blucher's movements, occasioned an uncertainty and delay in those of the French, which were afterwards attended with the very worst consequences to them."† It cannot be doubted that there was some error in Napoleon's calculation as to the movements of the Prussians, and the consequent directions given to Grouchy by him. Napoleon accuses Grouchy, according to the relation by Gourgaud, of being the cause of the delay in pursuing the Prussians. "Had Grouchy been at Wavre on the 17th," says Napoleon, "and in communication with my right, Blucher would not have dared to detach any portion against me on the

under him, being the *eleventh* he had lost in a similar manner since his retreat from Saxony. After many narrow escapes, he reached Heligoland with part of his corps, and thence embarked for England. There he was received with great distinction, and his troops were immediately taken into English pay; the British parliament generously granting him a pension of 6000*l.* a year until he should be able to return to his hereditary dominions. Though idolized by his soldiers, he does not appear to have been so popular a sovereign as his father.

* Life of Sir Thomas Picton.

† Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon.

18th, or if he had, I would have destroyed it." From this charge, the marshal triumphantly defended himself. He states that he endeavoured to confer with the Emperor on the night of the 16th, when the Prussians commenced their retreat; but that he could not find him until he returned from Fleurus; and that in reply to his request for reinforcements of infantry, in order that he might be able to follow Blucher, he could obtain no other answer than that he would receive orders on the following day. The marshal went again to head-quarters, on the morning of the 17th, being impressed with the great importance of pursuing the Prussians closely, but was obliged to follow Bonaparte to the field of battle of the preceding day, before he could receive his commands. No orders were given to Grouchy till near noon, when Napoleon suddenly resolved to send him with an army of 32,000 men, not upon Wavre, for it was not known by him what direction the Prussians had taken, but with instructions to pursue Blucher, wherever he might have retreated. Grouchy also asserts that the troops of Girard and Vandamme, which formed a portion of his army, were not in marching order until three o'clock. The first orders given to the marshal for the pursuit, according to his statement, were not received by him then until about noon, on the 17th, and the army was not ready to move till three hours afterwards. The marshal blames Excelmans and Girard, who commanded under him. When he commenced his march, he was uncertain which route to take. The first information he received as to the movements of the Prussian army, led him to suppose they were not retreating upon Wavre, but towards Namur, which induced him to press the pursuit in the latter direction, and occasioned the loss of some hours. From all these concurring reasons, the marshal shows distinctly, that he could not have attained Wavre on the evening of the 17th of June, because he had no orders to go there till noon, nor troops ready to march till three o'clock."*

It was late on the 17th when Marshal Grouchy halted at Gembloux, in consequence of learning the route which the main body of the Prussian army had taken. From this place, he sent an aide-de-camp to inform Napoleon of his operations, and to acquaint him that the Prussians had retired in two columns by Sauveniere and Sart-à-Walhain. On the next morning, having ascertained, beyond a doubt, the line of Blucher's retreat, Grouchy advanced in pursuit towards Wavre. Neither Napoleon nor Grouchy possessed any foreknowledge of the motions of Blucher, which could lead them to suspect Wavre to be the point on which he was retreating. It was not till he found the English determined to give battle at Waterloo, and the Prussians

* Sir Walter Scott.

resolved to maintain their communication with them, that the plan of operations determined upon between Wellington and Blucher, to form a junction at that village, became manifest to Napoleon, who found it desirable to accuse Grouchy of delay rather than to admit that he himself had been outmanœuvred. After Grouchy's departure in pursuit of the Prussians, Napoleon moved towards Frasnes, and united himself with Marshal Ney, with the view of making a combined attack on the Duke of Wellington, whom he still supposed to remain at Quatre-Bras.

The evening of the 16th was cold and wet, but the fatigue which the English troops had undergone in their long march, and hard-fought action, rendered the approach of night, wretched as it was, a desirable relief. At daybreak the next morning they were called to arms by some skirmishing at the outposts. It was at first supposed that the French were about to repeat the attempt in which they had failed the preceding day, but this alarm was soon dissipated. About nine o'clock a considerable change was made in the disposition of the British troops, who retired in three columns an hour afterwards, by way of Genappe and Nivelles, towards Waterloo, leaving the cavalry, which arrived in the evening of the 16th, as a rear-guard, to occupy the ground, so as to prevent the French from perceiving the retreat of the main body of the British army. About noon, the French advanced in columns of attack, expecting to find the British in position. As the British infantry retired, the cavalry gradually followed, watching the movements of the advancing French. This retrograde movement was conducted in excellent order. At Genappe an affair of cavalry took place, where the 7th British hussars attacked a French regiment of lancers unsuccessfully, as it debouched from the town, and a second attack by the same regiment was attended with no better success. The French lancers, formed in a hollow way caused by the nature of the road, presented an immovable barrier of pikes, and, from the steepness of the banks, there was no approaching them in flank. The Earl of Uxbridge, seeing a more favourable opportunity, brought up the heavy cavalry, and, by a decisive charge, overthrew the advanced guard of the French, thus giving time to the infantry to take up its ground. A violent thunder-storm passed directly over both armies at the latter part of the afternoon, and the rain fell in such torrents, that the fatigue of marching was greatly increased. At seven o'clock the artillery of the French advanced guard fired a few shots down the great road upon the British, but a few British guns being brought up soon silenced those of the French. The allied army bivouacked on the ground it occupied, principally open corn land, the rye in many places growing to the height of seven feet.

"As the British troops arrived in position, in front of Mont St. Jean, they took up the ground they were to maintain early in the evening. The weather began to be very severe at this period. The whole French army under Napoleon, with the exception of the two corps under Marshal Grouchy, 32,000 men and 108 guns, despatched in pursuit of the Prussians on the road to Wavre, took up a position immediately in front; and after some cannonading both armies remained opposite to each other during the night, the rain falling in torrents. The Duke of Wellington had already communicated with Marshal Blucher, who promised to come to his support with the whole of his army on the morning of the 18th. It was consequently decided upon to cover Brussels, the preservation of which was of such importance, by maintaining the position of Mont St. Jean. The intention of the allied chiefs, if they should not be attacked on the 18th, was to attack the French on the 19th."*

In our account of the battle of Ligny we have stated that Blucher nearly escaped being made prisoner when his horse was struck by a cannon-shot while gallantly leading, in person, the Prussian lancers against the French cuirassiers.† The horse he rode upon this occasion was a gray charger, given to him by the Prince Regent of England: he fell just at the moment when his cavalry turned to fly from the French. "Now," said he to his aide-de-camp, "I am indeed lost!" He was, for the moment, protected by Count Nostitz, who stood by his side to prevent his being noticed, while the mass of the French cavalry passed on. Before, however, the marshal had been extricated from his dying charger, the Prussians rallied, and turned upon their pursuers, when the whole of the retreating troops again passed close by the spot where Blucher was lying. Upon the Prussians coming up, Count Nostitz, with the aid of a soldier, placed the almost insensible marshal on a trooper's horse, and hurried him from the field.

During the confusion consequent upon the night retreat of the Prussians after the battle of Ligny, all appearance of order was lost. Luckily Blucher soon rallied from the effect of his fall. The toil-worn frame of the veteran had been severely shaken, but his mind retained its usual vigour and elasticity. General Gneisenau found him in a cottage by the road-side during the night, already devising plans for another contest. "Hard blows these, Gneisenau," observed Blucher; "but we must just pay them back." It was his unyielding resolution, that, by animating those who were immediately about his person, communicated itself to the soldiers, and thus re-

* Capt. Pringle.

† We are indebted for the facts here stated to an able article in the "United Service Journal."

stored their confidence in the course of a single day. On the morning of the 17th, he issued a general order, detailing the loss of the battle of Ligny: in it he severely censured the cavalry, for want of coolness and intrepidity, and required them to be in readiness to wipe away the stain the defeat had brought upon them. The artillery he also reprimanded, and ordered them to advance in future in a more resolute manner, and not so hastily to withdraw their guns when attacked; "for," said he, "it is better to lose a battery than endanger a position by limbering up too soon." To the infantry he addressed great praise, and concluded with these energetic words: "I shall immediately lead you against the enemy; we shall beat him, because it is our duty to do so!"

Marshal Blucher expressed his dislike to co-operate with the Russian commanders, by whom his plans had been often disconcerted, and he had no confidence in the Austrian cabinet; but he was particularly anxious to fight in conjunction with the English army, feeling that his own troops acting with those of Wellington could not fail to be invincible.*

* For the following sketch we are indebted to Dr. Lieber, a Prussian gentleman, who served in a volunteer rifle corps in the army of Blucher:—

"On the morning of the 15th the drum was beat to arms. We marched the whole day and the whole night. In the morning we arrived not far from the battle-field of Ligny: we halted. Before us was a rising ground, up which we saw innumerable troops ascending the plain with flying colours and their bands playing. It was a sight a soldier loves to look at. Orders for charging were given; the pressure of the coming battle was felt more and more. Our whole company consisted of very young men, nearly all lads, who were impatient for battle.

"We marched up the sloping plain, and, by one o'clock in the afternoon, arrived on the battle-ground. Our destiny was first a trying reserve; the enemy's brass played hard upon us; shell-shots fell around us, and took several men out of our column. We were commanded to lie down; I piqued myself on not making any motion when balls or shells were flying over us. Behind us stood some cavalry.

"At length, at about two o'clock, an aide-de-camp of the general of our brigade galloped up, and said to the colonel, 'Your column must throw the enemy out of the left wing of the village.' 'Riflemen!' said the colonel, immediately, 'you are young, I am afraid too ardent; calmness makes the soldier, hold yourselves in order;' and turning round, gave the word to march. The dull half-suffocated drum, from within the deep column, was now heard beating delicious music. At last, all was to be realized for which we had left our homes, had suffered so many fatigues, had so ardently longed for. The bugle gave the signal to halt; we were in front of the village of Ligny. The signal was given for the riflemen to march out to the right and left of the column, and to attack.

"Our ardour now led us entirely beyond the proper limits; the section to which I belonged ran madly, without firing, towards the enemy, who retreated. My hindman fell. I rushed on, hearing well, but not heeding, the urgent calls of our old sergeant. The village was intersected with thick hedges, from behind which the grenadiers fired upon us, but we drove them from one to the other.

"The village of Ligny was four times taken and retaken. The last time we had to march in a hollow way, which leads across the centre of the place, and where the struggle had been the hottest all the afternoon. Three or four

layers of dead and living, men and horses, impeded the progress of the soldiers, who were obliged to wade in the blood of their comrades, or to trample upon wounded enemies, imploring them to give some assistance, but to whom they were obliged to turn a deaf ear, whatever might be their feelings. This last attempt to regain the village, when I was called upon to assist in getting a cannon over the mangled bodies of comrades or enemies, leaping in agony when the heavy wheel crossed over them, has impressed itself with indelible horror upon my mind.

"Towards evening the cavalry began to press us more and more. To regain the village was impossible. Our troops were thinned to the utmost; it became dark; the bugle blew to retreat, when horse-grenadiers approached to charge us. The signal was given to form heaps. It was now, when retreating, that our men began, for the first time, to show uneasiness. The colonel observed it by the irregular *beat* of the gun, when he commanded 'Ready.' But, as if he were on the drilling-ground, he said, 'Your beat is bad; have we drilled so long for nothing? Down with your guns. Now, Ready!' and every man was calm again. The cavalry charged, but we received them according to the rule, 'No firing until you see the white of their eyes;' and they were repelled.

"Of our whole company, which, on entering the engagement, mustered about 150 strong, not more than from twenty to thirty combatants remained. We marched all night. On the 17th we attempted twice to go to bivouac, but were twice disturbed by the enemy. Suffering greatly from hunger, we made a meal of raw pork, having met with a hog.

"Towards evening I was sent with some others to get whatever might be obtained in the shape of victuals, from the surrounding villages. It was a sad charge! In one house, stripped of every thing, we found a young woman with an infant, by the side of her father, who had been beaten and wounded by some marauding enemies. She asked us for a piece of bread; we had none. We gave her some potatoes which we had just found, but she said she had nothing to cook them with. We received this day the Order of the Army, in which Blucher spoke in high terms of the conduct of the infantry during the battle—our regiment was singled out by name.

"We marched a great part of the night. Rain fell in torrents—it had rained the whole of the 17th, and the roads were very bad. Early in the morning of the 18th, we found part of our regiment from which we had been separated. It was a touching scene, to see the soldiers rushing to each other, to find comrades whom we had believed to be dead or missing. Our men were exhausted, but old Blucher allowed us no rest.

"We began our march early on the 18th. As we passed the Marshal, wrapped up in a cloak and leaning against a hill, our soldiers began to hurrah, for it was always a delight to them to see the 'Old one,' as he was called. 'Be quiet, my lads,' said he, 'hold your tongues—time enough after the victory is gained.' He issued this morning his famous order, which ended by assuring the army that he would prove the possibility of beating, two days after a retreat, and with inferior numbers.

"We entered the battle with Blucher in the afternoon: it was again our lot to stand unengaged for some time in sight of the battle; we saw some brilliant charges of our cavalry putting to rout French squares. Not far from us stood the hussars, commanded by Colonel Colomb. An aide-de-camp came with the order to charge a square. 'Volunteers, advance!' called the colonel—when the whole regiment, as if by magic, advanced some steps. Numerous wounded passed by us while we stood there inactive. Marshal Blucher rode by, and when he observed our uniform, said, 'Ah, my Colbergers, wait, wait a moment, I'll give you presently something to do.'"

CHAPTER XLII.

1815.

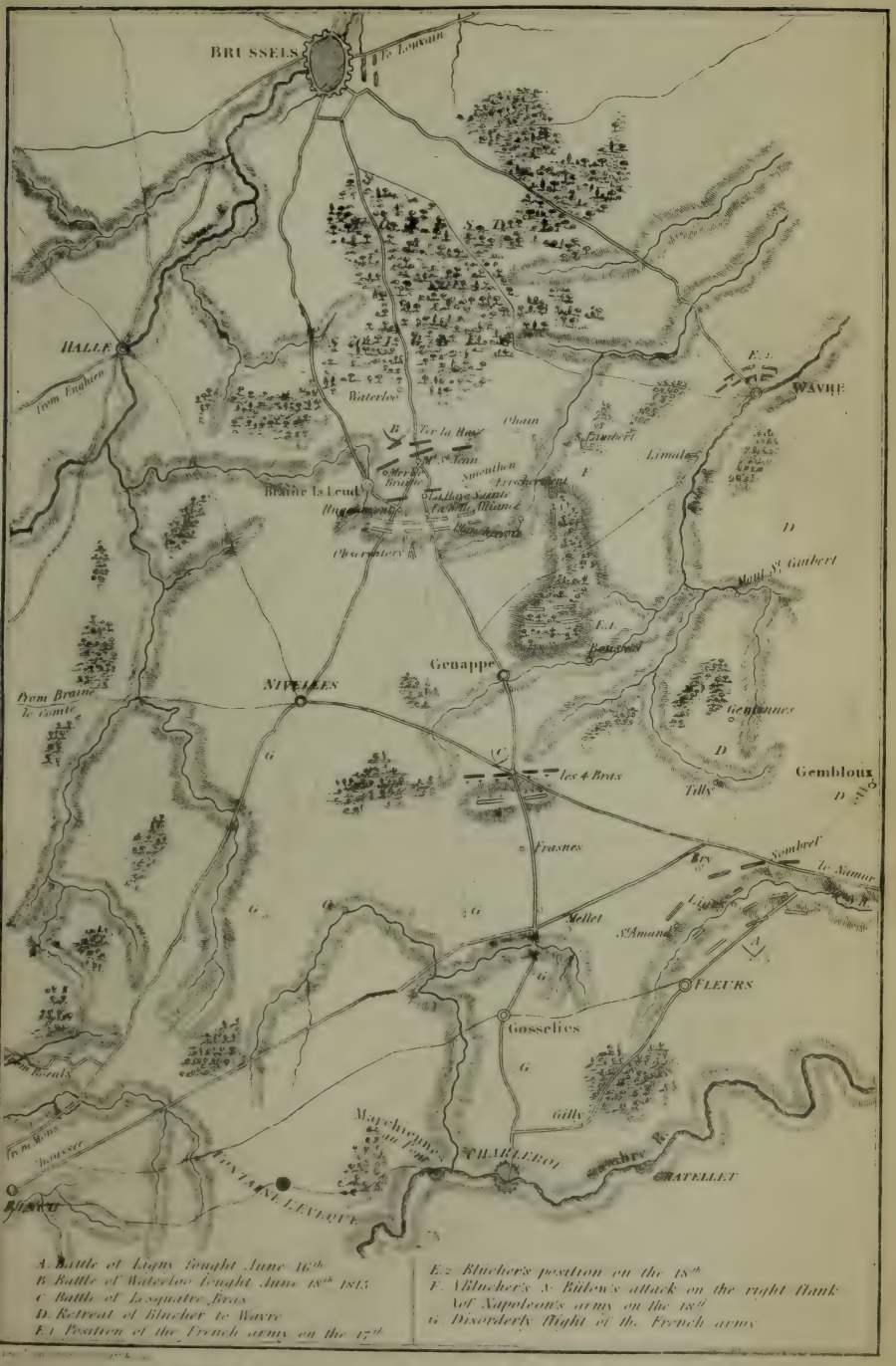
THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO

THE most important struggle of modern times was now about to commence—a struggle which was to decide the fate of Europe. Napoleon and Wellington at length drew near each other, and the gaze of the civilized world was fixed in expectation of the awful encounter. They had never met—the military reputation of each was of the highest kind—the career of both had been marked by signal victories—Napoleon had carried his triumphant legions across the stupendous Alps, over the north of Italy, throughout Prussia, Austria, Russia, and even to the base of the Pyramids; while Wellington, who had been early distinguished in India, had won immortal renown in the Peninsula, where he had defeated, one after another, the favourite generals of Napoleon. He was now to make trial of his prowess against their master.

Among the most remarkable events of modern times, the battle of Waterloo stands conspicuous. Whatever may be thought of the measures adopted by the Allied Powers—of the military talents of the various generals—whatever opinion may be entertained with respect to the advantages or disadvantages which resulted to Europe from it—the importance of the battle is unquestionable. This sanguinary encounter, in fact, stopped the torrent of the ruthless and predatory ambition of the French, by which so many countries had been desolated. With the peace which immediately succeeded it confidence was restored to Europe. The fierce and reckless beings who composed Napoleon's immense masses, viewed with evil eyes the return to peace, as it took from them their occupations, and reduced them to insignificance. But not merely to the soldiery, who lost all chance of future plunder, was the consequent tranquillity hateful; it was equally so to the numerous ambitious men who, during the continual excitement of the great European contest, hoped, by intrigue or other unworthy means, to obtain sudden distinctions, wealth, or power. This great battle, then, was fraught with im-

BATTLES of WATERLOO and LIGNY,

fought 16th & 18th June 1815.



portant consequences, not to states alone—it annihilated the wild and selfish projects of these military and political anarchists.

No less than 310,000 men were marching to the plains of Fleurus on the morning of the 16th. The summer sun shone brightly on forest and on pasture and corn-land, rich in the promise of abundant harvest, and reposing in peace and loveliness. How changed was the scene on the succeeding morning! Scorched forests, and trampled plain, smoking ruins of cottages and desolated villages, alone remained !*

The night of the 17th was more wretched as to the state of the weather, than that which preceded it. The ground was trampled into mud, and, though in the middle of June, the temperature before dawn was intensely cold. From the very heavy fall of rain, it was found difficult to maintain any fires. Great part of the French army had passed the night in the village of Genappe, and Napoleon had established his quarters at the farm-house, called Caillou, near La Belle Alliance. As the morning advanced, the weather became more favourable, and the French made preparations for the attack. About ten o'clock, they began to move down to their several positions in the following order: The right wing, under Count d'Erlon, consisting of four divisions of infantry, was drawn up in two lines, and the central direction of the line was between La Belle Alliance on the left, and the village of Frichermont on the right; being thus nearly parallel to the left wing of the allied army. General Jacqueminot's division of light cavalry was stationed on the extreme right of Count d'Erlon's infantry. The left wing, under Count Reille, consisted of six brigades of infantry, also drawn up in two lines with La Belle Alliance on the right, and its left inclining towards the wood of Hougomont. Pieré's light cavalry was formed on the left of Reille's infantry. These two corps, with their cavalry, formed the first line of the French army. The second line consisted of cavalry. In rear of the centre, and on the left of the great road, were two divisions of the 6th corps, under Count Lobau, forming one great column of reserve, while on the right of the same road were stationed two divisions of cavalry. The Imperial Guard, cavalry and infantry, constituting the grand reserve to the whole line of battle, was formed on a third line on the heights in rear of the position. This admirable disposition of the French order of battle presented resources to its general on every point, from the facility it afforded him, in the event of disorder, of succouring his infantry, or of promptly following up any advantage he might gain.

The allied army was disposed in the following order: The corps of the Prince of Orange, forming the centre of the line, was posted on some high ground—its right in the rear of the farm of Hougomont; its left behind La Haye Sainte. These two posts were occupied by light troops. Lord Hill's corps

* United Service Journal.

formed the right wing between Merke Braine and Hougomont. General Picton commanded the left wing, which took up a position between the road from Genappe and Ter-la-Haye, through which village a communication was kept up with the Prussian army by means of patrols. The cavalry, under the command of the Earl of Uxbridge, was principally stationed in rear of the left wing, the hussar brigade being on the extreme left of the whole line. Major-general Ponsonby's heavy cavalry was posted immediately in rear of Picton's division. The artillery was judiciously planted in various parts of the line. With this order of battle the Duke of Wellington determined to receive the enemy's assault, it having been arranged that Blucher should aid him with part of his army, under General Bulow, whose arrival was expected about the middle of the day.

The position of Mont St. Jean, thus taken up by the British army,* was situated about a mile, or a mile and a half from a similar height on which the French army placed itself. It was divided from the opposite ascent by a valley into which there was a very gentle and regular slope, so that the whole of the ground within cannon-shot could be readily seen. Two great roads nearly perpendicular to the line of the army, and two smaller roads in a line with the army, and behind it, gave every facility for a free communication for troops and guns. On another ridge about 500 yards behind the first lines of the British, the second lines were stationed, unseen from the French position, and between the two ridges a valley gave cover to any movement that it might be requisite to make. The flanks were sufficiently protected by the possession of the village of Braine-la-Leude on the right, and La Haye and Ohain on the left, as well as by the forest of Soignies in the rear, upon which both flanks were thrown back.

The smallest reflection upon this position will at once refute the objections of those who have blamed the Duke of Wellington for his choice in occupying it. The only one of these objections that it is necessary to examine is that which states that, in case of defeat, the position left no means of retreat, and that the English army would, in such circumstances, have been utterly destroyed. Now, in any case, it must be very difficult to predicate what would happen in certain contingencies; but in the present circumstances, there does not appear to be any doubt that under such an unfortunate occurrence the British army would have been able to effect a retreat without any extraordinary difficulty. If its first position had been carried, the village

* The British cavalry and artillery were superb and magnificent; superior, perhaps, to any force of the kind which the world had ever seen; and Marshal Blucher, who reviewed them a short time before the opening of the campaign, declared that he had not given the world credit for containing so many fine men. The infantry, who, after all, carried away the foremost honours of the day, were inferior in point of men; there were many battalions composed entirely of lads and recruits, who had never seen a shot fired: a great part of the flower of the British infantry, the victors of so many fields, had not arrived from America.

of St. Jean in the rear, at the junction of the two great roads before mentioned, would have been an excellent centre of support for a second position, from which it would have been equally difficult to dislodge the British. The position was also sufficiently in advance of the forest to give a free approach from every part of the field to the great road which led into it, and another farm-house and wood immediately behind Mont St. Jean would have enabled the army to keep the road open, so as to afford sufficient leisure to allow all the guns to file into the forest.

But even if the British troops had been driven into the forest in a state of rout, they would there have found themselves in comparative safety. The forest consists of tall trees without underwood, almost every where passable for men and horses. In such a position, the practicability of maintaining themselves against the French army must be evident to any one who considers the extreme difficulty of forcing infantry from a wood which cannot be turned; and it is confirmed by a remark of the Duke of Wellington, made in conversation with a friend—"They could never have so beaten us but that we could have made good the wood against them."

The chief strength of the position of Mont St. Jean, was given by the two farms in front: Hougomont and La Haye Sainte. These farms lay on the slope of the valley, about 1500 yards apart. Both were calculated for containing troops, and Hougomont comprised an extent of gardens and enclosures, capable of containing a force sufficient to make it an important post. No columns of the French could pass between them without being exposed to a flank fire, and this circumstance gave the principal advantage to the English position, which would otherwise have possessed little superiority over that of the French, except the loss to which the latter must unavoidably be exposed in advancing in column upon a line already fixed.

The army, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, amounted, according to Captain Batty, to about 55,000 men, of whom 28,000 were British. Another estimate, which includes outposts, &c., made by an officer of the British army, gives the following numbers:

"The allied army in front of the village of Waterloo (June 18, 1815) consisted of 81 battalions, 28 regiments of cavalry, and 138 pieces of artillery. Of these, 25 battalions, 15 regiments of cavalry, and 72 guns, were British; 8 battalions, 4 regiments of cavalry, and 18 pieces of artillery, belonged to the German Legion; 9 battalions, and 1 regiment of cavalry, with 12 guns, were Hanoverian; 9 battalions, 1 regiment of cavalry, and 12 pieces of ordnance, Brunswick; 22 battalions, 7 regiments of cavalry, and 24 guns, Dutch and Belgic; and 3 battalions of Nassau troops, making a total of 50,500 infantry, and 10,250 cavalry. A division of 4 British and 9 Hanoverian battalions, with 18 guns, were, with a corps under Prince Frederick of

Orange, in front of Halle, about eight miles from the field of battle, which were not engaged. The French force present at Waterloo may be calculated at 65,000 infantry, and 17,000 cavalry, with 250 pieces of artillery. Napoleon crossed the Sambre with 136,000 men; but from these are to be deducted Grouchy's corps of 36,000 men, exclusive of casualties. The Prussian force, which arrived towards the end of the battle, may be estimated at 35,000; but of these only a portion was engaged."

A detailed French account of the number of Napoleon's troops engaged at Waterloo, which will be found at the end of the present chapter, by the Emperor's ex-secretary, M. Fleury de Chaboulon, gives a total of 67,100 men of all arms. This number is certainly somewhat below the mark. From a comparison of various statements, it seems likely that the French army consisted of rather more than 70,000 effective men, and 240 guns.

The morning of the 18th, and part of the forenoon, were passed by the French in a state of supineness, for which it was difficult to account. The rain had certainly retarded their movements, more particularly that of bringing the artillery into position; yet it was observed, that this had been accomplished at an early hour. In Grouchy's publication, we find a reason which may have caused this delay; namely, that Napoleon's ammunition had been so much exhausted in the preceding contests, that there was only a supply with the army for an action of eight hours. Bonaparte states, that it was necessary to wait until the ground was sufficiently dried, to enable the cavalry and artillery to manœuvre;* however, in such a soil, a few hours could make very little difference, particularly as a drizzling rain continued all the morning, and indeed after the action had commenced. The heavy fall of rain on the night of the 17th, was no doubt more disadvantageous to the French than to the troops under Lord Wellington; the latter were in position, and had few movements to make; whilst the French columns, and particularly the cavalry, were much fatigued and impeded by the state of the ground, which, with the trampled corn, caused them to advance more slowly and kept them longer under fire. On the other hand, the same causes delayed the Prussians in their junction, which they had promised to effect about noon.†

Soon after eleven,‡ the battle commenced by the advance of the French, under Jerome Bonaparte, upon Hougomont, which was occupied by some Nassau and Brunswick troops,

* Montholon. † Capt. Pringle.

‡ Accounts differ as to the precise period at which the battle commenced. The British official account states the time to have been ten o'clock; but Colonel Mac Kinnon, who was with the guards at Hougomont, has a precise recollection that the first gun was fired at the time we have mentioned in our text.

and by the light companies of the English guards, under Colonel Macdonell; and the first gun fired was from an English battery. This made a gap, for a moment, in the head of the advancing column. A tremendous cannonade along the whole French line, from upwards of 200 guns, supported this attack. Napoleon's rapid and eagle glance at once discovered the great importance of the post of Hougomont, which was, in fact, the key to the English position. He accordingly directed his first efforts against it, and persevered in them unceasingly throughout the day. As these attacks were distinct from the other operations simultaneously going forward, we think we cannot do better than narrate the occurrences at this important spot during the action, for which we are indebted to an eye-witness (Colonel Mac Kinnon, of the Coldstream Guards). This gallant officer states, that—

"Shortly after the action had commenced, the tirailleurs drove the Nassau battalion and the company of Hanoverian Yagers through the wood to the rear of the chateau. This attack was repulsed by the two companies of the second brigade. The French were fast closing round, when Macdonell charged and drove them back on their advancing columns. These attempts were vigorously repeated for an hour and a half, but each time they failed.

"About one o'clock a cart of ammunition, which had been sent for early in the day, was brought into the farm-yard of Hougomont, and proved most seasonable. The men had only time to fill their pouches, when a discharge of artillery suddenly burst upon them, mingled with the shouts of a column rushing on to a fresh attack. A cloud of tirailleurs pushed through the wood and corn-fields: they were aimed at with fatal certainty from the loopholes, windows, and summit of the building. But the French eventually compelled the few men that remained outside to withdraw into the chateau by the rear gate. In the mean time, the French redoubled their efforts against it, and the fire of the immediate defenders of that point for a moment ceased. The gate was then forced. At this critical moment, Macdonell rushed to the spot with the officers and men nearest at hand, and not only expelled the assailants, but re-closed the gate. The French, from their overwhelming numbers, again entered the yard, when the guards retired to the house, and kept up from the windows such a destructive fire, that the French were driven out, and the gate once more was closed.

"General Foy having chased the Nassau troops before him, passed through the wood and surrounded the chateau. All attempts to rally these men proving fruitless, Lieutenant-Colonel Mac Kinnon with the grenadiers and first company moved to the support of the place, and the French were forced back. Lieutenant-Colonel Acheson then joined: the whole followed in pursuit and entered the wood, where they were received with an

incessant discharge of small arms. Colonel Woodford left the seventh and eighth companies in the position for the protection of the colours, and brought down the rest of the battalion. The third and fourth companies of the 3d guards were also sent to Hougomont under Lieutenant-Colonel Home, and occupied the hollow way near the entrance of the wood; these were succeeded by other detachments of equal strength from the same regiment.

"On the retreat of the Nassau troops, Lord Saltoun, with the light companies of the 1st brigade, was again ordered to Hougomont, and recovered the orchard, and also part of the wood in its front; the latter, however, there was no possibility of holding in opposition to the vast superiority of the French troops. Lord Saltoun, therefore, made occasional sallies from the orchard: his orders were, in the event of its being forced, to retire into the chateau; but he defended it against every attempt.

"The entrance of the wood was attacked in the most gallant manner by the Coldstream Guards. The companies under Colonel Woodford cheered, and after charging, opened a fire, but the powerful resistance they met with could not be overcome. This officer therefore retired, and entered Hougomont.

"Afterwards the French exerted themselves to carry the orchard. They twice got possession of the hedge, but gained no further ground, as the defenders were firm, and the troops on the garden-wall which overlooked the orchard, poured in a cross fire and occasioned them severe loss.

"A detachment from the 3d guards, and the grenadiers of that corps, with fifty Hanoverian riflemen, under Lord Saltoun, bravely charged a howitzer, but did not succeed. This, however, had the effect of stopping any thing further on that side, and the French contented themselves with firing from behind a ditch which ran nearly parallel to the hedge and ditch in front of the orchard.

"At two o'clock, Lord Saltoun was relieved by Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer of the 3d guards, who arrived with reinforcements. The 3d guards had been moved for the purpose of support by detachments of two companies at intervals, and after Colonel Woodford entered Hougomont with the Coldstream, they occupied the orchard, under Colonel Hepburn.

"The French soldiers were undaunted in their attacks; but Hougomont was defended with a calm and stubborn gallantry, that alone could have enabled so small a force to resist the repeated and fierce assaults of the great force, consisting of nearly the whole 2d French corps. The cross discharge from the artillery was incessant: the bursting of shells set part of the building in flames, and as the fire extended to the chapel and stables, many of the wounded soldiers of the Coldstream perished. The guards, nevertheless, at no time exceeding 2000 men, maintained the post amidst the terrible conflagration within, and the

murderous fire of the attacking troops from without. When the contention terminated, the French dead lay piled round the chateau, in the wood, and every avenue leading to it."*

During the early part of the day the action was almost entirely confined to this part of the line, except a galling fire of artillery along the centre, which was vigorously returned by the English guns. This fire gradually extended towards the left, and some demonstrations of an attack of cavalry were made by the French.

From the exposed position of part of the English troops on the sloping ground, they suffered very severely from the French artillery; and the Duke of Wellington thought it advisable to move them back about 150 to 200 yards to the reverse slope of the hill. The artillery in consequence remained in advance, that they might see into the valley. This movement was made between one and two o'clock, by the duke in person; it was general along the front or centre of the position, on the height to the right of La Haye Sainte.

This movement withdrew a considerable portion of the allied troops from the sight of the French, and appears to have been considered by them as the beginning of a retreat: Napoleon determined in consequence to attack our left centre, in order to get possession of the farm of Mont St. Jean, or of the village itself, which commanded the point where the two roads met. Accordingly Count d'Erlon moved forward with his whole corps, supported by large bodies of cavalry, and preceded by a tremendous cannonade. The English infantry were formed into squares to receive the cuirassiers. The French cavalry being in advance of their infantry on the left of the attack, the Duke of Wellington ordered the English life-guards to charge them. The cuirassiers were driven back on their own position, where the *chaussée*, being cut into the rising ground, left steep banks on either side. In this confined space, they fought at sword's length for some minutes, until some light artillery was brought down from the heights, upon which the British cavalry returned to its position.

Count d'Erlon's infantry, meanwhile, advanced beyond La Haye Sainte, which at this time they did not attack. As the French drew near, a Belgian brigade of infantry stationed in front, fell back in confusion, and the French columns instantly occupied the height. Sir Thomas Picton, perceiving this, immediately moved up General Pack's brigade, and opened a fire upon the French columns as they took possession of the vantage-ground they had just gained. Without waiting for the English charge of bayonets, the French infantry began to hesitate when the latter approached within thirty yards. At this moment, Ponsonby's brigade of heavy dragoons wheeling round

* Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, by Colonel Mac Kinnon.

the infantry, took the French in flank. An immediate panic spread amongst them, and, throwing down their arms, they ran away in all directions to avoid the sabres of the cavalry.* Many were killed, and two eagles, with two thousand prisoners, taken. But the English cavalry pursued their success too far; they were fired upon by another column, and being at the same time attacked by a fresh body of French cavalry, they were driven back with much loss.

General Ponsonby, who commanded the heavy dragoons, and Sir Thomas Picton, who led on his division to repel this attack, were both killed.†

* Ponsonby's brigade which effected this brilliant charge, consisted of the Royal Dragoons, the Greys, and the Enniskillens. The attack was made most judiciously, for no sooner did he see the French infantry closely engaged, than he led his brigade up the slope and passed through the intervals of the British squares. Shrill and wild from the Highland ranks sounded the mountain-pipe, mingled with shouts of "Scotland for ever!" when the soldiers of the Scottish regiments saw the Greys arriving to their aid. The horsemen as they advanced replied to the spirit-stirring cheer, and like the avalanche, loosened by sudden and mighty effort from Alpine cliff, the whole of the gallant band burst at once upon the foe. The effect was tremendous. The four shapeless columns were instantly broken into fragments and trodden under hoof. As the tempest swept on, small parties of men who had here and there escaped untouched, others who had only been overthrown, and hundreds who had sunk down before the fury of the onset, ran wildly about the field, scarcely knowing where to seek safety; many rushed in upon the British infantry and surrendered.—*United Service Journal.*

† The following particulars connected with the death of Sir Thomas Picton, will be read with melancholy interest:

"The French columns were marching close up to the hedge; the English advanced to meet them, and the muzzles of their muskets almost touched. Picton ordered Sir James Kempt's brigade forward; they bounded over the hedge, and were received with a murderous volley. A frightful struggle then ensued; the English rushed with fury upon their opponents, not stopping to load, but trusting solely to the bayonet to do its deadly work. The French fire had, however, fearfully thinned this first line, and they were fighting at least six to one. Picton, therefore, ordered General Pack's brigade to advance. With the exhilarating cry of "Charge! Hurra! hurra!" he placed himself at their head, and led them forward. They returned his cheer as they followed him with a cool determination, which, in the words of the Spanish chief Alava, 'appalled the enemy.'

"The general kept at the head of the line, stimulating it by his own example. According to the Duke of Wellington's despatch, 'this was one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position.' To defeat it was therefore of vital importance to the success of the day. Picton knew this, and doubtless felt that his own presence would tend greatly to inspire his men with confidence. He was looking along his gallant line, waving his sword, when a ball struck him on the temple, and he fell back upon his horse—dead. Captain Tyler, seeing him fall, immediately dismounted and ran to his assistance: with the aid of a soldier he lifted him off his horse; but all assistance was vain—his noble spirit had fled.

"The rush of war passed on, the contending hosts had met, and none could be idle at such a moment. His body was therefore placed beneath a tree, by which it could readily be found when the fight was done.

"When the sanguinary struggle had ceased, and the victorious English were called back to the field of battle, leaving the Prussians to pursue the enemy, Captain Tyler went in search of the body of his old general. He found it easily.

After the French cuirassiers had formed again, they returned to the attack with strong reinforcements, and made several desperate attacks upon the English infantry, who immediately formed into square, and maintained themselves with the most determined courage and coolness. During these various charges upon the squares, the French cuirassiers displayed great intrepidity, riding up to the ranks, and actually cutting at the bayonets with their swords, and firing at the officers.

The French cavalry, in their attack on the centre of the British line, were not supported by infantry. They came on, we have stated, with the greatest courage, close to the British squares. The artillery, which was somewhat in front, kept up a well-directed fire upon them as they advanced, but, on their nearer approach, the gunners were obliged to retire into the squares, so that the guns were actually in momentary possession of the French cavalry, who could not, however, keep possession of them, or even spike them, if they had the means, in consequence of the heavy fire of musketry to which they were exposed. The French accounts state that several squares were broken, and standards taken, which is decidedly false; on the contrary, the small squares constantly repulsed the cavalry, whom they generally allowed to advance close to their bayonets before they fired. They were then driven back with loss on all points, and the artillerymen immediately resuming their guns in the most prompt manner, opened a destructive fire of grapeshot on them as they retired.

During this memorable action the British infantry was generally drawn up in squares, each regiment forming a separate body, not quite solid, but nearly so, the men being drawn up several files deep. The distance between these masses afforded space enough to draw up the battalions in line when they should be ordered to deploy; and the regiments were posted with reference

Upon examination, the ball was discovered to have entered near the left temple and passed through the brain, which must have produced instant dissolution: after this, meeting with some resistance, it glanced downwards, and was found just under the skin near the articulation of the lower jaw.

"Upon looking at the dress of Sir Thomas Picton in the evening of the 18th, a few hours after his fall, it was observed that his coat was torn on one side. This led to a further examination, and then the truth became apparent:—on the 16th he had been wounded at Quatre-Bras; a musket-ball had struck him and broken two of his ribs, besides producing, it was supposed, some internal injuries; but, expecting that a severe battle would be fought within a short time, he kept this wound secret, lest he should be solicited to absent himself. From the moment he had left this country until he joined the army, he had never entered any bed—he had scarcely given himself time to take any refreshment, so eager was he in the performance of his duty. After the severe wound which he had received, he would have been justified in not engaging in the action of the 18th. His body was not only blackened by his first wound, but even swelled to a considerable degree: and those who had seen it wondered that he should have been able to take part in the duties of the field"—*Memoirs of Sir T. Picton.*

to each other much like the alternate squares of a chess-board. It was therefore impossible for a squadron of cavalry to push between two of these squares, without finding itself at once assailed by a fire in front, or from that which was in the rear, and on both flanks from those betwixt which it had to move forward. The British artillery also, which was admirably served, made dreadful gaps in the squadrons of cavalry, and strewed the ground with men and horses as they advanced to the charge. Still this was far from repressing the courage of the French, who rushed on in defiance of every obstacle, and of the continued slaughter which was made among their ranks; or, if the attack of the cavalry was suspended for a short interval, it was to give room for the operation of their artillery, which, within the distance of a hundred and fifty yards, played upon the British squares with the most destructive effect. Yet, under such a fire, and in full view of these clouds of cavalry, waiting, like birds of prey, to dart upon them where the slaughter should afford the slightest opening, did these gallant troops close their files over the bodies of their dead and dying comrades, and resume, with stern composure, that close array of battle, which, as their discipline and experience taught them, afforded the surest means of defence.

"After the failure of the first attack, the French had little or no chance of success by renewing it; but the officers, perhaps ashamed of the failure of troops, of whose prowess they were justly proud, endeavoured repeatedly to bring them back to charge the squares; they could, however, only be brought to pass between them and round them; they even penetrated to our second line, where they cut down some stragglers and artillery drivers, who were with the limbers and ammunition waggons. They charged the Belgian squares in the second line with no better success, and, upon some heavy Dutch cavalry showing themselves, they soon retired.

"If the French supposed the allies to be in retreat, such an attack of cavalry might have led to the most important results; but by their passing and repassing the British squares of infantry, they suffered severely by their fire; so much so, that, before the end of the action, when they might have been of great use, either in the last great attack, or in covering the retreat, they were nearly destroyed. The only advantage which appeared to result from their remaining in the British position was, that it prevented the guns from playing on the columns which afterwards formed near La Belle Alliance, in order to debouch for a new attack. The galling fire of the infantry, however, forcing the French horsemen at length to retire into the hollow ground to cover themselves, the artillery were again at their guns, and being in advance of the squares, saw completely into the valley, and by their well-directed fire, made gaps in them as they re-formed to repeat this useless expenditure of lives. Had

Bonaparte been nearer the front, he surely would have prevented this wanton sacrifice of his best troops. The protracted presence of his cavalry in the British lines evidently prevented him from concentrating the fire of his powerful artillery on that part of the line he intended to break, as had always been his custom; and this was treating his enemy with a contempt, which, from what he had experienced at Quatre-Bras, could not be justified.*

"No situation could be more trying to the steady courage of the British army than the disposition of the troops in square at Waterloo. There is an excited feeling in an attacking body that stimulates the coldest, and blunts the thought of danger. The tumultuous enthusiasm of the assault spreads from man to man, and duller spirits catch a gallant frenzy from the brave around them. But the enduring and devoted courage which pervaded the British squares, when, hour after hour, mowed down by a murderous artillery, and wearied by furious and frequent onsets of lancers and cuirassiers; when the constant order, "Close up!—close up!" marked the quick succession of slaughter that thinned their ranks; and when later in the day, the remnants of two, and even three regiments were necessary to complete the square which one of them had formed in the morning—to support this with firmness, and 'feed death,' inactive and unmoved, exhibited that calm and desperate bravery which elicited the admiration of Napoleon himself.

"There was a terrible sameness in the battle of the 18th of June, which distinguishes it in the history of great modern battles. Although designated by Napoleon 'a day of false manœuvres,' in reality there was less display of military tactics at Waterloo than in any general action we have on record. Bonaparte's favourite plan was perseveringly followed. To turn a wing, or separate a position, was his customary system. Both were tried at Hougomont to turn the right, and at La Haye Sainte to break through the left centre. Hence the French operations were confined to fierce and incessant onsets with masses of cavalry and infantry, generally supported by a numerous and destructive artillery.

"Knowing that to repel these desperate and sustained attacks,

* After one of these charges of cavalry, a hand-to-hand encounter, many of which occurred during the day, took place in sight of the British forces. An hussar and a French cuirassier met in the plain; the former had lost his cap, and was bleeding from a wound on the head; he did not, however, hesitate to attack his steel-clad adversary, and it was soon evident that the efficiency of cavalry depends upon good horsemanship and skill in the use of the sword, and not in heavy defensive armour. The moment that the swords crossed, the military skill and superiority of the hussar were evident; after a few skirmishes, the Frenchman received a violent cut in the face that made him reel in his saddle: it was now impossible for him to escape his active opponent, and a well-directed thrust of the British hussar levelled the cuirassier to the ground, amidst the cheers of his anxious comrades.

a tremendous sacrifice of human life must occur, Napoleon, in defiance of their acknowledged bravery, calculated on wearying the British into defeat. But when he saw his columns driven back in confusion; when charged on the left of the English line by the gallant Ponsonby; when his cavalry receded from the squares they could not penetrate; when battalions were reduced to companies by the fire of his cannon, and still that 'feeble few' showed a perfect front, and held the ground they had originally taken; no wonder his admiration was expressed to Soult—'How beautifully these English fight!—but they must give way!'"*

While the battle continued along the whole of the British position, the Belgians were driven from Papellote and La Haye by the French. One of the columns in making this attack, was completely routed by the 12th British dragoons: this, nevertheless, did not prevent them from carrying the two villages. The possession of them however was of little moment.

The farm of La Haye Sainte was bravely defended by 300 men of the King's German Legion. Profiting by the temporary recoil produced by one of their combined attacks upon this part of the British line, La Haye Sainte was surrounded by their troops, and incessant efforts were made by them to carry it. The gallant Germans repulsed every attempt as long as their ammunition lasted. This at length failed them, and there was no possibility of introducing a further supply. The overwhelming force of the French near the spot, and the difficulty of ingress offered by the construction of the building, rendered all aid hopeless. For some time these devoted men resisted their adversaries with their swords and bayonets; but the French, firing upon them from the roof, and bursting open the strong doors and defences, soon succeeded in overpowering the remnant, who, to a man, were put to the sword. This success, unattended with any ultimate benefit to the French, was all they can boast of. The contest was now continued in the same unconnected mode of skirmishing in front of La Haye Sainte, and around Hougomont.

It was about four o'clock when a brief cessation of Napoleon's repeated attacks took place: this may be considered as the crisis of the sanguinary contest of Waterloo. The squares of the allied army had remained unshaken, and as it were like a rock fixed to the ground; they had received repeated charges with a characteristic coolness and intrepidity that have no equal. The Emperor might at this moment have broken off the engagement, but if it was to be continued, it could only be done by destroying the English army before the Prussians, who were expected, should arrive; for at this time, General D'Aumont, who had been detached to watch the progress of the Prussians

* Maxwell.

announced that a corps of 10,000 men was in full march towards Planchenoit.

"The French about this period seemed to concentrate their artillery, particularly on the left of the Genappe chaussée, in front of La Belle Alliance, and commenced a heavy fire (a large proportion of their guns were twelve-pounders) on that part of the British line extending from behind La Haye Sainte towards Hougomont: the infantry sheltered themselves, by lying down behind the ridge of the rising ground, and bore it with the most heroic patience. Several of the English guns had been disabled, and many artillerymen killed and wounded, so that this fire was scarcely returned, but when the new point of attack was no longer doubtful, two brigades were brought from Lord Hill's corps on the right, and were of most essential service.

"The British army had sustained several severe attacks, which had been all repulsed, and no advantage of any consequence had been gained by the French. They had possessed part of the wood and garden of Hougomont, and La Haye Sainte, which latter they were unable to occupy. Not a square had been broken, shaken, or obliged to retire. Our infantry continued to display the same obstinacy, the same cool, calculating confidence in themselves, in their commander, and in their officers, which had covered them with glory in the long and arduous war in the Peninsula. From the limited extent of the field of battle, and the tremendous fire their columns were exposed to, the loss of the enemy could not have been less than 15,000 killed and wounded. Two eagles, and 2000 prisoners, had been taken, and their cavalry nearly destroyed. We still occupied nearly the same position as we did in the morning, but our loss had been severe, perhaps not less than 10,000 killed and wounded. Our ranks were further thinned by the numbers of men who carried off the wounded; part of whom never returned to the field; the number of Belgians and Hanoverian troops, many of whom were young levies, that crowded to the rear, was very considerable, besides the number of our own dismounted dragoons, together with a proportion of our infantry, some of whom, as will always be found in the best armies, were glad to escape from the field. These thronged the road leading to Brussels, in a manner that none but an eyewitness could have believed, so that perhaps the actual force under the Duke of Wellington at this time, half-past six, did not amount to more than 34,000 men."*

It may here be proper to consider the situation of the Prussian army, and the assistance they had been able to render up to this time.

"We had at an early hour been in communication with some

* Capt. Pringle.

patrols of Prussian cavalry on our extreme left. A Prussian corps, under Bulow, had marched from Wavre at an early hour to manœuvre on the right and rear of the French army, but Marshal Blucher with a large proportion of the Prussian army were still on the heights above Wavre, when the action had commenced at Waterloo."*

The state of the roads had become deplorable, for the ground was completely saturated with the heavy rains that had fallen during sixteen hours. Rivulets had become torrents: water had filled up every hollow, so as constantly to compel the troops to separate—for in many cases the infantry were obliged to wade for hundreds of yards together, along the forest roads, which might rather be termed water-courses. The columns of the Prussian troops advancing from Wavre, extended over many miles. Great as were the obstacles that retarded the progress of the cavalry and infantry, the immense train of artillery occasioned still greater delay, although they had not more than twelve or fourteen miles to march. The guns frequently sunk axle-deep into the mud; "We shall never get on," was heard on all sides. "We *must* get on," replied Blucher. "I have given my word to Wellington, and you surely will not suffer me to break it! only exert yourselves a few hours longer, my children, and certain victory is ours." Thus encouraging their gallant efforts, the marshal was to be seen in every part of the tedious line of march. The cannonading at Waterloo had been distinctly heard by Blucher and his anxious army for several hours. Aides-de-camp were continually arriving with reports of the state of the battle; and the Prussians were arduously engaged in toiling through narrow lanes, being well aware that if attacked in such a perilous position, should the English army experience a reverse, their own destruction would be inevitable.

Information had been conveyed to Blucher, about three o'clock, that Grouchy had attacked General Thielmann at Wavre, in great force. Unmoved by this news, the veteran Marshal replied, "Tell him to do his best; for the campaign of Belgium must be decided at Mont Saint-Jean, and not at Wavre."

Marshal Blucher, who had joined in person Bulow's corps at half-past four, immediately ordered two brigades of infantry, and some cavalry, to act on the right of the French. He was so far from them, however, that his fire was too distant to produce any effect, and was chiefly intended to give the Duke of Wellington notice of his arrival. It was certainly past five o'clock before the fire of the Prussian artillery was observed from the British position; and it soon seemed to cease altogether. It appears they had advanced, and obtained some success, but were afterwards held in check by the French, who sent a corps under General Lobau to prevent them from ad-

* Captain Pringle.

vancing. About half-past six, the first Prussian corps came into communication with the extreme left of the British army, near the small hamlet of Ohain.*

The attacks of the French now bore a wild and savage aspect: they resembled the onsets of irregular hordes, and rushed in detached bands upon the English lines, which remained unmoved under these continued assaults; Milhaud's cuirassiers and the cavalry of the guard had again charged about five o'clock: to support these, the cuirassiers of Valmy were despatched, as well as a part of the reserve cavalry;† but the British squares were again formed, and successfully repulsed them. Thousands of French cavalry were in this manner put *hors de combat* during the day. Not able to force the square of the British infantry, the French cavalry showed greater courage when opposed to the horse of the allies, and many severe contests took place between them in front of, and even among the squares.

During the comparative cessation which now took place, the Duke began to concentrate his forces towards the centre. The assistance of the Prussians, as we have already stated, was expected at mid-day, and this induced Wellington to accept a battle; so that the British army had to bear the whole brunt of the action for a much longer period than was calculated. It was now past six o'clock, and they had been under fire for nearly seven hours. The Duke of Wellington, however, never for a moment showed any anxiety as to the result of the battle. He knew his troops, and all that they would do under him and for him, and felt confident he should be able to maintain his position. The British army was not aware of the concerted approach of the Prussians, nor did their commander think it necessary to animate their exertions by telling them they were coming. Napoleon, on the contrary, in order to revive the already drooping spirits of his men, even of his favourite guards, who had not as yet been engaged, sent Labédoyère to inform them, as they were about to advance on our squares, that the corps of Grouchy had joined the right flank of the French army. This intelligence deceived even Marshal Ney, and had a bad effect in the French ranks when the men learned that it was false.

On the part of Wellington, besides the corps of observation stationed at Halle, and which had not been engaged, a considerable portion of Lord Hill's corps was still available as a reserve. On the side of Bonaparte, the Imperial Guard had been kept in reserve, and had been for some time formed

* United Service Journal.

† Bonaparte allows that this charge was made too soon; but that it was necessary to support it, and that the cuirassiers of Kellerman, 3000 in number, were consequently ordered forward to maintain the position. And he allows that the grenadiers-à-cheval, and dragoons of the guard, which were in reserve, advanced without orders—that he sent to recal them, but, as they were already engaged, any retrograde movement would then have been dangerous.

on the heights which extend from La Belle Alliance towards Hougomont, that covered their left flank. With these devoted and brave men Bonaparte resolved to make a last desperate effort to break the often tried centre of the British line, and carry their position before the attack of the Prussians could take effect.

About seven o'clock they advanced in two columns,* leaving four battalions in reserve. They were commanded by Ney, who led them on. At the same time, they pushed forward some light troops in the direction of La Haye Sainte. The advance of these columns of the Imperial Guard was supported by a heavy fire of artillery. The British infantry, which had been posted on the reverse of the hill, to be sheltered from the guns, was instantly moved forward by Lord Wellington. General Maitland's brigade of guards, and General Adam's brigade (52d and 71st regiments, and 95th rifles), met this formidable attack. They were flanked by two brigades of artillery, who kept up a destructive discharge on the advancing columns. The English troops waited for the approach of the French with their characteristic coolness, until they were within a short distance of their line, when they opened a well-directed fire upon them. This line was formed four deep. Each man fired independently, retiring a few paces to load, and then advanced again, so that they never ceased for a moment. The French, headed by their gallant leader, still came on, notwithstanding the severe loss they sustained by this destructive musketry. They were now within about fifty yards of the British line, when they attempted to deploy, in order to return the fire. The line appeared to be closing round them. They could not deploy under such a storm ; and, from the moment they ceased to advance, their chance of success was over. They now formed a confused mass, and at last giving way, retired in the utmost confusion. They were immediately pursued by the light troops of General Adam's brigade. This decided the battle. Napoleon had now exhausted his means of attack. He had still, however, the four battalions of the Old Guard in reserve. Lord Wellington immediately ordered his whole line to advance, and attack their position. The French were already attempting a retreat. The Old Guard formed a square to cover the dismayed and flying columns, flanked by a few guns, and supported by some light cavalry (red lancers).

It was fully expected that Napoleon would charge at the head of his gallant guards; but though he certainly exposed his person to great danger towards the end of the battle, he did not put himself at their head as he certainly would have done in the days of Lodi and Arcola. A distinguished writer says—

"It was about seven o'clock at night when Napoleon determined to devote this proved and faithful reserve as his last

* See Lord Wellington's despatches.

Napoleon at Waterloo.

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stake, to the chance of one of those desperate games in which he had been so frequently successful. For this purpose he left the more distant point of observation, which he had for some time occupied upon the heights in the rear of the line, and descending from the hill, placed himself in the midst of the highway, fronting Mont St. Jean, and within about a quarter of a mile of the English line. The banks which rise high on each side, protected him from such balls as did not come in a direct line. Here he caused his guards to defile before him, and acquainting them that the English cavalry and infantry were entirely destroyed, and that to carry their position, they had only to sustain with bravery a heavy fire of their artillery, he concluded by pointing to the causeway, and exclaiming, 'There, there is the road to Brussels!' The prodigious shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*, with which the guards answered this appeal, led the British troops, and the Duke of Wellington himself, to expect an instant renewal of the attack, with Napoleon as their leader.

"In this, the last charge they were ever to make, the guards of Napoleon advanced into the plain with demonstrations of enthusiasm; but it was soon evident that their courage was damped. They advanced against every obstacle till they attained the ridge, where the British soldiers lay on the ground to avoid the destructive fire of artillery, by which the assault was covered: but this was their final effort. 'Up guards and at them!' cried the Duke of Wellington, who was then with a brigade of the household infantry. In an instant they sprang up, and, assuming the offensive, rushed upon the attacking columns with the bayonet. This body of the guards had been previously disposed in line, instead of the squares which they had hitherto formed. But the line was of unusual depth, consisting of four ranks instead of two. 'You have stood cavalry in this order,' said the general, 'and can therefore find no difficulty in charging infantry.' The effect of their three fatal cheers, and of the rapid advance which followed, was decisive. The guards of Napoleon were within twenty yards of the British, but not one staid to cross bayonets. The consciousness that no support or reserve remained to them, added confusion to their retreat. The tirailleurs of the Imperial Guard gallantly attempted to cover the retreat. They were charged by the British cavalry, and literally cut to pieces." *

"The first Prussian corps, commanded by Bulow, had now joined our extreme left. They had obtained possession of the village of La Haye, driving out the French light troops, who occupied it. Bulow had some time previously made an unsuccessful attack upon the village of Planchenoit, in the rear of the French right wing, and being joined by the second

* Paul's Letters.

corps (Pirch's), was again advancing to attack it.* In the mean time, the square of the Old Guard maintained itself, the guns on its flank firing upon the British light cavalry, which now advanced, and threatened to turn the flank. The light troops were close on their front, and the whole line was advancing under Wellington, when this body, the *élite*, and now the only hope of the French to cover their retreat, and save their army, gave way, and mixed in the general confusion and rout, abandoning their cannon and all their *matériel*."†

The closing scene of Waterloo is described with great animation in the following passage:

"The irremediable disorder consequent on this decisive repulse, and the confusion in the French rear, where Bulow had fiercely attacked them, did not escape the eagle glance of Wellington. "The hour is come!" he is said to have exclaimed; and closing his telescope, commanded the whole line to advance. The order was exultingly obeyed: forming four deep, on came the British;—wounds, and fatigue, and hunger, were all forgotten! With their customary steadiness they crossed the ridge: when they saw the French, and began to move down the hill, a cheer that seemed to rend the heavens pealed from their proud array, and with levelled bayonets they pressed on to meet the enemy.

"But, panic-stricken and disorganized, the French resistance was short and feeble. The Prussian cannon thundered in their rear; the British bayonet was flashing in their front, and, unable to stand the terror of the charge, they broke and fled. A dreadful and indiscriminate carnage ensued. The great road was choked with their *matériel*, and cumbered with the dead and dying; while the fields, as far as the eye could reach, were covered with fugitives. Courage and discipline were forgotten, and Napoleon's army of yesterday was now a splendid wreck—a terror-stricken multitude. His own words best describe it—'It was a total rout!'

"But although the French army had ceased to exist, and now exhibited rather the flight of a scattered horde of barbarians, than the retreat of a disciplined body—never had it, in the proudest days of its glory, shown greater devotion to its leader, or displayed more desperate and unyielding bravery, than during this long and sanguinary battle."‡

It was now nearly dark: Bulow, upon being joined by Pirch's corps, again attacked Planchenoit, which he turned; and then the French abandoned it. He immediately advanced towards the Genappe chaussée, and closed round the right of the French, driving the enemy before him, and augmenting their confusion.

* General Gneisenau says it was past seven o'clock before Pirch's corps came up; and this fact is admitted in Blucher's official despatches.

† Captain Pringle. ‡ Maxwell.

His troops came into the high road, near Maison du Roi, and Blucher and Wellington having met about the same time near La Belle Alliance, it was resolved to pursue the French, and give them no time to rally.

The loss of the Prussians on the 18th did not exceed 800 men. The brunt of the action was chiefly sustained by the British troops, and King's German Legion, whose loss in killed and wounded, according to the official return, amounted to 9063. If to this be added the casualties of the various foreign contingents, the loss of the allied army may be computed at 14,000 men.

The British army rested on the night of the 18th on the field of battle, but this was not before a hot pursuit of the French had been accomplished; and then the Duke of Wellington halted, not only on account of the fatigue of his troops, which had been engaged eight hours, but because he found himself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who promised to continue the pursuit during the night.

The Prussians well performed this part of their duty; and the Duke of Wellington, with the liberality of an honourable mind, in his despatches, made the fullest acknowledgment of their services.

"I should not," said he, "do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them. The operation of General Bulow upon the enemy's flank was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded." The Prussian pursuit was most active and vigorous. The Marshal had ordered that the last man and the last horse should join in it, and nothing could be more complete than the discomfiture of the French. "The causeway," says the Prussian narrative, "was covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriage, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from their bivouacs. The whole march was a continued chase. About 40,000 men, the remains of their whole army, saved themselves by retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only 27 pieces of their numerous artillery."

The Prussians, who had made only a short march during the day, pursued the enemy with such vigour that they were unable to rally a single battalion. They once attempted to make a show of resistance at Genappe, where, perhaps, if they had had a chief to direct them, they might have maintained themselves until daylight, the situation of the village being strong; this might have given them the means of having, at least, the semblance of an army. The second Prussian corps was afterwards detached to

intercept Grouchy, who was not aware of the result of the battle until twelve o'clock next day. He had succeeded in obtaining some advantage over General Thielmann, and got possession of Wavre. He immediately retreated towards Namur, where his rear-guard maintained themselves against all the efforts of the Prussians, who suffered severely in their attempt to take the place. This served to cover his retreat, which he executed with great ability, keeping in a parallel line to Blucher, and having rallied many of the fugitives, he brought his army in the end, without loss, to Paris.

Grouchy had been considered as lost, and his army made prisoners: this belief was a great cause of the resignation of Bonaparte; otherwise, with this army he could have mustered 70,000 or 80,000 men; with the fortifications and resources of Paris, which were sufficiently secure against a *coup-de-main*, it was not likely he would so easily have submitted without another struggle, after the brilliant defensive campaign he had made the preceding year. The great central depots of Paris and Lyons gave him great advantages, as is well known. There are always some turns of fortune in the events of war; he might, at least, have made terms. The southern and eastern parts of France were certainly in his favour; he and his army had been well received there only a few weeks before. That army, and a great part of the population, would still have been glad to make sacrifices to endeavour to re-establish the sullied lustre of his arms. At least, the honour of falling sword in hand was in his power.

The time of the arrival and co-operation of the Prussians has been variously stated. The account given by us is, perhaps, as near the truth as can be. The French writers make it at an early hour, to account more satisfactorily for their defeat. The Prussians also make it somewhat earlier than was actually the case, in order to participate more largely in the honours of the day. Their powerful assistance has been acknowledged to its full extent. We may say with Sir W. Scott, "the British won the battle, the Prussians achieved and rendered valuable the victory." They completed the destruction of the French army after it had failed in all its attacks against the British, which had continued upwards of seven hours; this was, however, after the cavalry had been destroyed, the Imperial Guards driven back, and eagles and prisoners taken, and when their means of further attack might be considered as exhausted.

The British army had suffered severely, and was not in a condition to take great advantage of the retreat of the French. But its safety was never for a moment compromised, and no calculation could justify the idea that the British would have been easily defeated and driven from their position; in such an event the French would have been so much crippled, as to be unable to follow up their advantage, and the arrival of the Prussian army must have obliged them to retire.

Mufflin has observed, that the bold movement of Blucher

on the 18th has not been sufficiently appreciated. It was daring and masterly: even when he was told that Grouchy was in his rear with a large force, his plans were not shaken, though this might have somewhat retarded his movements. The veteran knew that it was on the field of Waterloo that the fate of the day was to be decided, and even if Grouchy had attacked Bulow's corps, there was nothing to prevent the 1st and 2d Prussian corps from joining the British army by Ohain. There cannot be a moment's doubt of the anxiety and exertions of the Prussians to assist on the 18th. This short campaign of "Hours" was a joint operation. The honours must be shared. On the 16th, the Prussians fought at Ligny under the promise of our co-operation, which could not, however, be given to the extent it was wished or hoped. On the 18th, Lord Wellington fought at Waterloo, on the promise of the early assistance of the Prussians, which, though unavoidably delayed, was at last given with an effect, which perhaps had never before been witnessed. The finest army France ever saw, commanded by the greatest and ablest of her chiefs, ceased to exist, and in a moment the destiny of Europe was changed.* The actual loss of the French army at Waterloo has never been officially stated; it is however generally believed, that not more than half of it escaped.

Such was the battle of Waterloo: the most warmly contested and certainly most decisive, in modern military history. It shed the brightest lustre on the British arms—never had the unflinching bravery of British soldiers been more severely tested; the infantry and artillery, in particular, acquired an undying renown by their conduct on this memorable day. They were ably seconded by their old Peninsula comrades the King's German Legion. Some of the foreign corps in Wellington's army displayed great gallantry; on the other hand a most dastardly spirit was manifested by a considerable portion, who scarcely awaited the first onset of the French. A Hanoverian regiment, the Cumberland Hussars, whose colonel was afterwards deservedly broken, galloped from the field at an early part of the day. Some Belgian battalions, and a brigade of Nassau artillery, also gave way, and could not be rallied. These fugitives crowded the road to Brussels, overturning all the equipages they met, and on reaching that city, caused the greatest alarm by the reports they spread of the advance of the French army. In his own modest narrative, Wellington's name rarely appeared; but all the private accounts of this engagement were filled with anecdotes of his extraordinary coolness in the most trying circumstances, and of the intrepidity with which he exposed himself where the danger was greatest.

* See "Remarks on the Campaign of 1815," by Captain John W. Pringle of the artillery; a production not less distinguished by its perspicuity than by its rare impartiality.

FRENCH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

On the morning of the 16th, the army occupied the following position:

The left wing, commanded by the Marshal Duke of Elchingen, and consisting of the 1st and 2d corps of infantry, and the 2d of cavalry, occupied the positions of Frasnes.

The right wing, commanded by Marshal Grouchy, and composed of the 3d and 4th corps of infantry, and the 3d corps of cavalry, occupied the heights in rear of Fleurus.

The Emperor's head-quarters were at Charleroi, where were the Imperial Guard and the 6th corps.

The left wing had orders to march upon Quatre-Bras, and the right upon Sombref. The Emperor advanced to Fleurus with his reserve.

The columns of Marshal Grouchy being in march, perceived, after having passed Fleurus, the enemy's army, commanded by Field-Marshal Blucher, occupying with its left the heights of the mill of Bussy, the village of Sombref, and extending its cavalry a great way forward on the road to Namur; its right was at St. Amand, and occupied that large village in great force, having before it a ravine which formed its position.

The Emperor reconnoitred the strength and the position of the enemy, and resolved to attack immediately. It became necessary to change front, the right in advance, and pivoting upon Fleurus.

General Vandamme marched upon St. Amand, General Girard upon Ligny, and Marshal Grouchy upon Sombref. The 4th division of the 2d corps, commanded by General Girard, marched in reserve behind the corps of General Vandamme. The guard was drawn up on the heights of Fleurus, as well as the cuirassiers of General Milhaud.

At three in the afternoon, these dispositions were finished. The division of General Lefol, forming part of the corps of General Vandamme, was first engaged, and made itself master of St. Amand, whence it drove out the enemy at the point of the bayonet. It kept its ground during the whole of the engagement, at the burial-ground and steeple of St. Amand: but that village, which is very extensive, was the theatre of various combats during the evening; the whole corps of General Vandamme was there engaged, and the enemy there fought in considerable force.

General Girard, placed as a reserve to the corps of General Vandamme, turned the village by its right, and fought there with his accustomed valour. The respective forces were supported on both sides by about 50 pieces of cannon each.

On the right, General Girard came into action with the 4th corps, at the village of Ligny, which was taken and retaken several times.

Marshal Grouchy, on the extreme right, and General Pajol fought at the village of Sombref. The enemy showed from 80 to 90,000 men, and a great number of cannon.

At seven o'clock we were masters of all the villages situate on the bank of the ravine, which covered the enemy's position; but he still occupied, with all his masses, the heights of the mill of Bussy.

The Emperor returned with his guard to the village of Ligny; General Girard directed General Pecheux to debouch with what remained of the reserve, almost all the troops having been engaged in that village.

Eight battalions of the guard debouched with fixed bayonets, and behind them, four squadrons of the guards, the cuirassiers of General Delort, those of General Milhaud, and the grenadiers of the horse-guards. The old guard attacked with the bayonet the enemy's columns, which were on the heights of Bussy, and in an instant covered the field of battle with dead. The squadron of the guard attacked and broke a square, and the cuirassiers repulsed the enemy in all directions. At half-past nine o'clock we had forty pieces of cannon, several carriages, colours, and prisoners, and the enemy sought safety in a precipitate retreat. At ten o'clock the battle was finished, and we found ourselves masters of the field.

General Lutzow, a partisan, was taken prisoner. The prisoners assure us that Field-Marshal Blucher was wounded. The flower of the Prussian army was destroyed in this battle: its loss could not be less than 15,000 men. Ours was 3000 killed and wounded.

On the left, Marshal Ney had marched on Quatre-Bras with a division, which cut in pieces an English division which was stationed there; but being attacked by the Prince of Orange with 25,000 men, partly English, partly Hanoverians in the pay of England, he retired upon his position at Frasnes. There a multiplicity of combats took place: the enemy obstinately endeavoured to force it, but in vain. The Duke of Elchingen waited for the first corps, which did not arrive till night; he confined himself to maintaining his position. In a square attacked by the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, the colours of the 69th regiment of English infantry fell into our hands. The Duke of Brunswick was killed. The Prince of Orange has been wounded. We are assured that the enemy had many personages and generals of note killed or wounded; we estimate the loss of the English at from 4000 to 5000. Ours on this side was very considerable; it amounts to 4200 killed or wounded. The combat ended with the approach of night. Lord Wellington then evacuated Quatre-Bras, and proceeded to Genappes.

In the morning of the 17th the Emperor repaired to Quatre-Bras, whence he marched to attack the English army: he drove it to the entrance of the forest of Soignes with the left wing and the reserve. The right wing advanced by Sombref, in pursuit of Field-Marshal Blucher, who was going towards Wavre, where he appeared to wish to take a position.

At ten o'clock in the evening, the English army occupied Mont St. Jean with its centre, and was in position before the forest of Soignes: it would have required three hours to attack it; we were therefore obliged to postpone it till the next day.

The head-quarters of the Emperor were established at the farm of Oaillon, near Planchenoit. The rain fell in torrents. Thus, on the 16th, the left wing, the right, and the reserve, were equally engaged, at a distance of about two leagues.

At nine in the morning, the rain having somewhat abated, the 1st corps put itself in motion, and placed itself with the left on the road to Brussels, and opposite the village of Mont St. Jean, which appeared the centre of the enemy's position. The 2d corps leaned its right upon the road to Brussels, and its left upon a small wood, within cannon-shot of the English army. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the guard in reserve upon the heights. The 6th corps, with the cavalry of General d'Aumont, under the orders of Count Lobau, was destined to proceed in rear of our right to oppose a Prussian corps, which appeared to have escaped Marshal Grouchy, and to intend to fall upon our right flank, an intention which had been made known to us by our reports, and by the letter of a Prussian general, enclosing an order of battle, and which was taken by our light troops.

The troops were full of ardour. We estimated the force of the English army at 80,000 men. We supposed that the Prussian corps, which might be in line towards the right, might be 15,000 men. The enemy's force, then, was upwards of 90,000 men, ours less numerous.

At noon, all the preparations being terminated, Prince Jerome, commanding a division of the second corps, and destined to form the extreme left of it, advanced upon the wood of which the enemy occupied a part. The cannonade began. The enemy supported, with 30 pieces of cannon, the troops he had sent to keep the wood. We made also on our side dispositions of artillery. At one o'clock Prince Jerome was master of all the wood, and the whole English army fell back behind a curtain. Count d'Erlon then attacked the village of Mont St. Jean, and supported his attack with 80 pieces of cannon, which must have occasioned great loss to the English army. All the efforts were made towards the ridge. A brigade of the 1st division of Count d'Erlon took the village of Mont St. Jean; a second brigade was charged by a corps of English cavalry, which occasioned it much loss. At the same moment a division of English cavalry charged the battery of Count d'Erlon by its right, and disorganized several pieces; but the cuirassiers of General Milhaud charged that division, three regiments of which were broken and cut up.

It was three in the afternoon. The Emperor made the guard advance to place it in the plain upon the ground which the 1st corps had occupied at the outset of the battle; this corps being already in advance. The Prussian division, whose movement had been foreseen, then engaged with the light troops of Count Lobau, spreading its fire upon our whole right flank. It was expedient, before undertaking any thing elsewhere, to wait for the event of this attack. Hence, all the means in reserve were ready to succour Count Lobau, and overwhelm the Prussian corps when it should be advanced.

This done, the Emperor had the design of leading an attack upon the village of Mont St. Jean, from which we expected decisive success; but, by a movement of impatience so frequent in our military annals, and which has often been so fatal to us, the cavalry of reserve, having perceived a retrograde movement made by the English to shelter themselves from our batteries, from which they suffered so

much, crowned the heights of Mont St. Jean, and charged the infantry. This movement, which, made in time, and supported by the reserves, must have decided the day, made in an isolated manner, and before affairs on the right were terminated, became fatal.

Having no means of countermanding it, the enemy showing many masses of cavalry and infantry, and our two divisions of cuirassiers being engaged, all our cavalry ran at the same moment to support their comrades. There, for three hours, numerous charges were made, which enabled us to penetrate several squares, and to take six standards of the light infantry; an advantage out of proportion with the loss which our cavalry experienced by the grapeshot and musket-firing. It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The Emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing to fear. It was this moment that was indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers suffered from the grape-shot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division, which had manœuvred upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side—the rest was disposed in reserve, part to occupy the *potence* in rear of Mont St. Jean, part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

In this state of affairs, the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions, which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle: our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshal Grouchy, having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which ensured us a signal success for next day. After eight hours' fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.

At half-past eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mont St. Jean, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grapeshot, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence were thrown into disorder. Cries of *All is lost! The guard is driven back!* were heard on every side. The soldiers pretend even that on many points ill-disposed persons cried out, *Sauve qui peut.* However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

In an instant, the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder; and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success ensured for the next day, all was lost by a moment of panic terror. Even the squadrons of *service* drawn up by the side of the Emperor were overthrown and disorganized by these tumultuous waves, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, the baggage which had not repassed the Sambre, in short every thing that was on the field of battle, remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organization no longer exists.

The Emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 10th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of reunion. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the Lower Sambre.

The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and from the retrograde movements which he made;—ours cannot be calculated till after the troops have been collected. Before the disorder broke out, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could preserve its own organization.

The artillery has, as usual, covered itself with glory. The carriages belonging to the head-quarters remained in their ordinary position: no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands.

Such has been the issue of the battle of Mont St. Jean, glorious for the French armies, and yet so fatal.

MARSHAL NEY'S ACCOUNT.

THE PRINCE OF MOSKWA (MARSHAL NEY) *to his Excellency the* DUKE OF OTRANTO.

M. LE DUC,—The most false and defamatory reports have been spreading for some days over the public mind, upon the conduct which I have pursued during this short and unfortunate campaign. The journals have reported those odious calumnies, and appear to lend them credit. After having fought for twenty-five years for my country, after having shed my blood for its glory and independence, an attempt is made to accuse me of treason; an attempt is made to mark me out to the people, and the army itself, as the author of the disaster it has just experienced.

Forced to break silence, while it is always painful to speak of oneself, and above all, to answer calumnies, I address myself to you, sir, as the President of the Provisional Government, for the purpose of laying before you a faithful statement of the events I have witnessed. On the 11th of June, I received an order from the minister of war to repair to the imperial presence. I had no command, and no information upon the composition and strength of the army. Neither the Emperor nor his minister had given me any previous hint, from which I could anticipate that I should be employed in the present campaign; I was consequently taken by surprise, without horse, without accoutrements, and without money, and I was obliged to borrow the necessary expenses of my journey. Having arrived on the 12th, at Laon, on the 13th at Avesnes, and on the 14th at Beaumont, I purchased, in this last city, two horses from the Duke of Treviso, with which I repaired, on the 15th, to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aide-de-camp, the only officer who attended me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our troops, was retreating upon Fleurus and Gosselies.

The Emperor ordered me immediately to put myself at the head of the 1st and 2d corps of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Generals d'Erlon and Reille, of the divisions of light cavalry of Lieutenant-General Pine, of the division of light cavalry of the guards, under the command of Lieutenant-Generals Lefebvre-Desnouettes and Colbert, and of two divisions of cavalry of the Count Valmy, forming, in all, eight divisions of infantry, and four of cavalry. With these troops, a part of which only I had as yet under my immediate command, I pursued the enemy, and forced him to evacuate Gosselies, Frasnes, Millet, Heppegnies. There they took up a position for the night, with the exception of the 1st corps, which was still at Marchiennes, and which did not join me till the following day.

On the 16th I received orders to attack the English in their position at Quatre-Bras. We advanced towards the enemy with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. Nothing resisted our impetuosity. The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful, when, at the moment that I intended to order up the first corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasnes, I learned that the Emperor had disposed of it without advertising me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard of the second corps, on purpose to direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was vigorously engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave me, confounded me. Having no longer under me more than three divisions, instead of the eight upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory; and, in spite of all my efforts, in spite of the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, my utmost efforts after that could only maintain me in my position till the close of the day. About nine o'clock, the first corps was sent me by the Emperor, to whom it had been of no service. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were, I may say, paralyzed, and were idly paraded during the whole of the battle from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot.

It is impossible for me, sir, not to arrest your attention for a moment upon these details, in order to bring before your view all the consequences of this false movement, and, in general, of the bad arrange-

ments during the whole of the day. By what fatality, for example, did the Emperor, instead of leading all his forces against Lord Wellington, who would have been attacked unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack as secondary? How did the Emperor, after the passage of the Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double ours, and to do what military men who were witnesses of it can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army had undoubtedly been destroyed between Quatre-Bras, and Genappe; and this position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have opened for the Emperor an opportunity of advancing to the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn. The general opinion in France, and especially in the army, was, that the Emperor would have bent his whole efforts to annihilate first the English army; and circumstances were favourable for the accomplishment of such a project: but fate ordered otherwise.

On the 17th, the army marched in the direction of Mont Saint-Jean.

On the 18th, the battle began at one o'clock, and though the bulletin, which details it, makes no mention of me, it is not necessary for me to mention that I was engaged in it. Lieutenant-General Count Drouot has already spoken of that battle, in the House of Peers. His narration is accurate, with the exception of some important facts which he has passed over in silence, or of which he was ignorant, and which it is now my duty to declare. About seven o'clock in the evening, after the most frightful carnage which I have ever witnessed, General Labédoyère came to me with a message from the Emperor, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and attacked the left of the English and Prussians united. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread this intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, in spite of the fatigue which they experienced. Immediately after, what was my astonishment, I should rather say indignation, when I learned that so far from Marshal Grouchy having arrived to support us, as the whole army had been assured, between 40 and 50,000 Prussians attacked our extreme right, and forced it to retire!

Whether the Emperor was deceived with regard to the time when the marshal could support him, or whether the march of the marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the moment when his arrival was announced to us, he was only at Wavre upon the Dyle, which to us was the same as if he had been 800 leagues from the field of battle.

A short time afterwards, I saw four regiments of the middle guard, conducted by the Emperor, arriving. With these troops he wished to renew the attack, and to penetrate the centre of the enemy. He ordered me to lead them on; generals, officers, and soldiers, all displayed the greatest intrepidity; but this body of troops was too weak to resist, for a long time, the forces opposed to it by the enemy, and it was soon necessary to renounce the hope which this attack had, for a few moments, inspired. General Friant had been struck with a

ball by my side, and I myself had my horse killed, and fell under it. The brave men who may return from this terrible battle, will, I hope, do me the justice to say, that they saw me on foot with sword in hand during the whole of the evening, and that I only quitted the scene of carnage among the last, and at the moment when retreat could no longer be prevented. At the same time, the Prussians continued their offensive movements, and our right sensibly retired, the English advancing in their turn. There remained to us still four squares of the old guard to protect the retreat. These brave grenadiers, the choice of the army, forced successively to retire, yielded ground foot by foot, till, overwhelmed by numbers, they were almost entirely annihilated. From that moment a retrograde movement was declared, and the army formed nothing but a confused mass. There was not, however, a total rout, nor the cry of *sauve qui peut*, as has been calumniously stated in the bulletin. As for myself, constantly in the rear guard, which I followed on foot, having all my horses killed, worn out with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to march, I owe my life to a corporal who supported me on the road, and did not abandon me during the retreat. At eleven at night I found Lieutenant-General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, and one of his officers, Major Schmidt, had the generosity to give me the only horse that remained to him. In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-au-Pont at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of what had become of the Emperor, who, before the end of the battle, had entirely disappeared, and who, I was allowed to believe, might be either killed or taken prisoner. General Pamphile Lacroix, chief of the staff of the second corps, whom I found in this city, having told me that the Emperor was at Charleroi, I was led to suppose that his Majesty was going to put himself at the head of Marshal Grouchy's corps, to cover the Sambre, and to facilitate to the troops the means of rallying towards Avesnes, and, with this persuasion, I went to Beaumont: but parties of cavalry following on the rear, and having already intercepted the roads of Maubeuge and Philippeville, I became sensible of the total impossibility of arresting a single soldier to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. I continued my march upon Avesnes, where I could obtain no intelligence of what had become of the Emperor.

In this state of matters, having no knowledge of his Majesty, nor of the major-general, confusion increasing every moment, and, with the exception of some fragments of the guard and of the line, every one following his own inclination, I determined immediately to go to Paris by St. Quentin, to disclose, as quickly as possible, the true state of affairs to the Minister of War, that he might send to the army some fresh troops, and take the measures which circumstances rendered necessary. At my arrival at Bourget, three leagues from Paris, I learned that the Emperor had passed there at nine o'clock in the morning.

Such, M. le Duc, is a history of the calamitous campaign.

Now, I ask those who have survived this fine and numerous army, how I can be accused of the disasters of which it has been the victim, and of which your military annals furnish no example. I have, it is said, betrayed my country—I, who to serve it, have shown a zeal

which I perhaps have carried to an extravagant height: but this calumny is supported by no fact, by no circumstance. But how can these odious reports, which spread with frightful rapidity, be arrested? If, in the researches which I could make on this subject, I did not fear almost as much to discover as to be ignorant of the truth, I would say, that all has a tendency to convince me that I have been unworthily deceived, and that it is attempted to cover with the pretence of treason the faults and extravagances of this campaign—faults which have not yet been avowed in the bulletins which have appeared, and against which I in vain raised the voice of truth, which I will yet cause to resound in the House of Peers. I expect, from the candour of your excellency, and from your indulgence to me, that you will cause this letter to be inserted in the journals, and give it the greatest possible publicity.

I renew to your Excellency, &c.,—Marshal Prince of Moskwa.

Paris, June 26, 1815.

MARSHAL DE GROUCHY'S ACCOUNT.

Report addressed to the Emperor by Marshal de Grouchy.

Dinant, June 20, 1815.

It was not till after seven in the evening of the 18th of June that I received the letter of the Duke of Dalmatia, which directed me to march on St. Lambert, and to attack General Bulow. I fell in with the enemy as I was marching on Wavre. He was immediately driven into Wavre, and General Vandamme's corps attacked that town, and was warmly engaged. The portion of Wavre, on the right of the Dyle, was carried, but much difficulty was experienced in debouching on the other side. General Girard was wounded by a ball in the breast while endeavouring to carry the mill of Bielge, in order to pass the river, but in which he did not succeed, and Lieutenant-General Aix had been killed in the attack on the town. In this state of things, being impatient to co-operate with your majesty's army on that important day, I detached several corps to force the passage of the Dyle and march against Bulow. The corps of Vandamme, in the mean time, maintained the attack on Wavre and on the mill, whence the enemy showed an intention to débouch, but which I did not conceive he was capable of effecting. I arrived at Limale, passed the river, and the heights were carried by the division of Vichery and the cavalry. Night did not permit us to advance farther, and I no longer heard the cannon on the side where your majesty was engaged.

I halted in this situation until daylight. Wavre and Bielge were occupied by the Prussians, who, at three in the morning of the 18th, attacked in their turn, wishing to take advantage of the difficult position in which I was, and expecting to drive me into the defile, and take the artillery which had debouched, and make me repass the Dyle. Their efforts were fruitless. The Prussians were repulsed, and the village of Bielge taken. The brave General Penny was killed.

General Vandamme then passed one of his divisions by Bielge, and carried with ease the heights of Wavre; and along the whole of my line the success was complete. I was in front of Rozierne, preparing

to march on Brussels, when I received the sad intelligence of the loss of the battle of Waterloo. The officer who brought it informed me that your majesty was retreating on the Sambre, without being able to indicate any particular point on which I should direct my march. I ceased to pursue, and began my retrograde movement. The retreating enemy did not think of following me. Learning that the enemy had already passed the Sambre, and was on my flank, and not being sufficiently strong to make a diversion in favour of your majesty, without compromising the corps I commanded, I marched on Namur. At this moment, the rear of the columns were attacked. That of the left made a retrograde movement sooner than was expected, which endangered, for a moment, the retreat of the left; but good dispositions soon repaired every thing, and two pieces which had been taken were recovered by the brave 20th dragoons, who, besides, took an howitzer from the enemy. We entered Namur without loss. The long defile which extends from this place to Dinant, in which only a single column can march, and the embarrassment arising from the numerous transports of wounded, rendered it necessary to hold for a considerable time the town, in which I had not the means of blowing up the bridge. I intrusted the defence of Namur to General Vandamme, who, with his usual intrepidity, maintained himself there till eight in the evening; so that nothing was left behind, and I occupied Dinant.—The enemy has lost some thousands of men in the attack on Namur, where the contest was very obstinate. The troops have performed their duty in a manner worthy of praise.

(Signed) De Grouchy.

BRITISH OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.

The Duke of Wellington's Despatches.

Waterloo, June 19, 1815.

My Lord,—Bonaparte having collected the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army and the Imperial Guards, and nearly all the cavalry on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, on the Sambre, at daylight in the morning.

I did not hear of these events till the evening of the 15th, and immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march, and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters, to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day; and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blucher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sambref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Bruxelles, and on the same evening, the 15th, attaeked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Princce Weidmar,

posted at Frasne, and forced it back to the farm-house on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and in the morning early regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles, with Marshal Blucher's position.

In the mean time I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division, under Lieutenant-general Sir Thos. Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blucher, with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2d corps; and a corps of cavalry under General Kellerman, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance, against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bulow, had not joined, and I was not able to assist them as I wished, as I was attacked myself, and the troops, the cavalry in particular, which had a long distance to march, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of cavalry and infantry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery: he made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner. In this affair His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Picton, and Major-general Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves, as well as Lieutenant-general Charles Baron Alten, Major-general Sir C. Halket, Lieutenant-general Cooke, and Major-generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42d, 79th, and 92d regiments, and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret his Serene Highness the Duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blucher had maintained his position at Sambref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged, and as the fourth corps had not arrived he determined to fall back, and concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal's rendered necessary a corresponding one on my part; and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo the next morning, the 17th, at ten o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blucher. On the

contrary, a patrol which I sent to Sambref in the morning found all quiet, and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day, excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry, brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their debouché from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelle, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelle road, we occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blucher, at Wavre, through Ohaim; and the marshal promised me, that in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the third corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blucher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about ten o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieut.-colonel Macdonald, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the legion which occupied it had expended all its ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful, and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the lifeguards, royal horseguards, and 1st dragoon guards, highly distinguished themselves, as did that of Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about seven in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with the cavalry and infantry, supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which after a severe contest was defeated; and having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bulow's corps by Euschermont upon Planchenoit and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take

effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blucher had joined in person, with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohaim, I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his position on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands. I continued the pursuit till long after dark; and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blucher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night. He has sent me word this morning that he had taken sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move, this morning, upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your lordship will observe, that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained, without great loss; and I am sorry to add, that ours has been immense. In Lieut.-general Sir Thomas Picton, his majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service, and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position, was defeated. The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive his majesty for some time of his services.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Orange distinguished himself by his gallantry and conduct till he received a wound from a musket-ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to quit the field.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to assure your lordship, that the army never, upon any occasion, conducted itself better. The division of guards, under Lieutenant-general Cooke, who is severely wounded, Major-general Maitland, and Major-general Byng, set an example which was followed by all; and there is no officer, nor description of troops, that did not behave well.

I must, however, particularly mention, for his royal highness's approbation, Lieutenant-gen. Sir H.Clinton, Major-gen. Adam, Lieut.-general Charles Baron Alten, severely wounded; Major-general Sir Colin Halket, severely wounded; Colonel Ompteda, Col. Mitchell, commanding a brigade of the 4th division; Major-general Sir James Kempt, and Sir Denis Pack, Major-general Lambert, Major-general Lord E. Somerset; Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby, Major-general Sir C. Grant, and Major-general Sir H. Vivian; Major-general Sir O. Vandeleur; Major-general Count Dornberg. I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill for his assistance and conduct upon this as upon all former occasions.

The artillery and engineer department were conducted much to my satisfaction by Colonel Sir G. Wood and Colonel Smyth; and I had every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Adjutant-general, Major-general Barnes, who was wounded, and of the Quarter-master

general, Colonel Delancy, who was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. This officer is a serious loss to his majesty's service, and to me at this moment. I was likewise much indebted to the assistance of Lieutenant-colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was severely wounded, and of the officers composing my personal staff, who have suffered severely in this action. Lieutenant-colonel the hon. Sir Alexander Gordon, who has died of his wounds, was a most promising officer, and is a serious loss to his majesty's service.

General Kruse, of the Nassau service, likewise conducted himself much to my satisfaction, as did General Trip, commanding the heavy brigade of cavalry, and General Vanhope, commanding a brigade of infantry of the King of the Netherlands.

General Pozzo-di-Borgo, General Baron Vincent, General Muffling, and General Alava, were in the field during the action, and rendered me every assistance in their power. Baron Vincent is wounded, but I hope not severely; and General Pozzo-di-Borgo received a contusion.

I should not do justice to my feelings, or to Marshal Blucher and the Prussian army, if I did not attribute the successful result of this arduous day, to the cordial and timely assistance I received from them.

The operation of General Bulow, upon the enemy's flank, was a most decisive one; and even if I had not found myself in a situation to make the attack, which produced the final result, it would have forced the enemy to retire, if his attacks should have failed, and would have prevented him from taking advantage of them, if they should unfortunately have succeeded.

I send, with this despatch, two eagles, taken by the troops in this action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of his royal highness.

I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's protection.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

P. S.—Since writing the above, I have received a report, that Major-general Sir William Ponsonby is killed, and, in announcing this intelligence to your lordship, I have to add the expression of my grief, for the fate of an officer who had already rendered very brilliant and important services, and was an ornament to his profession.

2d P. S.—I have not yet got the returns of killed and wounded, but I enclose a list of officers killed and wounded on the two days, as far as the same can be made out without the returns; and I am very happy to add, that Colonel Delancey is not dead, and that strong hopes of his recovery are entertained.

Subsequently to this despatch, which was written on the field he had so gloriously won, the Duke of Wellington sent the following to Lord Bathurst:

Brussels, June 19, 1815.

My Lord—I have to inform your lordship, in addition to my despatch of this morning, that we have already got here 5000 prisoners,

taken in the action of yesterday, and that there are above 2000 more coming in to-morrow; there will probably be many more. Among the prisoners are the Count Lobau, who commanded the 6th corps, and General Cambrone, who commanded a division of the guards. I propose sending the whole to England by Ostend.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

WELLINGTON.

Earl Bathurst, &c.

War Department, Downing-street, June 29, 1815.

Despatches, of which the following are extracts, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst from Field-Marshal his Grace the Duke of Wellington, dated Cateau, 22d, and Jonçourt, 25th inst.

Le Cateau, June 22, 1815.

We have continued in march on the left of the Sambre since I wrote to you. Marshal Blucher crossed that river on the 19th, in pursuit of the enemy, and both armies entered the French territory yesterday; the Prussians by Beaumont, and the allied army, under my command, by Bavay.

The remains of the French army have retired upon Laon. All accounts agree in stating, that it is in a very wretched state; and that, in addition to its losses in battle and in prisoners, it is losing vast numbers of men by desertion.

The soldiers quit their regiments in parties, and return to their homes; those of the cavalry and artillery selling their horses to the people of the country.

The 3d corps, which in my despatch of the 19th I informed your lordship had been detached to observe the Prussian army, remained in the neighbourhood of Wavre till the 20th; it then made good its retreat by Namur and Dinant. This corps is the only one remaining entire.

I am not yet able to transmit your lordship returns of the killed and wounded in the army in the late actions.

It gives me the greatest satisfaction to inform you, that Colonel Delancey is not dead: he is badly wounded, but his recovery is not doubted, and I hope will be early.

PRUSSIAN OFFICIAL REPORT.

It was on the 15th of this month (June) that Napoleon, after having collected on the 14th five corps of his army, and the several corps of the guard, between Maubeuge and Beaumont, commenced hostilities. The points of concentration of the four Prussian corps were Fleurus, Namur, Ligny, and Hannut, the situation of which made it possible to unite the army in one of these points in twenty-four hours.

On the 15th, Napoleon advanced by Thuin, upon the two banks of the Sambre, against Charleroi. General Ziethen had collected the first corps near Fleurus, and had on that day a very warm action

with the enemy, who, after having taken Charleroi, directed his march upon Fleurus. General Ziethen maintained himself in his position near that place.

Field-Marshal Blucher intending to fight a great battle with the enemy as soon as possible, the three other corps of the Prussian army were consequently directed upon Sombref, a league and a half from Fleurus, where the 2d and 3d corps were to arrive on the 15th, and the 4th corps on the 16th.

Lord Wellington had united his army between Ath and Nivelles, which enabled him to assist Field-Marshal Blucher, in case the battle should be fought on the 15th.

JUNE 16.—BATTLE OF LIGNY.

The Prussian army was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, and beyond the last place, and occupied with a large force the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, situated in its front.

Meantime only three corps of the army had joined; the 4th, which was stationed between Liege and Hannut, had been delayed in its march by several circumstances, and was not yet come up. Nevertheless, Field-Marshal Blucher resolved to give battle, Lord Wellington having already put in motion to support him a strong division of his army, as well as his whole reserve stationed in the environs of Brussels, and the 4th corps of the Prussian army being also on the point of arriving.

The battle began at three o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy brought up above 130,000 men. The Prussian army was 80,000 strong. The village of St. Amand was the first point attacked by the enemy, who carried it after a vigorous resistance.

He then directed his efforts against Ligny; it is a large village, solidly built, situated on a rivulet of the same name. It was there that a contest began which may be considered as one of the most obstinate recorded in history. Villages have often been taken and retaken; but here the combat continued for five hours in the villages themselves, and the movements forward or backward were confined to a very narrow space. On both sides fresh troops continually came up. Each army had behind the part of the village which it occupied great masses of infantry, which maintained the combat, and were continually renewed by the reinforcements which they received from their rear, as well as from the heights on the right and left. About two hundred cannon were directed from both sides against the village, which was on fire in several places at once. From time to time the combat extended along the whole line, the enemy having also directed numerous troops against the 3d corps; however, the main contest was near Ligny. Things seemed to take a favourable turn for the Prussian troops, a part of the village of St. Amand having been retaken by a battalion commanded by the field-marshal in person; in consequence of which advantage we had regained a height, which had been abandoned after the loss of St. Amand. Nevertheless, the battle continued about Ligny with the same fury. The issue seemed to depend upon the arrival of the English troops, or on that of the 4th corps of the Prussian army; in fact, the arrival of this last divi-

sion would have afforded the field-marshal the means of making, immediately, with the right wing, an attack, from which great success might be expected: but news arrived that the English division destined to support us was violently attacked by a corps of the French army, and that it was with great difficulty it had maintained itself in its position at Quatre Bras. The 4th corps of the army did not appear, so that we were forced to maintain alone the contest with an army greatly superior in numbers. The evening was already much advanced, and the combat about Ligny continued with the same fury and the same equality of success; we invoked, but in vain, the arrival of those succours which were so necessary; the danger became every hour more and more urgent; all the divisions were engaged, or had already been so, and there were not any corps at hand able to support them. Suddenly a division of the enemy's infantry, which by favour of the night made a circuit round the village without being observed, at the same time that some regiments of cuirassiers had forced the passage on the other side, took in rear the main body of our army, which was posted behind the houses. This surprise on the part of the enemy was decisive, especially at the moment when our cavalry, also posted on a height hehind the village, was repulsed by the enemy's cavalry in repeated attacks.

Our infantry posted behind Ligny, though forced to retreat, did not suffer itself to be discouraged, either by being surprised by the enemy in the darkness, a circumstance which exaggerates in the mind of man the danger to which he finds himself exposed, or by the idea of seeing itself surrounded on all sides. Formed in masses, it coolly repulsed all the attacks of the cavalry, and retreated in good order upon the heights, whence it continued its retrograde movement upon Tilly. In consequence of the sudden irruption of the enemy's cavalry, several of our cannons in their precipitate retreat had taken directions which led them to defiles, in which they necessarily fell into disorder; in this manner, 15 pieces fell into the hands of the enemy. At the distance of a quarter of a league from the field of battle, the army formed again. The enemy did not venture to pursue it. The village of Brie remained in our possession during the night, as well as Sombref, where General Thielman had fought with the third corps, and whence he at daybreak slowly began to retreat towards Gembloux, where the fourth corps, under General Bulow, had at length arrived during the night. The first and second corps proceeded in the morning behind the defile of Mount St. Guibert. Our loss in killed and wounded was great; the enemy, however, took from us no prisoners, except a part of our wounded. The battle was lost, but not our honour. Our soldiers fought with a bravery which equalled every expectation; their fortitude remained unshaken, because every one retained his confidence in his own strength. On this day Field-Marshal Blucher had encountered the greatest dangers. A charge of cavalry, led on by himself, had failed. While that of the enemy was vigorously pursuing, a musket-shot struck the field-marshal's horse: the animal, far from being stopped in his career by this wound, began to gallop more furiously till it dropped down dead. The field-marshal, stunned by the violent fall, lay entangled under the horse.

The enemy's cuirassiers following up their advantage, advanced:

our last horseman had already passed by the field-marshal, an adjutant alone remained with him, and had just alighted, resolved to share his fate. The danger was great, but Heaven watched over us. The enemy pursuing their charge, passed rapidly by the field-marshal without seeing him: the next moment a second charge of our cavalry having repulsed them, they again passed by him with the same precipitation, not perceiving him, any more than they had done the first time. Then, but not without difficulty, the field-marshal was disengaged from under the dead horse, and he immediately mounted a dragoon-horse.

On the 17th in the evening the Prussian army concentrated itself in the environs of Wavre. Napoleon put himself in motion against Lord Wellington, upon the great road leading from Charleroi to Brussels. An English division maintained on the same day, near Quatre Bras, a very severe contest with the enemy. Lord Wellington had taken a position on the road to Brussels, having his right wing leaning upon Braine-le-Leu, the centre near Mont Saint-Jean, and the left wing against La Haye Sainte. Lord Wellington wrote to the field-marshal, that he was resolved to accept the battle in this position, if the field-marshal would support him with two corps of his army. The field-marshal promised to come with his whole army: he even proposed, in case Napoleon should not attack, that the allies themselves, with their united force, should attack him the next day. This may serve to show how little the battle of the 16th had disorganized the Prussian army, or weakened its moral strength. Thus ended the day of the 17th.

At break of day the Prussian army again began to move. The 4th and 2d corps marched by St. Lambert, where they were to take a position, covered by the forest, near Frichemont, to take the army in the rear, when the moment should appear favourable. The 1st corps was to operate by Ohain on the right flank of the enemy. The 3d corps was to follow slowly in order to afford succour in case of need. The battle began about ten o'clock in the morning. The English army occupied the heights of Mont St. Jean; that of the French was on the heights before Planchenoit: the former was about 80,000 strong; the enemy had above 130,000. In a short time the battle became general along the whole line. It seems that Napoleon had the design to throw the left wing upon the centre, and thus to effect the separation of the English army from the Prussian, which he believed to be retreating upon Maestricht. For this purpose he had placed the greatest part of his reserve in the centre, against his right wing, and upon this point he attacked with fury. The English army fought with a valour which it is impossible to surpass. The repeated charges of the old guard were baffled by the intrepidity of the Scotch regiments; and at every charge the French cavalry was overthrown by the English cavalry. But the superiority of the enemy in numbers was too great; Napoleon continually brought forward considerable masses, and with whatever firmness the English troops maintained themselves in their position, it was not possible but that such heroic exertions must have a limit.

It was half-past four o'clock. The excessive difficulties of the passage by the defile of St. Lambert had considerably retarded the

march of the Prussian columns, so that only two brigades of the fourth corps had arrived at the covered position which was assigned to them. The decisive moment was come; there was not an instant to be lost. The generals did not suffer it to escape. They resolved immediately to begin the attack with the troops which they had at hand. General Bulow, therefore, with two brigades, and a corps of cavalry, advanced rapidly upon the rear of the enemy's right wing. The enemy did not lose his presence of mind; he instantly turned his reserve against us, and a murderous conflict began on that side. The combat remained long uncertain, while the battle of the English army still continued with the same violence.

Towards six o'clock in the evening we received the news that General Thielman, with the third corps, was attacked near Wavre by a very considerable corps of the enemy, and that they were already disputing the possession of the town. The field-marshal, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed by this news; it was on the spot where he was, and nowhere else, that the affair was to be decided. A conflict continually supported by the same obstinacy, and kept up by fresh troops, could alone ensure the victory, and if it were obtained here, any reverse sustained near Wavre was of little consequence. The columns, therefore, continued their movements. It was half an hour past seven, and the issue of the battle was still uncertain. The whole of the fourth corps, and a part of the second, under General Reich, had successively come up. The troops fought with desperate fury: however, some uncertainty was perceived in their movements, and it was observed that some pieces of cannon were retreating. At this moment the first columns of the corps of General Ziethen arrived on the points of attack, near the village of Smouhen, on the enemy's right flank, and instantly charged them. This moment decided the defeat of the enemy; his right wing was broken in three places; he abandoned his positions. Our troops rushed forward at the *pas de charge*, and attacked him on all sides, whilst at the same time the whole English line advanced.

Circumstances were extremely favourable to the attack formed by the Prussian army: the ground rose in an amphitheatre, so that our artillery could freely open its fire from the summit of a great many heights which rose gradually above each other, and in the intervals of which the troops descended into the plain, formed into brigades, and in the greatest order; while fresh corps continually unfolded themselves, issuing from the forest on the height behind us. The enemy, however, still preserved means to retreat, till the village of Planchenoit, which he had on his rear, and which was defended by the guard, was, after several bloody attacks, carried by storm. From that time the retreat became a rout, which soon spread through the whole French army, which in its dreadful confusion, hurrying away every thing that attempted to stop it, soon assumed the appearance of the flight of an army of barbarians. It was half-past nine.

The field-marshal assembled all the superior officers, and gave orders to send the last man and the last horse in pursuit of the enemy. The van of the army accelerated its march. The French army being pursued without intermission, was absolutely disorganized. The causeway presented the appearance of an immense shipwreck: it was

covered with an innumerable quantity of cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wrecks of every kind. Those of the enemy who had attempted to repose for a time, and had not expected to be so quickly pursued, were driven from more than nine bivouacs. In some villages they attempted to maintain themselves; but as soon as they heard the beating of our drums, or the sound of the trumpet, they either fled or threw themselves into the houses, where they were cut down or made prisoners. It was moonlight, which greatly favoured the pursuit, for the whole march was but a continued chase, either in the corn-fields or the houses.

At Genappe the enemy had intrenched himself with cannon and overturned carriages; at our approach we suddenly heard in the town a great noise and motion of carriages; at the entrance we were exposed to a brisk fire of musketry; we replied by some cannon-shot, followed by an hurra, and an instant after the town was ours. It was here that, among many other equipages, the carriage of Napoleon was taken: he had just left it to mount on horseback, and in his hurry had forgotten in it his sword and hat. Thus the affair continued till break of day. About 40,000 men, in the most complete disorder, the remains of the whole army, have saved themselves, retreating through Charleroi, partly without arms, and carrying with them only twenty-seven pieces of their numerous artillery.

The enemy in his flight has passed all his fortresses, the only defence of his frontiers, which are now passed by our armies.

At three o'clock Napoleon had despatched from the field of battle a courier to Paris, with the news that victory was no longer doubtful: a few hours after, he had no longer an army left! We have not yet any exact account of the enemy's loss: it is enough to know that two-thirds of the whole army are killed, wounded, or prisoners: among the latter are Generals Mouton, Duhesme, and Compans. Up to this time about 300 cannon, and above 500 caissons, are in our hands.

Few victories have been so complete; and there is certainly no example that an army, two days after losing a battle, engaged in such an action, and so gloriously maintained it. Honour be to such troops capable of so much firmness and valour! In the middle of the position occupied by the French army, and exactly upon the height, is a farm, called La Belle Alliance. The march of all the Prussian columns was directed towards this farm, which was visible from every side. It was there that Napoleon was during the battle; it was thence that he gave his orders, that he flattered himself with the hopes of victory; and it was there that his ruin was decided. There, too, it was, that by a happy chance Field-Marshal Blucher and Lord Wellington met in the dark, and mutually saluted each other as victors.

In commemoration of the alliance which now subsists between the English and Prussian nations, of the union of the two armies, and their reciprocal confidence, the field-marshal desired that this battle should bear the name of La Belle Alliance.

By the order of Field-Marshal Blucher,

GENERAL GNEISENAU.

RELATION OF THE SPANISH GENERAL ALAVA.

From the *Madrid Gazette.*

I joined the army on the morning of the 18th, though I had received no orders to that effect, because I believed that I should thus best serve his majesty, and, at the same time, fulfil your excellency's directions; and this determination has afforded me the satisfaction of having been present at the most important battle that has been fought for many centuries, in its consequences, its duration, and the talents of the chiefs of both sides; and because the peace of the world, and the future security of all Europe, may be said to have depended on its result.

The position occupied by his lordship was very good; but towards the centre it had various weak points, which required good troops to guard them, and much science and skill on the part of the general-in-chief. These qualifications were, however, to be found in abundance in the British troops and their illustrious commander; and it may be asserted, without offence to any one, that to them belongs the chief part, or all the glory of this memorable day.

On the right of the position, and a little in advance, was a country-house, the importance of which Lord Wellington quickly perceived, because without it the position could not be attacked on that side, and it might therefore be considered as its key. The duke confided this important point to three companies of the English guards, under the command of Lord Saltoun, and laboured during the night of the 17th in fortifying it as well as possible, lining its garden and a wood, which served as its park, with Nassau troops and sharpshooters.

At half-past ten a movement was observed in the enemy's line, and many officers were seen coming from and going to a particular point, where there was a very considerable corps of infantry, which we afterwards understood to be the Imperial Guard: here was Bonaparte in person, and from this point issued all the orders. In the mean time, the enemy's masses were forming, and every thing announced the approaching combat, which began at half-past eleven, the enemy attacking with one of his corps, and with his usual shouts, the country-house on the right.

The Nassau troops found it necessary to abandon their post; but the enemy met such resistance in the house, that though they surrounded it on three sides, and attacked it most desperately, they were compelled to desist from their enterprise, leaving a great number of killed and wounded on the spot. Lord Wellington sent fresh English troops, who recovered the wood and garden, and the combat ceased for the present on this side.

The enemy then opened a horrible fire of artillery of more than two hundred pieces, under cover of which Bonaparte made a general attack from the centre to the right with infantry and cavalry, in such numbers that it required all the skill of his lordship to post his troops, and all the good qualities of the latter to resist the attack.

General Picton, who was with his division on the road from Brussels to Charleroi, advanced with the bayonet to receive them, but was unfortunately killed at the moment when the enemy, appalled by the attitude of this division, fired, and then fled.

The English life guards then charged with the greatest vigour, and the 49th and 105th French regiments lost their eagles in this charge, together with from two to three thousand prisoners. A column of cavalry, at whose head were the cuirassiers, advanced to charge the life guards, and thus save their infantry; but the guards received them with the greatest vigour, and the most sanguinary cavalry fight perhaps ever witnessed was the consequence.

The French cuirassiers were completely beaten, in spite of their cuirasses, by troops who had nothing of the sort, and lost one of their eagles in this conflict, which was taken by the heavy English cavalry called the Royals.

General Alava next mentions the approach of the Prussian army, "which," he observes, "was the more necessary, from the superior numbers of the enemy's army, and from the dreadful loss we had sustained in this unequal combat, from eleven in the morning till five in the afternoon."

Bonaparte, who did not believe the Prussians to be so near, and who reckoned upon destroying Lord Wellington before their arrival, perceived that he had fruitlessly lost more than five hours, and that in the critical position in which he was then placed, there remained no other resource but that of desperately attacking the weaker post of the English position, and thus, if possible, beating the duke before his right was turned, and attacked by the Prussians.

Henceforward, therefore, the whole was a repetition of attacks by cavalry and infantry, supported by more than 300 pieces of artillery, which unfortunately made horrible ravages in our line, and killed and wounded officers, artillerists, and horses, in the weakest part of the position.

The enemy, aware of this destruction, made a charge with the whole cavalry of his guard, which took some pieces of cannon that could not be withdrawn, but the duke, who was at this point, charged them with three battalions of English and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them in a moment to abandon the artillery, though we were unable to withdraw them for want of horses; nor did they dare to advance to recover them.

At last, about seven in the evening, Bonaparte made a final effort, and putting himself at the head of his guards, attacked the above point of the English position with such vigour, that he drove back the Brunswickers, who occupied part of it, and for a moment the victory was undecided, and even more than doubtful.

The duke, who felt that the moment was most critical, spoke to the Brunswick troops with that ascendancy which every great man possesses, made them return to the charge, and putting himself at their head, again restored the combat, exposing himself to every kind of personal danger.

Fortunately at this moment we perceived the fire of Marshal Blucher, attacking the enemy's right with his usual impetuosity; and the moment of decisive attack being come, the duke put himself at the head of the English foot-guards, spoke a few words to them, which were replied to by a general hurrah, and his grace himself guiding them on with his hat, they marched at the point of the

bayonet, to come to close action with the Imperial Guard But the latter began a retreat, which was soon converted into flight, and the most complete rout ever exhibited by soldiers. The famous rout of Vittoria was not even comparable to it.

The general then adds several reflections on the importance of the victory, and in enumerating the loss sustained, says—

"Of those who were by the side of the Duke of Wellington, only he and myself remained untouched in our persons and horses. The rest were all either killed, wounded, or lost one or more horses. The duke was unable to refrain from tears in witnessing the death of so many brave and honourable men, and the loss of so many friends and faithful companions, and which alone can be compensated by the importance of the victory."

CHAPTER XLIII.

NARRATIVE OF THE CAMPAIGN OF WATERLOO.

BY M. FLEURY DE CHABOULON, EX-SECRETARY TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

The plan of the campaign adopted by the Emperor, was worthy of the courage of the French and of the high reputation of their chief. Information given by agents employed by the Duke of Otranto, had made known the position of the allies, in all its particulars. Napoleon knew that the army of Wellington was dispersed over the country, from the borders of the sea to Nivelles; that the right of the Prussians rested on Charleroi; and that the rest of their army was stationed in échelon indefinitely as far as the Rhine. He judged that the lines of the enemy were too much extended; and that it would be practicable for him, by not giving them time to close up, to separate the two armies, and fall in succession on their troops thus taken by surprise. For this purpose he had united all his cavalry into a single body of twenty thousand horse, with which he intended to dart like lightning into the midst of the enemy's cantonments. If victory favoured this bold stroke, the centre of our army would occupy Brussels on the second day, while the corps of the right and of the left drove the Prussians to the Meuse, and the English to the Scheldt. Belgium being conquered, he would have armed the malcontents, and marched from success to success as far as the Rhine.

On the 14th, during the night, our army, the presence of which the Emperor had taken care to conceal, was to commence its march; nothing indicated that the enemy had foreseen our irruption, and every thing promised us important results. It was at this time that Napoleon was informed that General Bourmont, Colonels Clouet and Villoutreys,

and two other officers, had just deserted to the enemy. He knew from Marshal Ney that M. de Bourmont, at the time of the occurrences at Besançon, had shown some hesitation, and was backward to employ him. But M. de Bourmont having given General Girard his word of honour to serve the Emperor faithfully, and this general, whom Napoleon highly valued, having answered for Bourmont, the Emperor consented to admit him into the service. How could he have supposed that this officer, who had covered himself with glory in 1814, would, in 1815, go over to the enemy on the eve of a battle? Napoleon immediately made such alterations in his plan of attack as this unexpected treason rendered necessary, and then marched forward. On the 15th, at one in the morning, he was in person at Jumiguan, on the Eure. At three, his army moved in three columns, and debouched suddenly at Beaumont, Maubeuge, and Philippeville. A corps of infantry, under General Ziethen, attempted to dispute the passage of the Sambre. The fourth corps of chasseurs, supported by the ninth, broke it, sword in hand, and took three hundred prisoners. The sappers and miners of the guard, sent after the enemy to repair the bridges, did not allow them time to destroy them. They followed them as sharpshooters, and penetrated with them into the great square. The brave Pajol soon arrived with his cavalry, and Charleroi was ours. The inhabitants, happy at seeing the French once more, saluted them unanimously with continued shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" "France for ever!" General Pajol immediately sent the hussars of General Clary in pursuit of the Prussians, and this brave regiment finished its day by the capture of a standard, and the destruction of a battalion that ventured to resist it. During this time the second corps passed the Sambre at Marchiennes, and overthrew every thing before it. The Prussians having at length rallied, attempted to oppose some resistance to it; but General Reille beat them with his light cavalry, took two hundred prisoners, and killed or dispersed the rest. Beaten in every part, they retired to the heights of Fleurus, which had been so fatal to the enemies of France twenty years before. Napoleon reconnoitred the ground at a glance. Our troops rushed on the Prussians at full gallop. Three squares of infantry, supported by several squadrons and some artillery, sustained the shock with intrepidity. Wearied of their immoveableness, the Emperor ordered General Letort to charge them at the head of the dragoons of the guard. At the same moment, General Excelmans fell upon the left flank of the enemy; and the 20th dragoons, commanded by the brave and the young Briqueville, rushed on the Prussians on one side, while Letort attacked them on the other. They were broken and annihilated; but dearly was the victory purchased: Letort was killed. This affair, of little importance in its results, for it cost the enemy only five pieces of artillery, and 3000 men killed or taken prisoners, pro-

duced the happiest effects on the army. The illness of Marshal Mortier, and the treason of General Bourmont had given birth to sentiments of doubt and fear, which were entirely dissipated by the successful issue of this first battle. Hitherto each chief of a corps had retained its immediate command, and it is easy to suppose what their ardour and emulation must have been: but the Emperor fell into the error of overturning the hopes of their courage and their ambition; he placed General d'Erlon and Count Reille under the orders of Marshal Ney, whom he brought forward too late; and Count Girard and Count Vandamme, under the orders of Marshal Grouchy, whom it would have been better to have left at the head of the cavalry. On the 16th, in the morning, the army, thus distributed, occupied the following positions. Marshal Ney, with the first and second corps, the cavalry of General Lefevre-Desnouettes, and that of General Kellerman, had his advanced guard at Frasnes; and the other troops in the neighbourhood of Gosselies.*

* The following is the French official account of the force of the army of Flanders.

Left.—Under Marshal Nay.—1st Corps.	
Infantry	16,500
Cavalry	1,500
2d Corps.	
Infantry	21,000
Cavalry	1,500
Cavalry of Desnouettes	2,100
Cuirassiers of Kellerman	2,600
	45,200
Artillery, horse and foot	2,400
And 116 pieces of ordnance.	
Right.—Under Marshal Grouchy.—3d Corps.	
Infantry	13,000
Cavalry	1,500
4th Corps.	
Infantry	12,000
Cavalry	1,500
Cavalry of Pajol	2,500
Cavalry of Excelmans	2,600
Cuirassiers of Milhaud	2,500
	35,600
Artillery, horse and foot	2,250
And 112 pieces of ordnance.	
Centre and Reserve.—Under the Emperor.—6th Corps.	
Infantry	11,000
Old Guard	5,000
Middle Guard	5,000
Young Guard	4,000
Horse Grenadiers	1,200
Dragoons	1,200
	27,400
Artillery, horse and foot	2,700
And 134 pieces of ordnance	

Marshal Grouchy, with the 3d and 4th corps, and the cavalry of Generals Pajol, Excelmans, and Milhaud, was placed on the heights of Fleurus, and in advance of them. The 6th corps and the guard were in *échelon* between Fleurus and Charleroi. The same day the army of Marshal Blucher, 90,000 strong, collected together with great skill, was posted on the heights of Brie and Sombref, and occupied the villages of Ligny and St. Amand, which protected his front. His cavalry extended far in advance on the road to Namur. The army of the Duke of Wellington, which this general had not yet had time to collect, was composed of about 100,000 men, scattered between Ath, Nivelle, Genappe, and Brussels.

The Emperor went in person to reconnoitre Blucher's position, and, penetrating his intentions, resolved to give him battle, before his reserves, and the English army, for which he was endeavouring to wait, should have time to arrive. He immediately sent orders to Marshal Ney, whom he supposed to have been on the march for Quatre-Bras, *where he would have found very few forces*, to drive the English briskly before him, and then fall with his main force on the rear of the Prussian army. At the same time he made a change in the front of the imperial army: General Grouchy advanced towards Sombref, General Girard towards Ligny, and General Vandamme towards St. Amand.

General Girard, with his division, 5000 strong, was detached from the 2d corps, and placed in the rear of General Vandamme's left, so as to support him, and, at the same time, form a communication between Marshal Ney's army and that of Napoleon. The guard, and Milhaud's cuirassiers, were disposed as a reserve in advance of Fleurus. At three o'clock the 3d corps reached St. Amand, and carried it. The Prussians, rallied by Blucher, retook the village. The French, intrenched in the churchyard, defended themselves there with obstinacy; but, overpowered by numbers, they were about to give way, when General Drouot, who has more than once decided the fate of a battle, galloped up with four batteries of the guard, took the enemy in the rear, and stopped his career. At the same moment Marshal Grouchy was fighting successfully at Sombref, and General Girard made an impetuous attack on the village of Ligny. Its embattled walls, and a long ravine, rendered the approaches to it not less difficult than dangerous. But these obstacles did not intimidate General Lefol, or the brave fellows

Recapitulation.

Infantry	87,500
Cavalry	20,800
Artillery, horse and foot	7,350
Engineers	2,200
Total	117,850
Pieces of ordnance	362

under his command: they advanced with the bayonet, and in a few minutes the Prussians, repulsed and annihilated, quitted the ground. Marshal Blucher, conscious that the possession of Ligny would decide the fate of the battle, returned to the charge with chosen troops; and here, to use his own words, "commenced a battle that may be considered as one of the most obstinate mentioned in history." For five hours no less than 200 pieces of cannon vomited forth incessantly an iron hail upon this scene of carnage. French and Prussians, alternately vanquished and victors, disputed this ensanguined post hand to hand, and foot to foot, and seven times in succession was it taken and lost. The Emperor expected every instant that Marshal Ney was coming to take part in the action. From the commencement of the affair he had reiterated this order to him, to manœuvre so as to surround the right of the Prussians; and he considered this diversion of such high importance as to write to the marshal, and cause him to be repeatedly told that the fate of France was in his hands. Ney answered, that "he had the whole of the English army to encounter, yet he would promise him to hold out the whole day, but nothing more." The Emperor, better informed, assured him "that it was Wellington's advanced guard alone that made head against him;" and ordered him anew "to beat back the English, and make himself master of Quatre-Bras, cost what it might." The marshal persisted in his fatal error. Napoleon, deeply impressed with the importance of the movement that Marshal Ney refused to comprehend and execute, sent directly to the first corps an order to move with all speed on the right of the Prussians; but, after having lost much valuable time in waiting for it, he judged that the battle could not be prolonged without danger, and directed General Girard, who had with him but 5000 men, to undertake the movement which should have been accomplished by the 20,000 men under Count d'Erlon; namely, to turn St. Amand, and fall on the rear of the enemy.

This manœuvre, ably executed, and seconded by the guard attacking in front, and by a brilliant charge of the cuirassiers of General Delore's brigade, and of the horse grenadier guards, decided the victory. The Prussians, weakened in every part, retired in disorder, and left us masters of the field of battle, forty cannons and many standards.

On the left, Marshal Ney, instead of rushing rapidly on Quatre-Bras, and effecting the diversion that had been recommended to him, had spent twelve hours in useless attempts, and given time to the Prince of Orange to reinforce his advanced guard. The pressing orders of Napoleon not allowing him to remain meditating any longer, and being desirous, no doubt, of recovering the time he had lost, Ney did not thoroughly reconnoitre either the position or the forces of the enemy, but rushed upon them headlong. The division of General Foy commenced the attack, and drove in the sharpshooters, and the ad-

vanced posts. Bachelu's cavalry, aided, covered, and supported by this division, pierced and cut to pieces three Scotch battalions: but the arrival of fresh reinforcements, led by the Duke of Wellington and the heroic bravery of the Scotch, the Belgians, and the Prince of Orange, suspended our success. This resistance, far from discouraging Marshal Ney, revived in him an energy, which he had not before shown. He attacked the Anglo-Hollanders with fury; and drove them back to the skirts of the wood of Bossu. The 1st regiment of chasseurs, and 6th of lancers, overthrew the Brunswickers; the 8th of cuirassiers positively rode over two Scotch battalions, and took from them a colour. The 11th, equally intrepid, pursued them to the entrance of the wood; but the wood, which had not been examined, was lined with English infantry. Our cuirassiers were assailed by a fire at arm's length, which at once carried dismay and confusion into their ranks. Some of the officers, lately incorporated with them, instead of appeasing the disorder, increased it by shouts of "Every one for himself" (*Sauve qui peut*)! This disorder, which in a moment spread from one to another as far as Beaumont, might have occasioned greater disasters, if the infantry of General Foy, which remained unshaken, had not continued to sustain the conflict with equal perseverance and intrepidity.

Marshal Ney, who had with him not more than twenty thousand men, was desirous of causing the first corps, which he had left in the rear, to advance: but the Emperor, as I have said above, had sent immediate orders to Count d'Erlon, who commanded it, to rejoin him, and this general had commenced his march. Ney, when he heard this, was exposed to a cross fire from the enemy's batteries. "Do you see those bullets!" exclaimed he, his brow clouded with despair: "I wish they would all pass through my body." Instantly he sent with all speed after Count d'Erlon, and directed him, whatever orders he might have received from the Emperor himself, to return. Count d'Erlon was so unfortunate and weak as to obey. He brought his troops back to the marshal; but it was nine o'clock in the evening, and the marshal, dispirited by the checks he had received, and dissatisfied with himself and others, had discontinued the engagement.

The Duke of Wellington, whose forces had been increased successively to upwards of fifty thousand men, retired in good order during the night to Genappe.

Marshal Ney was indebted to the great bravery of his troops, and the firmness of his generals, for the honour of not being obliged to abandon his positions.

The desperation with which this battle was fought, made those shudder who were most habituated to contemplate with coolness the horrors of war. The smoking ruins of Ligny and St. Amand, were heaped with the dead and the dying; the ravine before Ligny resembled a river of blood, on which carcasses were floating: at Quatre-Bras there was a similar spectacle! The

hollow way, that skirted the wood, had disappeared under the bloody corses of the brave Scotch, and of our cuirassiers. The Imperial Guard was every where distinguished by its murderous rage: it fought with shouts of "The Emperor for ever! No quarter!" The corps of General Girard displayed the same animosity. It was this corps that, having expended all its ammunition, called out for more cartridges and more Prussians.

The loss of the Prussians, rendered considerable by the tremendous fire of our artillery, was twenty-five thousand men. Blucher, unhorsed by our cuirassiers, escaped them only by a miracle.

The English and Dutch lost four thousand five hundred men. Three Scotch regiments, and the black legion of Brunswick, were almost entirely exterminated. The Prince of Brunswick himself, and a number of other officers of distinction, were killed.

We lost, in the left wing, near five thousand men, and several generals. Prince Jerome, who had already been wounded at the passage of the Sambre, had his hand slightly grazed by a musket-shot. He remained constantly at the head of his division, and displayed a great deal of coolness and valour. Our loss at Ligny, estimated at six thousand five hundred men, was rendered still more to be regretted by General Girard's receiving a mortal wound. Few officers were endued with a character so noble, and an intrepidity so habitual. More greedy of glory than of wealth, he possessed nothing but his sword; and his last moments, instead of resting with delight on the remembrance of his heroic actions alone, were disturbed by the pain of leaving his family exposed to want.

The victory of Ligny did not entirely fulfil the expectations of the Emperor. "If Marshal Ney," said he, "had attacked the English with all his forces, he would have crushed them, and have arrived in time to give the Prussians the finishing blow: and if, after having committed this first fault, he had not been guilty of a second folly, in preventing the movement of Count d'Erlon, the intervention of the 1st corps would have shortened the resistance of Blucher, and rendered his defeat irreparable: his whole army would have been taken or destroyed."

This victory, though imperfect, was not the less considered by the generals as of the highest importance. It separated the English army from the Prussians, and left us hopes of being able to vanquish it in its turn.

The Emperor, without losing time, was for attacking the English on one side at daybreak, and pursuing Blucher's army without respite on the other. In opposition to this plan, it was remarked, that the English army was fresh, and ready to accept battle; while our troops, harassed by the conflicts and fatigue of Ligny, would not perhaps be in a condition to fight with the necessary vigour. Finally, such numerous objections were made, that he consented to suffer the army to take rest. Ill success

inspires timidity. If Napoleon, as of old, had listened only to the suggestions of his own daring resolution, it is probable, nay it is certain, and I have heard General Drouot say that he might, according to his plan, have led his troops to Brussels on the 17th; and who can calculate what would have been the consequences of that capital falling into his hands?

On the 17th, therefore, the Emperor contented himself with forming his army into two columns; one, of sixty-five thousand men, headed by the Emperor himself, after having joined to it the left wing, followed the English army. The light artillery, the lancers of General Alphonse Colbert, and of the intrepid Colonel Sourd, hung close upon their rear even to the entrance of the forest of Soignes, where the Duke of Wellington took up his position.

The other, thirty-six thousand strong, was detached under the orders of Marshal Grouchy, to observe and pursue the Prussians. It did not proceed beyond Gembloux.

The night of the 17th was dreadful, and seemed to presage the calamities of the day. A violent and incessant rain did not allow the army to take a single moment's rest. To increase our misfortunes, the bad state of the roads retarded the arrival of our provisions, and most of the soldiers were without food: however, they endured this double ill-luck with much cheerfulness, and at daybreak announced to Napoleon by repeated acclamations, that they were ready to fly to a fresh victory.

The Emperor had thought, that Lord Wellington, separated from the Prussians, and foreseeing the march of General Grouchy, who, on passing the Dyle, might fall on his flank, or on his rear, would not venture to maintain his position, but would retire to Brussels. He was surprised when daylight discovered to him that the English army had not quitted its positions, but appeared disposed to accept battle and wait the attack. Several general officers were directed to reconnoitre their positions; and, to use the words of one of them, he learned, that they were defended "by an army of cannons, and mountains of infantry."

Napoleon immediately sent advice to Marshal Grouchy, that he was probably about to engage in a grand battle with the English, and ordered him to push the Prussians briskly, to rejoin the grand army as speedily as possible, and to direct his movements, so as to be able to connect his operations with it.

He then sent for his principal officers, to give them his instructions.

Some of them, confident and daring, asserted that the enemy's position should be attacked and carried by main force. Others, not less brave, but more prudent, remonstrated that the ground being deluged by the rain, the troops, the cavalry in particular, could not manœuvre without much difficulty and fatigue; that the English army would have the immense advantage of awaiting us on firm ground in its intrenchments; and that it would be better to endeavour to turn these. All did justice to

the valour of our troops, and promised that they would perform prodigies; but they differed in opinion with regard to the resistance that the English would make. "Their cavalry," said the generals who had fought in Spain, "are not equal to ours; but their infantry are more formidable than is supposed. When intrenched, they are dangerous from their skill in firing; in the open field, they stand firm, and, if broken, rally again within a hundred yards, and return to the charge." Fresh disputes arose; and, what is remarkable, it never entered into any one's head, that the Prussians, pretty numerous parties of whom had been seen towards Moustier, might be in a situation to make a serious diversion on our right.

The Emperor, after having heard and discussed the opinions of all, determined, on considerations to which all assented, to attack the English in front. Reiterated orders were despatched to Marshal Grouchy; and Napoleon, to give him time to execute the movement he had enjoined, spent the whole morning in arranging his army.

The English army was reconnoitred anew by the Emperor in person. Its central position, resting on the village of Mont St. Jean, was supported on the right by the farm of Hougomont; on the left by that of La Haye Sainte. Its two wings extended beyond the hamlets of Ter-la-Haye and Merke-Braine. Hedges, woods, ravines, an immense quantity of artillery, from 85,000 to 90,000 men, defended this formidable position.

The Emperor drew up his army* in the following order:

The 2d corps, of which Prince Jerome always made a part, was posted opposite the woods, that surrounded Hougomont.

The 1st corps opposite La Haye Sainte.

The 6th corps was sent to the extremity of the right, so as to be able to form a communication with Marshal Grouchy, when he should appear.

The light cavalry and cuirassiers were flanked in a second line, behind the 1st and 2d corps.

* 2d Corps.

Infantry	16,500	18,000
Cavalry	1,500	

1st Corps.

Infantry	12,500	13,700
Cavalry	1,200	

6th Corps.

Infantry . 7,000—(4,000 had been joined to Grouchy,)	7,000
Division of d'Aumont and Suberwicz	2,500
Cuirassiers	4,800
Foot guards 12,500	
Light cavalry 2,100	16,600
Grenadiers and dragoons 2,000	
Artillery	4,500
	67,100

Girard's division 3000 men.

The guard and its cavalry were kept in reserve on the heights of Planchenoit.

The old division of General Girard was left at Fleurus.

The Emperor, with his staff, took his station on a rising ground near the farm of La Belle Alliance, which commanded the plain, and whence he could easily direct the movements of his army, and observe those of the English.

At half-past twelve the Emperor, persuaded that Marshal Grouchy must be in motion, caused the signal for the battle to be given.

Prince Jerome, with his division, advanced against Hougomont. The approaches were defended by hedges and a wood, in which the enemy had posted numerous guns. The attack, rendered so difficult by the state of the ground, was conducted with extreme impetuosity. The wood was alternately taken and retaken. Our troops and the English, very frequently separated only by a hedge, fired on each other, their muskets almost touching, without retreating a single step. The artillery made fearful ravages on both sides. The event was doubtful, till General Reille ordered Foy's division to support the attack of Prince Jerome, and thus succeeded in compelling the enemy to abandon the woods and orchards, which they had hitherto so valiantly defended and kept possession of.

It was one o'clock. A few moments before, an intercepted despatch informed the Emperor of the near approach of 30,000 Prussians, commanded by Bulow. Napoleon thought that the strength of this corps, some of the skirmishers of which had appeared on the heights of St. Lambert, was exaggerated; and persuaded, too, that Grouchy's army was following it, and that it would soon find itself between two fires, it gave him but little uneasiness. However, rather from precaution than from fear, he gave orders to General d'Aumont, to advance with his cavalry and that of General Suberwicz, to meet the Prussians; and directed Count de Lobau to be ready to support General d'Aumont in case of necessity. Orders were despatched at the same time to Marshal Grouchy, to inform him of what was passing, and enjoin him anew, to hasten his march, to pursue, attack, and crush Bulow.

Thus, by drawing off the divisions of d'Aumont and Suberwicz, and by the paralysation of the 6th corps, our army was reduced to less than 57,000 men; but it displayed so much resolution, that the Emperor did not doubt that it was sufficient to defeat the English.

The 2d corps, as I have already said, had effected the dislodgment of the English from the woods of Hougomont; but the 1st corps, notwithstanding the continual play of several batteries, and the resolution of our infantry and of the light horse of Generals Lefevre-Desnouettes and Guyot, had been unable to force either La Haye Sainte or Mont St. Jean. The Emperor

ordered Marshal Ney to undertake a fresh attack, and to support it by eighty pieces of cannon. A tremendous fire of musketry and artillery then took place along the whole line. The English, insensible to danger, supported the charges of our foot and of our horse with great steadiness. The more resistance they displayed, the more furiously did our soldiers continue the attack. At length the English, driven from one position to another, evacuated La Haye Sainte and Mont St. Jean, and our troops seized on them with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!"

To sustain them there, Count d'Erlon immediately sent the 2d brigade of General Alix. A body of English horse intercepted the passage, threw the brigade into disorder, and then, falling on our batteries, succeeded in dismounting several pieces of artillery. The cuirassiers of General Milhaud rushed forward at a gallop to repulse the English horse. A fresh division of these came and fell upon our cuirassiers. Our lancers and chasseurs were sent to their assistance. A general charge ensued, and the English, broken, overthrown and cut down, were forced to retire in disorder.

Hitherto the French army, or, to speak more properly, the forty thousand men of Generals Reille, and d'Erlon, had obtained and preserved a marked superiority. The enemy, driven back, appeared hesitating on their movements. Dispositions had been observed, that seemed to indicate an approaching retreat. The Emperor, satisfied, joyfully exclaimed: "They are ours, I have them:" and Marshal Soult, and all the generals, considered as he did, the victory certain. The guard had already received orders to put itself in motion, to occupy the ground we had gained, and annihilate the enemy, when General d'Aumont sent to inform the Emperor, that Bulow's corps had just formed in line, and was advancing rapidly on the rear of our right. This information changed the design of Napoleon; and, instead of employing his guard to support the first and second corps, he kept it in reserve; ordering Marshal Ney to maintain his ground in the woods of Hougomont, at La Haye Sainte, and at Mont St. Jean, till the event of the movement, which Count Lobau was about to make against the Prussians, should be known.

The English, informed of the arrival of Bulow, resumed the offensive; and endeavoured to drive us from the positions that we had taken from them. Our troops repulsed them victoriously. Marshal Ney, carried away by his reckless courage, forgot the orders of the Emperor. He charged the enemy at the head of Milhaud's cuirassiers and the light cavalry of the guard, and succeeded, amid the applauses of the army, in establishing himself on the heights of Mont St. Jean, till then inaccessible.

This ill-timed and hazardous movement did not escape the Duke of Wellington. He ordered his infantry to advance, and fell upon us with all his cavalry. The Emperor immediately ordered General Kellerman and his cuirassiers, to hasten to

extricate our first line. The horse grenadiers and dragoons of the guard, either from a misconception of Marshal Ney, or spontaneously, put themselves in motion, and followed the cuirassiers, without its being possible to stop them. A second conflict, more bloody than the first, took place at all points. Our troops, exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy's batteries and infantry, heroically sustained and executed numerous brilliant charges during two hours, in which we had the glory of taking six flags, dismounting several batteries, and cutting to pieces four regiments; but in which we also lost the flower of our intrepid cuirassiers, and of the cavalry of the guard.

The Emperor, whom this fatal engagement filled with despair, could not remedy it. Grouchy did not arrive: and he had already been obliged to weaken his reserves by four thousand of the young guard, in order to master the Prussians, whose numbers and whose progress were still increasing.

Mean time our cavalry, weakened by a considerable loss, and unequal contests incessantly renewed, began to be disheartened, and to give ground. The issue of the battle appeared to become doubtful. It was necessary to strike a grand blow by a desperate attack.

The Emperor did not hesitate a moment.

Orders were immediately given to Count Reille, to collect all his forces, and to fall with impetuosity on the right of the enemy, while Napoleon in person proceeded to attack the front with his reserves. The Emperor had already formed his guard into a column of attack, when he heard that our cavalry had just been compelled to evacuate in part the heights of Mont St. Jean. Marshal Ney was immediately ordered to take with him four battalions of the middle guard, and hasten with all speed to the fatal height, to support the cuirassiers by whom it was still occupied.

The determined aspect of the guard, and the harangues of Napoleon, animated the courage of all: the cavalry and a few battalions who had followed his movement to the rear, faced about towards the enemy, shouting "The Emperor for ever!"

At this moment the firing of musketry was heard. "There's Grouchy!" exclaimed the Emperor: "The day is ours!" Labédoyère flew to announce this happy news to the army: in spite of the enemy, he penetrated to the head of our columns: "Marshal Grouchy is arriving, the guard is going to charge: courage! courage! 'tis all over with the English."

One last shout of hope burst from every rank: the wounded who were still capable of taking a few steps, returned to the combat; and thousands of voices eagerly repeated, "Forward! forward!"

The column commanded by the bravest of the brave, on his arrival in the face of the enemy, was received by discharges of artillery, that occasioned it a terrible loss. Marshal Ney, weary

of bullets, ordered the batteries to be carried by the bayonet. The grenadiers rushed on them with such impetuosity, that they neglected the admirable order to which they had been so often indebted for victory. Their leader, intoxicated with intrepidity, did not perceive this disorder. He and his soldiers rushed on the enemy tumultuously. A shower of balls and grape burst on their heads. Ney's horse was shot under him, Generals Michel and Friant fell wounded or dead, and a number of brave fellows were stretched on the ground. Wellington did not allow our grenadiers time to recover themselves. He attacked them in flank with his cavalry, and compelled them to retire in the greatest disorder. At the same instant, the 30,000 Prussians under Ziethen, who had been taken for Grouchy's army, carried by assault the village of La Haye, and drove our men before them. Our cavalry, our infantry, already staggered by the defeat of the middle guard, were afraid of being cut off, and precipitately retreated. The English horse, skilfully availing themselves of the confusion, which this unexpected retreat had occasioned, pierced through our ranks, and succeeded in spreading disorder and dismay amongst them. The other troops on the right, who continued to resist with great difficulty the attack of the Prussians, and who had been in want of ammunition above an hour, seeing some of our squadrons routed, and some of the guards running away, thought all was lost, and quitted their position. This panic extended in an instant to our left; and the whole army, after having so valiantly carried the enemy's strongest posts, abandoned them with as much precipitation as they had displayed bravery in conquering them.

The English army, which had advanced in proportion as we retreated, and the Prussians, who had not ceased to pursue us, fell at once on our scattered battalions; night increased the tumult and alarm; and soon the whole army was nothing but a confused crowd, which the English and Prussians routed without effort, and pitilessly massacred.

The Emperor, witnessing this frightful defection, could scarcely believe his eyes. His aides-de-camp flew to rally the troops in all directions. He also threw himself into the midst of the crowd. But his words, his orders, his entreaties, were not heard. How was it possible for the army to form anew under the guns, and amid the continual charges of 80,000 English, and 60,000 Prussians, who covered the field of battle?

However, eight battalions, which the Emperor had previously collected, formed in squares, and blocked up the road to prevent the advance of the Prussian and English armies. These brave fellows, notwithstanding their resolution and courage, could not long resist the efforts of an enemy twenty times their number. Surrounded, assaulted, cannonaded on all sides, most of them at length fell. Some sold their lives dearly; others,

exhausted with fatigue, hunger, and thirst, had no longer strength to fight, and suffered themselves to be killed, without being able to make any defence. Two battalions only, whom the enemy were unable to break, retreated disputing the ground, till, thrown into disorder and hurried along by the general movement, they were obliged themselves to follow the stream.

One last battalion of reserve, the illustrious and unfortunate remains of the granite column of the fields of Marengo, had remained unshaken amid the tumultuous waves of the army. The Emperor retired into the ranks of these brave fellows, still commanded by Cambronne! He formed them into a square, and advanced at their head, to meet the enemy. All his generals, Ney, Soult, Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, De Flahaut, Labédoyère, Gourgaud, &c., drew their swords, and became soldiers. The old grenadiers, incapable of fear for their own lives, were alarmed at the danger that threatened the life of the Emperor. They conjured him to withdraw. "Retire," said one of them: "You see clearly that death shuns you." The Emperor resisted, and ordered them to fire. The officers around him seized his bridle, and dragged him away. Cambronne and his brave fellows crowded round their expiring eagles, and bade Napoleon an eternal adieu. The English, moved by their heroic resistance, conjured them to surrender. "No," said Cambronne, "the guard can die, but not yield!" At the same moment they all rushed on the enemy, with shouts of "Long live the Emperor!" Their blows were worthy of the conquerors of Austerlitz, Jena, Wagram, and Montmirail. The English and Prussians, from whom they still kept back the victory, united against this handful of heroes, and cut them down. Some, covered with wounds, fell to the ground, weltering in their blood; others, more fortunate, were killed outright: finally, they whose hopes were not answered by death, shot one another, that they might not survive their companions in arms or die by the hands of their enemies.

Wellington and Blucher, thus become quiet possessors of the field of battle, traversed it as masters. But at what expense of blood was this unjust triumph purchased! Never, no never, were the blows of the French more formidable or more deadly to their adversaries. Thirsting after blood and glory, despising danger and death, they rushed daringly on the blazing batteries of their enemy; and seemed to multiply in number, to seek, attack, and pursue them in their inaccessible intrenchments. Thirty thousand English or Prussians* were sacrificed by their

* The general loss of the army of the Duke of Wellington, in killed and wounded, was about 25,000
And that of Prince Blucher 35,000

60,000

hands on that fatal day; and when it is considered that this horrible carnage was the work of 50,000 men,* dying with fatigue and hunger, and striving in miry ground against an impregnable position, and 130,000 fighting men, we cannot but be seized with sorrowful admiration, and decree to the vanquished the palm of victory.†

Such is the account of the campaign of 1815, which was given by M. Fleury de Chaboulon, and which is still considered by most Frenchmen as a correct description of that awful catastrophe. Without letting our national pride at all interfere with us, we confidently assert that the account is in many essential points exceedingly incorrect, and that M. de Chaboulon, according to the invariable practice of his master, adds to the numbers of the enemy, and deducts from those of his countrymen with an unscrupulous hand. Still, however, his details are in some respects valuable; and the reader will no doubt find amusement in comparing them with those emanating from the British, Prussian, and Spanish sources.

That of the French may be estimated as follows:

The 15th and 16th, killed and wounded . . .	11,000
The 18th, killed and wounded	18,000
Prisoners	8,000
	37,000

The loss of the French would have been much greater, had it not been for the generous care taken of them by the inhabitants of Belgium. After the victory of Fleurus and of Ligny, they hastened to the field of battle, to console the wounded, and give them every assistance. Nothing could be more affecting, than the sight of a number of women and girls endeavouring to revive, by cordial liquors, our exhausted soldiers, while their husbands and brothers supported our wounded in their arms, stanched their blood, and bound up their wounds.

The precipitancy of our march had not allowed us to prepare conveyances and field-hospitals, to receive our wounded. The good and feeling inhabitants of Belgium supplied the deficiency with eagerness. They carried our poor Frenchmen from the field of battle, and offered them an asylum, and all the attention necessary.

At the time of our retreat, they lavished on us proofs of their regard not less affecting, and not less valuable. Braving the rage of the ferocious Prussians, they quitted their houses, to show us the paths, that would favour our escape, and guide our course through the enemy's columns. When they parted from us, they still followed us with their eyes, and expressed from a distance how happy they were at having been able to save us.

When they knew that a great number of Frenchmen remained prisoners with the conqueror, they were eager to offer, and to lavish on them, consolation and assistance. The Prince of Orange himself, as formidable in the heat of battle, as magnanimous after victory, became the protector of a number of brave fellows, who, having learned how to esteem him on the field of battle, had nobly invoked his support.—*Fleury de Chaboulon.*

* I say fifty thousand men, for more than ten thousand of the guard took no share in the action.—*Fleury de Chaboulon.*

† Memoirs of the Private Life, Return and Reign of Napoleon in 1815. By M. Fleury de Chaboulon, Ex-secretary of the Emperor Napoleon, and of his cabinets, Master of Requests to the Council of State, &c. &c.

M. Chaboulon's assertion, that the British positions at Waterloo were covered with works, is absolutely false. On this head, the gallant Colonel Mac Kinnon, a man incapable of asserting what is not true, says,—"In other battles positions have been selected with judgment, and defended with courage; but the strong intrenchments at Genappe were carried by the French lines, under Dumourier; and the redoubts of Borodino were insufficient to stop the advance of Napoleon on the ancient capital of the Czars. At Waterloo there were no works of military art to cover the British army. They had and required no protection but their arms, nor any shelter but their matchless discipline, to enable them to repel the furious assaults of an enemy bent on forcing their position. Their unflinching resistance at first perplexed the scientific calculations of the Emperor, then changed his confidence into anxiety, and finally drove him to that state of desperation which flies to a last great effort as its only hope. He had promised victory to his soldiers; he threw his veterans forward, and failed. Up to this period, a large and well-earned portion of the glories of the strife must be given to the brave men who for so many successive hours beat off the attacks of their opponents. Their conduct is beyond all praise, and the merit was their own. But the master-mind that ruled the fight throughout the day—the eagle glance that at its close converted a well-sustained defence into an irresistible charge on the assailing columns, and swept them from the ground on which they stood, belonged exclusively to WELLINGTON. He closed on his adversary, and broke the imperial sceptre for ever. Thus was the battle of Waterloo gained; the most important in its results of ancient or modern times. Here the two greatest captains of this or any other age were opposed to each other: here they were fairly matched, and ample opportunity was afforded for a trial of generalship and military skill. The best troops of France were in the field, and the result is decisive of the superiority of Wellington over his great competitor, while it affords another instance of the unequalled steadiness, perseverance, and courage of the British soldiers."*

We shall here insert the eloquent and impartial eulogium which General Foy, Frenchman as he was, pronounced on the British infantry.

"We saw these sons of Albion formed in square battalions in the plain between the wood of Hougomont and the village of Mont Saint Jean; to effect this compact formation, they had doubled and redoubled their lines several times. The cavalry which supported them were cut to pieces, and the fire of their artillery completely silenced. The general and staff officers were galloping from one square to another, not knowing where to find shelter. Carriages, wounded men, parks of reserve, and auxiliary

* Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards. By Colonel Mac Kinnon.

troops, were all flying in disorder towards Brussels. Death was before them and in their ranks; disgrace in their rear. In this terrible situation, neither the balls of the Imperial Guard, discharged almost point blank, nor the victorious cavalry of France could make the least impression on the immovable British infantry. One might have been almost tempted to fancy that it had rooted itself in the ground, but for the majestic movement which its battalions commenced some minutes after sunset; at the moment when the approach of the Prussian army apprized Wellington . . . . . he had just achieved the most decisive victory of the age."*

Napoleon himself expressed his wonder and admiration of the British infantry. "There are no such foot-soldiers in the world," said he. "Even my old guard could make no impression on them: their fire, so sure, was dreadful! and as for charging them, we might as well have charged stone-walls."

Foy ascribes this excellence, "the glory of the British army," above all things to the excellent discipline maintained in our service, and to the calm and frank bravery of the national character.

Baron Mufflin in speaking of the British army, says—

"There is not, perhaps in all Europe, an army superior to the English in the actual field of battle. The English soldier is strongly formed and well fed, and nature has endowed him with much courage and intrepidity. He is accustomed to severe discipline, and is very well armed. The infantry shows more indifference than any other European army when attacked in the flank or rear. These qualities explain why the English have never been defeated in a pitched field since they were commanded by the Duke of Wellington."

As the present work is devoted to Napoleon Bonaparte, and not to the British and their great commander, we have left untold many a thrilling tale relating exclusively to the latter, and many an anecdote calculated to arouse a glow of proud exultation in the breast of the English reader.

What must have been the feelings of Napoleon on the memorable night of Waterloo! One of his aides-de-camp has described his attitude the last time he was seen in the field, and the fascination he still exercised over all who were about his person.

"He has ruined us—he has destroyed France and himself;—yet I love him still; it is impossible to be near him and not love him. He has so much greatness of soul—such majesty of manner. He bewitches all minds; approach him with a thousand prejudices, and you quit him filled with admiration: but then, his mad ambition! his ruinous infatuation! his obstinacy without bounds! Besides, he was wont to set every thing upon a cast—his game was all or nothing! Even the battle of Wa-

* See Foy's account of the Peninsular War, &c.

terloo might have been retrieved, had he not charged with the Guard. This was the reserve of the army, and should have been employed in covering his retreat instead of attacking; but with him, whenever matters looked desperate, he resembled a mad dog. He harangued the Guard—he put himself at its head—it debouched rapidly, and rushed upon the enemy. We were mowed down by grape—we wavered—turned our backs, and the rout was complete. A general disorganization of the army ensued, and Napoleon, rousing himself from the stupor into which he had sunk, was cold as a stone. The last time I saw him was in returning from the charge, when all was lost. My thigh had been broken by a musket-shot in advancing, and I remained in the rear, having fallen on the ground. Napoleon passed close by me; his nose was buried in his snuff-box, and his bridle fell loosely on the neck of his horse, which was pacing leisurely along. A Scotch regiment was advancing at the charge in the distance. The Emperor was almost alone. Lallemand only was with him. The latter still exclaimed, 'All is not lost, sire; all is not lost! Rally, soldiers! rally!' The Emperor replied not a word. Lallemand recognised me in passing. 'What has happened to you, Raoul?' 'My thigh is shattered with a musket-ball.' 'Poor devil, how I pity you! how I pity you! Adieu! adieu!' The Emperor uttered not a word."*

In the midst of the horrid rout that followed, it was not known what had become of Bonaparte. Some of the soldiers swore he had perished. When this was announced to a well-known general officer in his service, he exclaimed like Megret on the death of Charles XII. at Friederickstadt, "*Voilà la pièce finie*" (The play is over). Others pretended that having charged several times at the head of the guard, he had been dismounted and made prisoner. The same uncertainty prevailed respecting the fate of Marshal Ney, the major-general, and most of the French generals and chiefs.

Other people again affirmed that they had seen Napoleon pass, escaping alone through the disordered crowd, and that they had perfectly recognised him by his gray great-coat, and dapple-coloured horse. This last account was the true one. In his flight, he threw himself into an orchard adjoining the farm of La Belle Alliance. It was there he was met by two French horse-soldiers, who, like himself, had lost their way, but who now undertook to guide and protect him through the parties of Prussians, who, fortunately for him, were so busy in plundering the camp equipages, that they let him pass. In spite of the darkness of night, he was perceived and recognised in several places, and his presence was made manifest by the remarks of the soldiers, who said to one another in a low tone of

* Raoul.

voice, "There is the Emperor!" "There goes the Emperor!" These words appeared to him a cry of alarm; and each time he was thus discovered, he galloped forward as quickly as the crowded state of the roads would permit. What had now become of those rapturous acclamations that used to accompany him whenever he showed himself in the midst of his army?

At a short distance from Charleroi two roads meet: one leads to Avesnes, the other to Philippeville: Bonaparte chose the latter, and increasing his speed as the roads became clearer, and he could obtain a carriage and post-horses, he abandoned his army without making any effort to rally it. He has been severely censured for this; but we would remark that French soldiers with all their excellent qualities, are not good at rallying after a signal defeat, and that his army was so completely cut up and dispersed—so thoroughly disheartened, that every effort to re-form them must have failed. In their blind panic, groups of these heroes of many battles—cavalry and infantry still well armed, suffered themselves to be cut up by a few Prussian lancers, whom they ought to have turned upon and annihilated.

On arriving at Philippeville, Napoleon was compelled to wait some time outside the walls. He had need of the protection of its ramparts, for the Prussians, into whose hands he dreaded to fall, were close upon him, having tracked him with great pertinacity, and thrown off numerous parties in that direction. When he reached the gates of the town, the men on guard would not admit him, until the commander of the fortress came up and recognised him. He then entered with a very humble retinue, the drawbridge being raised and the barrier closed immediately afterwards. As soon as it was known that the Emperor was at Philippeville, many of his scattered troops closed round the town in order to protect Napoleon, and to receive protection from those ramparts. This caused him some uneasiness: such a gathering of men would prove to the Prussians that he was there. To obviate this, recourse was had to the following stratagem:

A number of emissaries were sent from the town to the camp, instructing them to counterfeit great terror, and to cry out, "Brothers escape! save yourselves! the Cossacks are coming! here are the Cossacks close upon us!" The emissaries played their parts so well, and the French soldiery were now so spiritless, that they broke up and fled like a flock of sheep. The feigned heralds of the Cossacks then went on to spread over the country the deplorable news that the Emperor was blockaded in Philippeville. This was regarded as certain, and nobody on the roads of Mezières and Laon, where the rumour was propagated, took it into his head to suspect that all this was nothing more nor less than an admirable combination, a stratagem of war of an entirely new conception, imagined by

the great man to conceal his line of march, on which his safety depended. But the public could not long be imposed upon, and after a few hours' rest, Bonaparte left Philippeville and took the road to Paris, by Rocroi and Mezières.

It was at Philippeville that the Duke of Bassano and his secretary, M. Fleury de Chaboulon, who were travelling together in haste, found Napoleon in a state which indicated the feelings of his mind. It was from hence that he sent orders to Generals Rapp, Lecourbe, and Lamarque, to collect what troops were still scattered, and proceed by forced marches towards Paris; and at the same time the commanders of every fortified town on the roads leading to the capital were directed to defend themselves to the last extremity, in order that time might be gained to concentrate troops to prevent the allies from entering Paris. It was at Philippeville that Napoleon dictated two letters to his secretary, to be forwarded immediately to his brother Joseph, the substance of which is thus stated: The first was to be communicated by that prince to the council of ministers; which, however, by no means contained the whole of the fatal result of the battle; the second was a private letter to Joseph, giving him all the details of the day, and of the complete discomfiture of the army. He concluded this letter by saying, "All is however not lost; when I shall have collected my forces, I expect I shall have 150,000 men: those of the National Guards, who are still attached to me, will furnish at least 100,000; the battalions in depot can supply 50,000, consequently I shall have 300,000 troops to oppose to the enemy: the best horses of Paris must be employed for the artillery. There must be immediately a levy of 100,000 recruits to be armed with the firelocks of the royalists. I will cause a levy *en masse* of the provinces of Dauphiné, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Champagne, for I am determined to crush our enemies. But to accomplish all this you must aid me immediately. I am going to Laon. I have not yet heard of Grouchy; if he is not taken prisoner, or his corps destroyed, which I much fear is the case, I may have in three days 50,000 men more, which will enable me to engage the attention of the allies, and thus give time to Paris and to France to do their duty. The English troops march very slowly, and the Prussians, fearing our peasants, do not dare to advance. All may yet go well: write me word as to the effect which this skirmish has produced in the chamber. I believe that the deputies will feel it to be their duty to join me in every effort in order to save France: urge them to second me in my endeavours."

It was nightfall, on the 20th of June, when he approached the walls of Rocroi, where every body expected he would stop and repose himself. A considerable part of the population of that town gathered on the ramparts and saluted him with the old cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, but he only staid to change horses,

and then posted onward. In his critical circumstances, a single night, nay, a single hour gained was of the very highest importance.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1815.

Interview with Lavallette—Proceedings in the French chambers—Second abdication of Bonaparte—He retires to Rochefort, negotiates with Captain Maitland, and finally embarks in the Bellerophon.

One of the first public men to see Napoleon after his return from Waterloo was Lavallette. "I flew," says he, "to the Elysée to see the Emperor: he summoned me into his closet; and as soon as he saw me, he came to meet me with a frightful epileptic laugh. 'Oh! my God!' he said, raising his eyes to heaven, and walking two or three times up and down the room. This appearance of despair was however very short. He soon recovered his coolness, and asked me what was going forward in the chamber of representatives. I could not attempt to hide that exasperation was there carried to a high pitch, and that the majority seemed determined to require his abdication, and to pronounce it themselves if he did not send it in willingly." 'How is that?' he said. 'If proper measures are not taken, the enemy will be before the gates of Paris in eight days. 'Alas!' he added, 'I have accustomed them to such great victories, that they know not how to bear *one day's misfortune!* What will become of poor France? I have done all I could for her.' He then heaved a deep sigh. Somebody asked to speak to him, and I left him, with an order to come back at a later hour. I passed the day in seeking information among all my friends and acquaintances. I found in all of them either the greatest dejection or an extravagant joy, which they disguised by feigned alarm, and pity for myself, which I repulsed with great indignation. Nothing favourable was to be expected from the chamber of representatives. They all said, they wished for liberty; but, between two enemies who appeared ready to destroy it, they preferred the foreigners, the friends of the Bourbons, to Napoleon, who might still have prolonged the struggle, but that he alone would not find means to save them, and erect the edifice of liberty. The chamber of peers presented a much sadder spectacle. Except the intrepid Thibaudeau, who till the last moment expressed himself with

admirable energy against the Bourbons, almost all the others thought of nothing else but of getting out of the scrape with the least loss they could. Some took no pains to hide their wish of bending again under the Bourbon yoke."

On the evening of Napoleon's return to Paris, he sent for M. Benjamin Constant to come to him at the Elysée about seven o'clock. The chambers had decreed their permanence, and the proposal for the abdication had reached the Emperor. He was serious, but calm. In reply to some words dropped on the disaster of Waterloo, he said, "The question no longer concerns me, but France. They wish me to abdicate. Have they calculated upon the inevitable consequences of this abdication? It is round me, round my name, that the army rallies: to separate me from it, is to disband it. If I abdicate to-day, in two days' time you will no longer have an army. These poor fellows do not understand all your subtleties. Is it believed that axioms in metaphysics, declarations of right, harangues from the tribune will put a stop to the disbanding of an army? To reject me when I landed at Cannes, that I can conceive possible: to abandon me at present is what I do not understand. It is not when the enemy is at twenty-five leagues distance that a government can be overturned with impunity. Does any one imagine that the foreign powers will be won over by fine words? If they had dethroned me fifteen days ago, there would have been some spirit in it: but as it is, I make part of what strangers attack, I make part then of what France is bound to defend. In giving me up, she gives up herself, she avows her weakness, she acknowledges herself conquered, she courts the insolence of the conqueror. It is not the love of liberty which deposes me, but Waterloo; it is fear, and a fear of which your enemies will take advantage. And then what title has the chamber to demand my abdication? It goes out of its lawful sphere in doing so; it has no authority. It is my right, my duty to dissolve it."

"He then hastily ran over the possible consequences of such a step. Separated from the chambers, he could only be considered as a military chief: but the army would be for him; that would always join him who can lead it against foreign banners, and to this might be added all that part of the population which is equally powerful and easily led in such a state of things. As if chance intended to strengthen Napoleon in this train of thought, while he was speaking, the avenue of Marigny resounded with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* A crowd of men, chiefly of the poor and labouring class, pressed forward into the avenue, full of a wild enthusiasm, and trying to scale the walls to make an offer to Napoleon to rally round and defend him. Bonaparte for some time looked attentively at this group. 'You see it is so,' said he: 'those are not the men whom I have loaded with honours and riches. What do these people owe

me? I found them—I left them poor. The instinct of necessity enlightens them; the voice of the country speaks by their mouths; and if I choose, if I permit it, in an hour the refractory chambers will have ceased to exist. But the life of a man is not worth purchasing at such a price: I did not return from the Isle of Elba that Paris should be inundated with blood.' He did not like the idea of flight. 'Why should I not stay here?' he repeated. 'What do you suppose they would do to a man disarmed like me? I will go to Malmaison: I can live there in retirement with some friends, who most certainly will come to see me only for my own sake.' He then described with complacency and even with a sort of gaiety this new kind of life. Afterwards, discarding an idea which sounded like mere irony, he went on: 'If they do not like me to remain in France, where am I to go? To England? My abode there would be ridiculous or disquieting. I should be tranquil; no one would believe it. Every fog would be suspected of landing me on the coast. At the first sight of a green coat getting out of a boat, one party would fly from France, the other would put France out of the pale of the law. I should commit every body, and by dint of repeating, 'Behold he comes!' I should feel the temptation to set out. America would be more suitable; I could live there with dignity. But once more, what is there to fear? What sovereign can, without injuring himself, persecute me? To one I have restored half his dominions; how often has the other pressed my hand, calling me *a great man!* And as to the third, can he find pleasure or honour in the humiliation of his son-in-law? Would they wish to proclaim in the face of the world that all they did was through fear? As to the rest, I shall see: I do not wish to employ open force. I came in the hope of combining our last resources: they abandoned me; they do so with the same facility with which they received me back. Well then, let them efface, if possible, this double stain of weakness and levity! Let them cover it over with some sacrifice, with some glory! Let them do for the country what they will not do for me. I doubt it. To-day those who deliver up Bonaparte, say that it is to save France: to-morrow, by delivering up France, they will prove that it was to save their own heads."*

The humiliating scenes which now rapidly succeeded one another, and which ended in Napoleon's unconditional surrender, may be briefly told. As soon as possible after his arrival at Paris he assembled his counsellors, when, it is affirmed, that he proposed proclaiming himself dictator, and that his brother Lucien was peremptorily in favour of such a measure, but that several members of the council declared their opinion, that in the present temper of the public, there was no probability that it could be carried. It is further asserted, that M. de Lafayette

* Hazlitt.

being made acquainted with what was in contemplation, repaired immediately to the chamber of representatives, of which he was a member, and that this was the cause of the propositions which he laid before them. By these, the independence of the nation was asserted to be in danger; the sittings of the chamber were declared permanent, and all attempts to dissolve it were pronounced treasonable. The propositions were adopted, and being communicated to the chamber of peers, that body also declared itself permanent. Whatever might have been the intentions of Bonaparte, it was now manifest that there were no longer any hopes of his being able to make his will the law of the nation; after some vacillation, therefore, on June 22, he published the following declaration to the French people:

"Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of the powers against me. Circumstances appear to me changed. I offer myself a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and really have directed them only against my power. My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French. The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son, induces me to invite the chambers to form without delay the regency by a law. Unite all for the public safety, that you may continue an independent nation.

NAPOLEON."

This declaration was conveyed to both the chambers, which voted deputations to the late Emperor, accepting this abdication; but, in their debates, the nomination of his son to the succession was artfully eluded. The chamber of representatives voted the nomination of a commission of five persons, three to be chosen from that chamber, and two from the chamber of peers, for the purpose of provisionally exercising the functions of government; and also that the ministers should continue their respective functions under the authority of this commission. The persons chosen by the chamber of representatives were Carnot, Fouché, and Grenier; those nominated by the peers were the Duke of Vicenza (Caulaincourt) and Baron Quinette. The commission nominated five persons to the allied army for the purpose of proposing peace. These proceedings were however rendered of little importance, by the resolution of the victors to advance to Paris.

Napoleon's behaviour just before and immediately after the crisis, is well described by Lavallette. "The next day," he observes, "I returned to the Emperor. He had received the most positive accounts of the state of feeling in the chamber

of representatives. The reports had, however, been given to him with some little reserve; for he did not seem to me convinced that the resolution was really formed to pronounce his abdication. I was better informed on the matter; and I came to him without having the least doubt in my mind that the only thing he could do was to descend once more from the throne. I communicated to him all the particulars I had just received; and I did not hesitate to advise him to follow the only course worthy of him. He listened to me with a sombre air, and though he was in some measure master of himself, the agitation of his mind and the horrors of his position betrayed themselves in his face and in all his motions. 'I know,' said I, 'that your majesty may still keep the sword drawn; but with whom, and against whom? Dejection has chilled the courage of every one; the army is still in the greatest confusion. Nothing is to be expected from Paris, and the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire cannot be renewed.'—'That thought,' he replied, stopping, 'is far from my mind. I will hear nothing more about myself. But poor France!' At that moment S—— and C—— entered, and having drawn a faithful picture of the exasperation of the deputies, they persuaded him to send in his abdication. Some words he uttered proved to us that he would have considered death preferable to that step; but still he took it.

"This great act of abdication being performed, he remained calm during the whole day, giving his advice on the position the army should take, and on the manner in which the negotiations with the enemy ought to be conducted. He insisted especially on the necessity of proclaiming his son Emperor, not so much for the advantage of the child, as with a view to unite on one head all the power of sentiments and affections. Unfortunately, nobody would listen to him. Some men of sense and courage rallied round that proposition in the two chambers; but fear swayed the majority; and among those who remained free from it, many thought that a public declaration of liberty, and the resolution to defend it at any price, would make the enemy and the Bourbons turn back. Strange delusion of weakness and want of experience! It must, however, be respected, for it had its source in love of their country: but, while we excuse it, can it be justified? The population of the metropolis had resumed its usual appearance, which was that of complete indifference, with a resolution to cry 'Long live the King!' provided the king arrived well escorted; for one must not judge of the whole capital by about one-thirtieth part of the inhabitants, who called for arms, and declared themselves warmly against the return of the abandoned family.

"On the 23d I returned to the Elysée. The Emperor had been for two hours in his bath. He himself turned the discourse on the retreat he ought to choose, and spoke of the United States. I rejected the idea without reflection, and with

a degree of vehemence that surprised him. 'Why not America?' he asked. I answered, 'Because Moreau retired there.' The observation was harsh, and I should never have forgiven myself for having expressed it, if I had not altered my opinion a few days afterwards. He heard it without any apparent ill humour; but I have no doubt that it must have made an unfavourable impression on his mind. I insisted on his choosing England for his asylum.

"The Emperor went to Malmaison. He was accompanied thither by the Duchess de St. Leu, Bertrand and his family, and the Duke of Bassano. I went there several times a-day; for I could not leave Madame de St. Leu, who had suffered much in health by the late events. The day he arrived in that retreat he proposed to me to accompany him abroad. 'Drouot,' he said, 'remains in France. I see, the war minister wishes him not to be lost to his country. I dare not complain; but it is a great loss for me; I never met with a better head, or a more upright heart. That man was formed to be a prime minister any where.' I declined to accompany him in the following words: 'I have a daughter of thirteen years of age; my wife is four months advanced in pregnancy; I cannot make up my mind to leave her. Allow me some time, and I will join you wherever you may be. I have remained faithful to your majesty in better times, and you may reckon upon me now. Nevertheless, if my wife did not require all my attention, I should do better to go with you, for I have sad forebodings respecting my fate.'

"The Emperor made no answer; but I saw by the expression of his countenance that he had no better augury of my fate than I had. However, the enemy was approaching, and for the last three days he had solicited the provisional government to place a frigate at his disposal, with which he might proceed to America. It had been promised him; he was even pressed to set off; but he wanted to be the bearer of the order to the captain to convey him to the United States, and that order did not arrive. We all felt that the delay of a single hour might put his freedom in jeopardy.

"After we had talked the subject over among ourselves, I went to him, and strongly pointed out to him how dangerous it might be to prolong his stay. He observed, that he could not go without the order. 'Depart nevertheless,' I replied: 'your presence on board the ship will still have a great influence over Frenchmen; cut the cables, promise money to the crew, and if the captain resist, have him put on shore, and hoist your sails. I have not the least doubt but Fouché has sold you to the allies.' 'I believe it also; but go and make the last effort with the minister of marine.' I went off immediately to M. Decrés. He was in bed, and listened to me with an indifference that made my blood boil. He said to me, 'I am only a minister. Go to Fouché; speak to government. As for me, I can do nothing.

Good night. And so he covered himself up again in his blankets. I left him; but I could not succeed in speaking either to Fouché or to any of the others. It was two o'clock in the morning when I returned to Malmaison; the Emperor was in bed. I was let into his chamber, where I gave him an account of the result of my mission, and renewed my entreaties. He listened to me, but made no answer. He got up, however, and spent a part of the night in walking up and down the room.

"The following day was the last of that sad drama. The Emperor had gone to bed again, and slept a few hours. I entered his closet at about twelve o'clock. 'If I had known you were here,' he said, 'I would have had you called in.' He then gave me, on a subject that interested him personally, some instructions which it is needless for me to repeat. Soon after I left him, full of anxiety respecting his fate, my heart oppressed with grief, but still far from suspecting the extent to which both the rigour of fortune and the cruelty of his enemies would be carried."*

All the morning of the 30th of June, the great road from St. Germain, rung with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur*, proceeding from the troops who passed under the walls of Malmaison. About midday, General Becker,† sent by the provisional government, arrived. He had been appointed to watch over Napoleon. The basest feeling had dictated this choice. Fouché

* Memoirs of Lavallette.

† The following official letters relative to the situation of Napoleon at this period, are too interesting to be omitted.

Copy of the letter of the Commission of Government to Marshal the Prince d'Eckmuhl, Minister of War.

Sir,

Such is the present state of affairs, that it is necessary that Napoleon should resolve on taking his departure for the Isle of Aix. If he does not decide upon doing so when you announce the subjoined resolutions, you will take care that he is watched at Malmaison, in order to prevent his escape. You will with this view place the proper number of gendarmerie and troops under the direction of Gen. Becker to guard every avenue which leads to Malmaison. For this purpose you will give the necessary orders to the chief inspector of gendarmerie. These measures must be as secret as possible.

This letter is intended for you; but General Becker (who will be charged to acquaint Napoleon with the resolutions) will receive particular instructions from your excellency, and will make him sensible that they have been drawn up for the interest of the state and the safety of his person; that their prompt fulfilment is indispensable; and finally, that the interest of Napoleon himself, as regards his future fate, imperiously demands their execution.

(Signed) The Duke of Otranto.

Copy of the Resolutions of the Commission of Government.

Paris, 26th June, 1815.

The Commission of Government resolves as follows:

Art. I. The minister of marine shall give orders for two frigates to be prepared at Rochefort to convey Napoleon Bonaparte to the United States.

knew that General Becker was personally obnoxious to the Emperor, and thought to find in him a willing agent. He was

Art. II. He shall be furnished, if he requires it, until his departure, with a sufficient escort, under the command of Lieutenant-General Becker, who will be charged to provide for his safety.

Art. III. The director-general of posts shall give the necessary orders for the relays of horses.

Art. IV. The minister of the marine shall give the necessary orders to secure the immediate return of the frigates after the embarkation of Napoleon.

Art. V. The frigates shall not quit Rochefort until the safe arrival of the passports.

Art. VI. The ministers of the marine, of war, and of the finances, are charged, in espect to their several departments with the execution of the present resolutions.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

By the Commission of Government, the Assistant-Secretary of State,

(Signed) COUNT BERLIER.

Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Otranto to the Minister of War

Paris, 27th June, 1815, noon.

SIR,

I transmit you a copy of a letter I have just written to the minister of marine respecting Napoleon. You will perceive the necessity, upon reading it, of giving orders to General Becker not to separate himself from the person of Napoleon, whilst the latter shall remain in the roads.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

Copy of a Letter from the Duke of Otranto to the Minister of Marine.

Paris, 27th June, 1815, noon

SIR,

The commission reminds you of the instructions which it caused to be transmitted to you an hour ago. It is necessary that the resolution should be executed as directed by the commission yesterday, and according to which Napoleon Bonaparte will remain in the roads of Aix until the passports shall arrive.

The interest of the state which cannot be indifferent to him, requires that he shall remain there until his own fate and that of his family shall be definitively arranged. Every means shall be employed in order that the negotiation may be settled to his satisfaction. The honour of France is interested in it; but meanwhile every possible precaution must be taken for the personal security of Napoleon, and that he does not quit the place which has been temporarily assigned to him.

The President of the Commission of Government.

(Signed) THE DUKE OF OTRANTO.

The Minister of War to General Becker.

SIR, Paris, 27th June, 1815.

I have the honour to transmit to you the resolutions annexed, which the commission of government charges you to notify to the Emperor Napoleon; observing to his majesty that circumstances are so imperious, that it has become indispensable he should decide upon departing for the Isle of Aix. This resolution, observes the commission, has been taken as much for the safety of his own person as for the welfare of the state, which must always be dear to him.

If his majesty does not decide upon the notification of these resolutions, it is the intention of the commission of government that necessary measures should

grossly deceived; for the general paid to the Emperor a degree of respect highly to his honour. Time now became pressing. The Emperor, at the moment of departure, sent a message by General Becker himself to the provisional government, offering to march as a private citizen at the head of the troops. He promised to repulse Blucher, and afterwards to continue his route. Upon the refusal of the provisional government, he quitted Malmaison. Napoleon, and part of his suite, took the road to Rochefort. He slept at Rambouillet on the 29th of June; on the 30th, at Tours; on the 1st of July he arrived at Niort; and on the 3d reached Rochefort, on the western coast of France, with the intention of escaping to America, but all that sea-board was so vigilantly watched by British men-of-war, that after various plans and devices, he was obliged to abandon the attempt in despair. The Emperor now laid aside his military costume. He was lodged at the house of the prefect, at the balcony of which he occasionally showed himself to acknowledge the acclamations of the people.

During his stay here, a French naval officer, commanding a Danish merchant-vessel, generously offered to some of Napoleon's adherents, to further his escape. He proposed to take Napoleon alone, and undertook to conceal his person so effectually, as to defy the most rigid scrutiny, and offered to sail immediately to the United States of America. He required no other compensation than a small sum to indemnify the owners of his ship for the loss this enterprise might occasion them. This was agreed to by Bertrand upon certain stipulations.

On the evening of the 8th of July, Napoleon reached Fourras, receiving every where testimonies of attachment. He proceeded on board the Saal, one of the two frigates appointed by the provisional government to convey him to the United States, and slept on board that night. Very early on the following morning, he visited the fortifications of that place, and returned to the frigate to dinner. On the 10th, he despatched Count Las Cases and the Duke of Rovigo to the commander of the English squadron, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the passports promised by the provisional government to enable him to proceed to America, had been

be taken to prevent the escape of his majesty, and every attempt against his person.

I report to you, sir, that this resolution has been adopted for the welfare of the state, and for the personal security of the Emperor; and that the commission of government considers its prompt execution as indispensable for the interest of his majesty and of his family.

I have the honour to be, &c.

This letter remained unsigned. The Prince of Eckmuhl, at the moment of despatching it, observing to his secretary, 'I will never sign that letter—do you sign it—that will be sufficient.' The secretary, however, did not sign it.

Commandant of Danish Vessel offering Escape to Napoleon.

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Napoleon quitting Malmaison.

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received. A negative answer was returned ; it was at the same time signified that the Emperor would be attacked by the English squadron if he attempted to sail under a flag of truce; and it was intimated that every neutral vessel would be examined, and probably sent into an English port. Las Cases affirms that Napoleon was recommended to proceed to England by Captain Maitland, who assured him that he would experience no ill-treatment there. The English ship Bellerophon, then anchored in the Basque roads, within sight of the French vessels of war. The coast being, as we have stated, entirely blockaded by the English squadron, the Emperor was undecided as to the course he should pursue. Neutral vessels and *chasse-marées*, manned by young naval officers, were proposed, and many other plans were devised.

Napoleon disembarked on the 12th, at the Isle of Aix: acclamations ringing on every side. He had quitted the frigates because they refused to sail, owing either to the weakness of character of the commandant, or in consequence of his receiving fresh orders from the provisional government. Many persons thought that the enterprise might be undertaken with some probability of success ; the wind, however, remained constantly in the wrong quarter.

Las Cases returned to the Bellerophon at four o'clock in the morning of the 14th, to inquire whether any reply had been received to the communication made by Napoleon. Captain Maitland stated, that he expected to receive it every moment; and added, that if the Emperor would then embark for England, he was authorized to convey him thither. He added, moreover, that in his own opinion, and many other officers present concurred with him, he had no doubt Napoleon would be treated in England with all possible attention and respect ; that in England, neither the king nor ministers exercised the same arbitrary power as on the continent; that the English indeed possessed a generosity of sentiment and a liberality of opinions superior even to the king. Las Cases replied, that he would make Napoleon acquainted with Captain Maitland's offer, and added, that he thought the Emperor would not hesitate to proceed to England, so as to be able to continue his voyage to the United States. He described France, south of the Loire, to be in commotion, the hopes of the people resting on Napoleon as long as he was present; the propositions every where made to him, and at every moment; his decided resolution not to become the pretext of a civil war; the generosity he had exhibited in abdicating, in order to render the conclusion of a peace more practicable; and his settled determination to banish himself, in order to render that peace more prompt and more lasting.

The messengers returned to their master, who, after some doubt and hesitation, despatched General Gourgaud with the following well-known letter to the Prince Regent:

Rochefort, July 13th, 1815.

Royal Highness,

A victim to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my politica career, and come, like Themistocles, to share the hospitality of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

Napoleon.

On the 14th of July, Las Cases and Savary returned to the Bellerophon, where they had a long conversation with Captain Maitland, in the presence of Captains Sartorius and Gambier, who both declare, that Maitland repeatedly warned Napoleon's adherents not to entertain the remotest idea that he was enabled to offer any pledge whatever to their master beyond the simple assurance that he would convey him in safety to the English coast, there to await the determination of the British government. On this their second interview, Captain Maitland's precise words to Las Cases were—

"You will recollect that I am not authorized to stipulate as to the reception of Bonaparte in England, but that he must consider himself as entirely at the disposal of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent."

Napoleon had begun to prepare for his embarkation before daylight on the 15th. It was time that he did so, for a messenger charged with orders to arrest him had already arrived at Rochefort from the new government. The execution of this order was delayed by General Becker for a few hours, in order to allow Napoleon sufficient time to escape. At daybreak he quitted the Epervier, and was enthusiastically cheered by the ship's company so long as the boat was within hearing. Soon after six he was received on board the Bellerophon with respectful silence, but without those honours generally paid to persons of high rank: Bonaparte was dressed in the uniform of the *chasseurs à cheval* of the Imperial Guard, and wore the grand cross of the Legion of Honour. On entering the vessel, he pulled off his hat, and addressing Captain Maitland, said, "I am come to throw myself on the protection of the laws of England." Napoleon's manner was well calculated to make a favourable impression on those with whom he conversed. He requested to be introduced to the officers of the ship, and put various questions to each. He then went round the ship, although he was informed that the men were cleaning and scouring, and remarked upon any thing which struck him as differing from what he had seen in French vessels. The clean appearance of the men surprised him. "He then observed," says Captain Maitland, to whose interesting narrative we refer, "I can see no sufficient reason why your ships should beat the French with so much ease. The finest men-of-war in

Napoleon surrendering to Captain Maitland.

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Napoleon exercising Marines on board the Bellerophon.

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your service are French ; a French ship is heavier in every respect than one of yours ; she carries more guns, and those guns are of a larger calibre, and she has a great many more men." His inquiries, which were minute, proved that he had directed much attention to the French navy.

On the first morning Napoleon took breakfast in the English fashion, but observing that his distinguished prisoner did not eat much, Captain Maitland gave directions that for the future a hot breakfast should be served up after the French manner. The Superb, the admiral's ship, which had been seen in the morning, was now approaching. Immediately on her anchoring, Captain Maitland went on board to give an account of all that had happened, and received the admiral's approbation of what he had done. In the afternoon Sir Henry Hotham, accompanied by Captain Senhouse, and Mr. Irving, his secretary, were introduced to Napoleon, and invited by him to dinner. This was arranged in order to make it more agreeable to him, by Bonaparte's *maître d'hôtel.* On dinner being announced, Napoleon led the way, and seated himself in the centre, at one side of the table, desiring Sir Henry Hotham to take the seat on his right, and Madame Bertrand that on his left hand. On this day Captain Maitland took the seat at the end of the table, but on the following day, by his request, he placed himself on Napoleon's right hand, whilst General Bertrand took the top. Two of the ship's officers dined with Napoleon daily, by express invitation. The conversation of Bonaparte was animated. He made many inquiries as to the family and connexions of Captain Maitland, and, in alluding to Lord Lauderdale, who was sent as ambassador to Paris, during the administration of Mr. Fox, paid that nobleman some compliments, and said of the then premier, " Had Mr. Fox lived, it never would have come to this ; but his death put an end to all hopes of peace."

On one occasion, he ordered his camp-bed to be displayed for the amusement of the English officers. In two small leather packages were comprised the couch of the once mighty ruler of the continent. The steel bedstead which, when folded up, was only two feet long, and eighteen inches wide, occupied one case, while the other contained the mattress and curtains. The whole was so contrived as to be ready for use in three minutes.

Napoleon spoke in terms of high praise of the marines on duty in the Bellerophon, and on going through their ranks, exclaimed to Bertrand, " How much might be done with a hundred thousand such soldiers as these!" In putting them through their exercise, he drew a contrast between the charge of the bayonet as made by the English and the French, and observed that the English method of fixing the bayonet was faulty, as it might easily be twisted off when in close action. In visiting Admiral Hotham's flag-ship, the Superb, he manifested the same active

curiosity as in former instances, and made the same minute inquiries into every thing by which he was surrounded. During breakfast, one of Napoleon's suite, Colonel Planat, was much affected, and even wept, on regarding the humiliation of his master.

On the return of Bonaparte from the Superb to the Bellerophon, the latter ship was got under weigh in conformity to the following order from Sir Henry Hotham, addressed to Captain Maitland:

"*Extract of an Order from Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Hotham, K. C. B., addressed to Captain Maitland of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Superb, in Basque Roads, July 15th*, 1815.

"You are hereby required and directed to take the Myrmidon under your orders, and, putting on board her such persons composing a part of the suite of Napoleon Bonaparte as cannot be conveyed in the Bellerophon, you are to put to sea in H. M. S. under your command, in company with the Myrmidon, and make the best of your way with Napoleon Bonaparte and his suite to Torbay, and there landing the officer of the ship bearing my flag, whom I have charged with a despatch addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as an officer of the ship you command, for the purpose of proceeding express to Plymouth with the despatch you will herewith receive, addressed to Admiral Lord Keith, and a copy of these instructions (which you will transmit to his lordship), await orders from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, or his lordship, for your further proceedings."

The vessel accordingly made all sail for England, and in passing within a cable's length of the Superb, Bonaparte inquired of Captain Maitland if he thought that distance was sufficient for action. The reply of the English officer was characteristic; he told the ex-Emperor that half the distance, or even less, would suit much better. Speaking of Sir Sydney Smith, Bonaparte repeated the anecdote connected with his quarrel at St. Jean d'Acre, with that officer, which has already been related in one of the notes to the present work. Patting Capt. Maitland on the head, he observed, that had it not been for the English navy, he would have been Emperor of the East; but that wherever he went, he was sure to find English ships in the way. The Bellerophon, with Bonaparte on board, approached the coast of England on Sunday, the 23d of July, 1815, and at daybreak on the 24th, the vessel neared Dartmouth. No sooner had the ship anchored than an order from Lord Keith was delivered to Captain Maitland, from which the following is an extract:

"*Extract of an Order from Admiral Viscount Keith, G. C. B., addressed to Captain Maitland, of H. M. S. Bellerophon, dated Ville de Paris, Hamoaze, 23d July*, 1815.

"Captain Sartorius, of His Majesty's ship Slaney, delivered to me last night, at eleven o'clock, your despatch of the 14th instant, acquainting me that Bonaparte had proposed to embark on board the ship you command; and that you had acceded thereto, with the intention of proceeding to Torbay, there to wait for further orders. I lost no time in forwarding your letter by Captain Sartorius to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in order that their lordships might, through him, be acquainted with every circumstance that had occurred on an occasion of so much importance; and you may expect orders from their lordships for your further guidance. You are to remain in Torbay until you receive such orders; and in the mean time, in addition to the directions already in your possession, you are most positively ordered to prevent every person whatever from coming on board the ship you command, except the officers and men who compose her crew; nor is any person whatever, whether in His Majesty's service or not, who does not belong to the ship, to be suffered to come on board, either for the purpose of visiting the officers, or on any pretence whatever, without express permission either from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, or from me. As I understand from Captain Sartorius, that General Gourgaud refused to deliver the letter with which he was charged for the Prince Regent, to any person except his royal highness, you are to take him out of the Slaney, into the ship you command, until you receive directions from the Admiralty on the subject, and order that ship back to Plymouth Sound, when Captain Sartorius returns from London."

It was now first stated, in some of the English newspapers, that St. Helena would be the place of exile of the ex-Emperor, the bare report of which evidently caused great pain to Napoleon and his suite. General Gourgaud about this time returned to the Bellerophon, not having been suffered to go on shore to deliver the letter from Bonaparte to the Prince Regent, with which he had been intrusted. The ship, which bore the modern Alexander, soon became a natural object of attraction to the whole neighbourhood, and was constantly surrounded by crowds of boats. Napoleon frequently showed himself to the people from shore with a view of gratifying their curiosity. On the 25th of July, the number of boats which approached the vessel was greatly increased, and the alarm of the captives became greater as the report was strengthened as to the intention of conveying Bonaparte to St. Helena.

In conversation with Captain Maitland, Napoleon who seemed to be aware that the English fishermen united the occupation of smugglers to their usual trade, stated that many of them had been bribed by him, and had assisted in the escape of French prisoners of war. They had even proposed to deliver Louis XVIII. into his power, but as they would not answer for the

safety of his life, Napoleon refused the offer. Upon the arrival of despatches from London, the Bellerophon got under weigh for Plymouth Sound on the 26th of July. This movement tended still further to disconcert the ex-Emperor and his followers. In passing the Breakwater, Bonaparte could not withhold his admiration of that work, which he considered highly honourable to the public spirit of the nation, and, alluding to his own improvements at Cherbourg, expressed his apprehensions that they would now be suffered to fall into decay.

Captain Maitland was at this time directed by Lord Keith to observe the utmost vigilance to prevent the escape of his prisoners, and with this view, no boat was permitted to approach the Bellerophon; the Liffey and Eurotas were ordered to take up an anchorage on each side the ship; and other precautions were adopted.

On the 27th of July, Captain Maitland proceeded to Lord Keith, taking with him Bonaparte's original letter to the Prince Regent, which, as General Gourgaud had not been permitted to deliver it personally, Napoleon now desired to be transmitted through the hands of the admiral. As Lord Keith had now received instructions from his government as to the manner in which Napoleon was to be treated, he lost no time in paying his respects to the fallen chief.

On the 31st of July, the anxiously-expected order of the English government arrived. In this document, wherein the ex-Emperor was styled "General Bonaparte," it was notified that he was indeed to be exiled to St. Helena, the place of all others most dreaded by him and his devoted adherents. It was moreover specified that he might be allowed to take with him three officers of his suite, and twelve servants. To his own selection was conceded the choice of these followers, with the exclusion, however, of Savary and Lallemand, who were on no account to be permitted any further to share his fortunes. This prohibition gave considerable alarm to those individuals, who became excessively anxious as to their future disposal, and declared that to deliver them up to the vengeance of the Bourbons, would be a violation of faith and honour.

Napoleon himself complained bitterly on the subject of his destination, and said, "the idea of it is perfect horror to me. To be placed for life on an island within the tropics, at an immense distance from any land, cut off from all communication with the world, and every thing that I hold dear in it!—*c'est pis que la cage de fer de Tamerlan* (it is worse than Tamerlane's iron cage). I would prefer being delivered up to the Bourbons. Among other insults," said he, "but that is a mere bagatelle, a very secondary consideration—they style me general! They can have no right to call me general; they may as well call me archbishop, for I was head of the church, as well as the army. If they do not acknowledge me as Emperor, they ought as First

Consul; they have sent ambassadors to me as such; and your king, in his letters, styled me brother. Had they confined me in the Tower of London, or one of the fortresses in England, (though not what I had hoped from the generosity of the English people,) I should not have so much cause of complaint; but to banish me to an island within the tropics! They might as well have signed my death-warrant at once, for it is impossible a man of my habit of body can live long in such a climate."*

Having so expressed himself, he wrote a second letter to the Prince Regent, which was forwarded through Lord Keith. It was the opinion of Generals Montholon and Gourgaud, that Bonaparte would sooner kill himself than go to St. Helena. This idea arose from his having been heard emphatically to exclaim, "I will *not* go to St. Helena!" The generals, indeed, declared that were he to give his own consent to be so exiled, they would themselves prevent him. In consequence of this threat, Captain Maitland was instructed by Lord Keith to tell those gentlemen, that as the English law awarded death to murderers, the crime they meditated would inevitably conduct them to the gallows.

Early on the morning of the 4th of August, the Bellerophon was ordered to be ready, at a moment's notice, for sea. The reason of this was traced to a circumstance which is conspicuous among the many remarkable incidents by which Bonaparte's arrival near the English coast was characterized. A rumour reached Lord Keith that a habeas corpus had been procured with a view of delivering Napoleon from the custody he was then under. This, however, turned out to be a subpœna for Bonaparte as a witness at a trial in the Court of King's Bench; and, indeed, a person attempted to get on board the Bellerophon to serve the document; but he was completely foiled in his intention; though had he succeeded, the subpœna would, in the situation wherein the ex-Emperor then stood, have been utterly without avail.

On the 5th Captain Maitland, having been summoned to the flagship of Lord Keith, acquainted General Bertrand that he would convey to the admiral any thing which Bonaparte (who had expressed an urgent wish to see his lordship) might desire to say to him. Bertrand requested the captain to delay his departure until a certain document, then in preparation, should be completed; and at length brought from Napoleon's cabin a paper, of which the following is a translation:

BONAPARTE'S PROTEST.

I hereby solemnly protest, before God and man, against the injustice offered me, and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and my liberty. I came freely on

* Captain Maitland's Narrative.

board of the Bellerophon; I am not a prisoner; I am the guest of England. I was indeed instigated to come on board by the captain, who told me that he had been directed by his government to receive me and my suite, and conduct me to England, if agreeable to my wishes. I presented myself in good faith, with the view of claiming the protection of the English laws. As soon as I had reached the deck of the Bellerophon, I considered myself in the home and on the hearth of the British people.

If it was the intention of government, in giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me and my suite, merely to entrap me, it has forfeited its honour and sullied its flag.

If this act be consummated, it will be useless for the English to talk to Europe of their integrity, their laws, and their liberty. British good faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

I appeal to history;—it will say that an enemy, who made war for twenty years upon the English people, came voluntarily, in his misfortunes, to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence? But what return did England make for so magnanimous an act? They pretended to hold out a friendly hand to this enemy; and when he delivered himself up in good faith, they sacrificed him.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

On board the Bellerophon,
4th of August, 1815.

Captain Maitland, however, denies that any snare was laid for Bonaparte, either by himself or by the English government. He says, that the precautions for preventing the escape of Napoleon from Rochefort were so well ordered, that it was impossible to evade them; and that the fugitive was compelled to surrender himself to the English ship.

On the 7th of August, Bonaparte, with the suite he had selected, was transferred from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland. Lord Keith's barge was prepared for his conveyance to the latter vessel, and his lordship was present on the occasion. A captain's guard was turned out, and, as Napoleon left the Bellerophon, the marines presented arms, and the drum was beat as usual in saluting a general officer. When he arrived on board the Northumberland the squadron got under weigh, and Napoleon sailed for the place of his final exile and grave.*

* As so many disputes have been maintained on the subject of Napoleon's surrender to Captain Maitland, we shall here give an account of it from one of the fallen Emperor's most attached partisans. M. Fleury de Chaboulon is incorrect in some points, but he vindicates the honour both of the captain and the English admiral from the attacks of Las Cases and others.

"His presence at Rochefort excited such enthusiasm among the people, the sailors, and soldiers, that the shore uninterruptedly resounded with shouts of 'Long live the Emperor!' and these shouts, repeated from mouth to mouth, could not but teach those who had flattered themselves with having mastered the will of Napoleon, how easy it would be for him to shake off his chains, and laugh

at their vain precautions. Faithful to his determination, however, he firmly resisted the impulse of circumstances, and the continual solicitations made him to put himself at the head of the patriots and the army. 'It is too late,' he constantly repeated; 'the evil is now without remedy; it is no longer in my power to save the country. A civil war now would answer no end—would be of no utility. To myself alone it might prove advantageous, by affording me the means of procuring personally more favourable conditions: but these I must purchase by the inevitable destruction of the most generous and magnanimous spirit which France possesses; and such a result inspires me with horror.' Up to the 29th of June, the day when the Emperor quitted Malmaison, no English vessel had been seen off the coast of Rochefort, and there is every reason to believe that Napoleon, if circumstances had allowed him to embark immediately after his abdication, would have reached the United States without obstruction. But when he arrived at the sea-coast, he found every outlet occupied by the English, and appeared to retain little hope of escaping.

"The 8th of July he went on board the French frigate La Saale, which had been prepared to receive him. His suite was embarked on board the Medusa, and the next day, the 9th, the two vessels anchored at the isle of Aix. Napoleon, always the same, ordered the garrison under arms, examined the fortifications most minutely, and distributed praise or blame, as if he had still been sovereign master of the state. On the 10th, the wind, hitherto contrary, became fair; but an English fleet of eleven vessels was cruising within sight of the port, and it was impossible to get to sea. On the 11th, the Emperor, weary of this state of anxiety, sent Count de Las Cases, now become his secretary, to sound the disposition of the English admiral, to inquire whether he was authorized to allow him liberty to repair to England or to the United States. The admiral answered, that he had no orders; nevertheless he was ready to receive Napoleon, and convey him to England; *but that it was not in his power to answer whether he would obtain permission to remain there, or to repair to America.* Napoleon, not satisfied with this answer, caused two half-decked vessels to be purchased, with intention, under favour of night, to reach a Danish smack, with which he had contrived to hold intelligence.

"This step having failed, some young midshipmen, full of courage and devotion, proposed to him to go on board the two barks, and swore they would forfeit their lives if they did not convey him to New York. Napoleon was not deterred by so long a voyage in such slight vessels; but he knew that they could not avoid stopping on the coasts of Spain and Portugal to take in water and provision, and he would not expose himself and people to the danger of falling into the hands of the Portuguese or Spaniards.

"Being informed that an American vessel was at the mouth of the Gironde, he sent off General Lallemand on the spur to ascertain the existence of the vessel, and the sentiments of the captain. The general returned with all speed to inform him that the captain would be happy and proud to extricate him from the persecution of his enemies; but Napoleon, yielding, as it is said, to the advice of some persons about him, gave up the idea of attempting this passage, and determined to throw himself on the generosity of the English. On the 14th he caused the admiral to be informed that the next day he would repair on board his vessel. On the 15th, in the morning, he went off in the brig l'Epervier, and was received on board the Bellerophon with the honours due to his rank and to his misfortune. General Becker, who had orders not to quit him, attended him. The moment they came alongside, the Emperor said to him, 'Withdraw, general; I would not have it be believed that a Frenchman is come to deliver me into the hands of my enemies.' On the 16th the Bellerophon set sail for England."

CHAPTER XLV.

1815.

Departure for St. Helena.—Voyage. —Arrival.

The Northumberland was in the greatest confusion from the short notice at which she had sailed; and for the two first days the crew was employed in restoring order and getting ready for the voyage. The following particulars will afford an idea of that part of the ship occupied by Napoleon and his suite.—The space abaft the mizen-mast contained two public and two private cabins: the first was a dining-room about ten feet broad, and extending the whole width of the ship, lighted by a port-hole at each end and a skylight above. The drawing-room took up all the remaining space, except two cabins on the right and left, each having an entrance from the dining or mess-room, and another from the drawing-room. Napoleon occupied that on the left, in which his camp-bedstead had been put up; that on the right was appropriated to the admiral. It was peremptorily enjoined that the drawing-room should be in common and not given up to Napoleon. The form of the dining-table resembled that of the mess-room. Napoleon sat with his back to the drawing-room or after-cabin, and looking towards the head of the ship; on his left sat Madame Bertrand, and on his right the admiral, who with Madame Montholon filled up one side of the table. At the end next that lady was Captain Ross, who commanded the ship, and opposite him M. Montholon, and the admiral's secretary. The side of the table facing Bonaparte was occupied by the grand-marshal, the colonel of the 53d regiment, Las Cases, and Gourgaud. The admiral invited one or two of the officers to dinner every day. The band of the 53d newly-formed played during dinner-time.

The vessel made as much sail as the wind would permit, in order to get out of the channel; and stood along the coast of England, to procure different supplies of sea-stock. On the 10th of the month they cleared the channel, and lost sight of land. The course of the ship was shaped to cross the Bay of

Biscay, and double Cape Finisterre. The wind was fair, though light, and the heat excessive. Nothing could be more monotonous than the time they now passed. Napoleon breakfasted in his own cabin at irregular hours. He sent for one of his attendants every morning to know what was going on; the distance run, the state of the wind, and other particulars connected with their progress. He read a great deal, dressed towards four o'clock, and then came into the public cabin: here he played at chess with one of the party: at five o'clock the admiral having come out of his cabin a few minutes before, announced that dinner was on the table. It is well known that Napoleon was scarcely ever more than fifteen minutes at dinner: here the two courses alone took up nearly an hour and a half. This was a serious annoyance to him, though he never noticed it: his features, gestures, and manner always evinced perfect equanimity. Neither the new system of cookery, the difference or quality of the dishes ever met with his censure or observation: he never expressed any wish or objection on the subject. He was waited on by two valets, who stood behind his chair. At first the admiral was in the habit of offering to help Napoleon; but the acknowledgment of the latter was expressed so coldly, that the practice was given up. The admiral continued very attentive; but thenceforth only pointed out to the servants what was preferable: they alone minded these matters, to which Napoleon appeared wholly indifferent. He was generally silent, remaining in the midst of conversation as if unacquainted with the language, though it was French. If he spoke, it was to ask some technical or scientific question; or to address a few words to those whom the admiral occasionally asked to dinner.

Bonaparte, already tired by the length of the dinner, could not have endured the English custom of sitting drinking afterwards; he rose, therefore, from the first day, immediately after coffee had been handed round, and went on deck, followed by the grand-marshal and Las Cases. This disconcerted Admiral Cockburn, who expressed his surprise to his officers; but Madame Bertrand, whose maternal language was English, replied, with spirit, 'Do not forget, sir, that your guest is a man who has governed a large portion of the world; and that kings once contended for the honour of being admitted to his table.' —'Very true,' rejoined the admiral; and from that time did his utmost to comply with Napoleon's habits. He shortened the time of sitting at table, ordering coffee for Napoleon and those who accompanied him, even before the rest of the company had finished their dinner. The moment Napoleon had taken his coffee, he left the cabin; upon which every body rose till he had quitted the room, and then continued to take their wine for another hour. Bonaparte remained walking on deck till dark, which became his regular practice. On returning to the after-cabin, he sat down to play *vingt-un* with some of his suite;

and generally retired in about half an hour. On the morning of the 15th, all his suite asked permission to be admitted to his presence, and entered his cabin at the same time. He was not aware of the cause of this visit: it was his birthday, which seemed to have altogether escaped his recollection. They had been accustomed to see him on that day on a larger stage and in far different circumstances. What a contrast; and what a train of reflections it must have called up! Usually, Napoleon lost at play: this day he won a considerable sum: while those present were congratulating him on his singular good fortune, an English officer observed, that it was the anniversary of his birthday.

On the 16th they doubled Cape Finisterre; and up to the 21st, passing the straits of Gibraltar, continued their course along the coast of Africa towards Madeira. Napoleon commonly remained in his cabin the whole morning: from the extreme heat, he wore a very slight dress. He could not sleep well, and frequently rose in the night. Reading was his chief occupation. He often sent for Count Las Cases to translate from such books as were on board, whatever related to St. Helena or the countries by which they were sailing. In the walks on deck after dinner Las Cases was frequently left alone with Bonaparte, as Bertrand had to attend his wife, who suffered greatly from sea-sickness. Napoleon used to start a subject of conversation, or revive that of some preceding day; and when he had taken eight or nine turns, the whole length of the deck, he would seat himself on the second gun from the gangway on the larboard side. The midshipmen soon observed this habitual predilection, so that the cannon was thenceforth called the *Emperor's gun*. It was here that Napoleon often conversed for hours together, and communicated to his faithful follower many interesting particulars concerning himself and others.

On the 22d they came within sight of Madeira, and at night arrived off the port. They stopped to take in provisions for a day or two. Napoleon was indisposed. A sudden gale arose, and the air was filled with small particles of sand and the suffocating exhalations from the deserts of Africa. In the evening of the 24th they made way again, and sailed on smoothly and rapidly; the time seeming long as it passed, and brief in the retrospect from the want of variety. Bonaparte added to his amusements by a game at piquet. He was but an indifferent chess-player, and there was no very good one on board. He asked, jestingly, 'How he frequently beat those who beat better players than himself?' *Vingt-un* was given up, as they played too high at it; and Napoleon had a great aversion to gaming. On the 27th they passed the Canaries without seeing the famous peak of Teneriffe, and on the 29th they crossed the tropic. One night a negro threw himself overboard

to avoid a flogging, which occasioned a great noise and bustle. A midshipman, an interesting youth between ten and twelve, meeting Las Cases descending into the cabin, and thinking he was going to inform Napoleon of the cause, caught hold of his coat, and in a tone of great concern exclaimed, 'Ah, sir, do not alarm the Emperor! Tell him the noise is owing to an accident!' In general the midshipmen on board behaved with marked respect and attention to Bonaparte: they watched his motions with an anxious eye, and either by signs or words directed the sailors to avoid incommoding him. He sometimes noticed this conduct, and remarked that youthful hearts were always prone to enthusiasm.

On the 1st of September they found themselves in the latitude of the Cape de Verd Islands: the admiral expected to see them on the right, but they were on his left. Every thing now promised a prosperous passage: they were already far advanced on their course. But the time hung heavy, and nothing but occupation could lighten it. Las Cases had undertaken to teach his son English; and Bonaparte also expressed a wish to learn. He however soon grew tired and laid it aside; nor was it resumed till long afterwards. His manners and habits were always the same: never did a wish or a murmur escape his lips; he invariably appeared contented, patient, and good-humoured. The admiral, who had assumed a certain distance at first, gradually laid aside his reserve, and took a greater interest in his captive. He pointed out the danger incurred by coming on deck after dinner, owing to the damp of the evening: Bonaparte would then sometimes take his arm and prolong the conversation, which never failed to gratify him exceedingly. Napoleon sometimes talked on naval affairs, on the French resources in the south, and on the improvements he had contemplated in the ports and harbours of the Mediterranean—to all which the admiral listened with deep attention, and as if fearful of interruption, and is said to have carefully noted down every particular.

Meanwhile, Napoleon observed that Las Cases was busily employed; and suspecting the cause, obtained a sight of his journal, with which he was not displeased. He, however, took notice that some of the military details and anecdotes which were set down gave but a meagre and unsatisfactory idea of the subject of war. This first led to the proposal of his writing his own Memoirs, which was discussed at various times afterwards. At length, Napoleon came to a determination; and on Saturday, the 9th of September, he called his secretary into his cabin and dictated to him for the first time some particulars of the siege of Toulon. On approaching the line, they fell in with what are called the trade-winds, that blow constantly from the east. The course of the ship is regulated by these winds. The heat had been very moderate after leaving Madeira. On the 16th

there was a considerable fall of rain, to the great joy of the sailors, who were in want of water. The rain began to fall heavily just as Bonaparte had got upon deck to take his afternoon walk. But this did not disappoint him of his usual exercise; he merely called for his famous gray great-coat, which the crew regarded with much interest. The English were fond of talking with the French officers, and they mutually surprised each other by the opposition of their views and sentiments. One of the principal officers of the ship one day said, "I suppose you would be very much alarmed if we were to land you on the coast of France?"—"Why so?"—"Because the king would make you pay dearly for having left your country to follow another sovereign, and for wearing a cockade which he has prohibited."—"And is this language," was the answer, "becoming an Englishman? You must be strangely degenerated. You are, it is true, far removed from the period of your revolution, to which you so justly apply the epithet *glorious*. But we who are nearer to ours, by which we have gained so much, may tell you that every word you utter is heresy."

The English were also very fond of asking questions concerning Napoleon and the libels that had been published against him. This led to an examination and exposure of several of them. No man had ever been more assailed by calumny than Napoleon, which is not to be wondered at: but he would never permit any one to reply to the attacks that were made upon him. "Whatever pains," he said, "might have been bestowed on such answers, they would only have given additional weight to the accusations they were intended to refute. Facts were the most convincing answers. A fine monument, another good law, or a new victory were sufficient to defeat a thousand such falsehoods. Declamation passes away, but deeds remain."

Napoleon now began regularly to dictate his Memoirs. For the first few days he viewed the occupation with indifference; but the regularity and promptitude with which his amanuensis presented his daily task, together with the progress that was made, soon excited an interest; and at length the pleasure he derived from this employment of his mind, rendered it in a manner necessary to him. He was sure to send for Las Cases about eleven o'clock every morning, and he seemed to await the hour with impatience. He read to him what had been dictated on the preceding day; and he then dictated further with great rapidity and earnestness. In this way the time passed till four o'clock arrived, when his valet was summoned. He then proceeded to the state cabin and spent the time till dinner in playing at piquet or chess. After dinner, Bonaparte never failed to allude to his morning's dictation, as if pleased with the occupation it afforded him.

On the 23d of September they passed the line. This was

a day of great merriment and disorder among the crew; it was the ceremony which the English sailors call the *Christening*. No one is spared; and the officers are generally more roughly handled than any one else. The admiral who had previously amused himself by giving an alarming description of this ceremony, now very courteously exempted his guests from the inconvenience and ridicule attending it. Napoleon was scrupulously respected through the whole of this Saturnalian festivity. On being informed of the decorum which had been observed with regard to him, he ordered a hundred Napoleons to be presented to the grotesque Neptune and his crew, which the admiral opposed, perhaps from motives of prudence as well as politeness. One afternoon, about this period, the sailors had caught an enormous shark; and Napoleon going too near it out of curiosity, narrowly escaped a serious accident.

The west-wind which had blown for some time still continued, and drove them from their course. Napoleon every morning continued his dictation, in which he daily took more interest. He had at first nothing to guide him but a wretched work, entitled 'Wars of the French in Italy.' Bonaparte glanced through it, and his memory soon supplied all deficiencies. When he commenced his stated task, he complained that the circumstances to which he wished to recur were no longer familiar to him. After considering a few moments, however, he would rise and walk about, and then began to dictate, when he became quite another man, and every thing seemed to come as if by inspiration—places, dates, phrases—nothing stopped him.

Owing to the haste with which they had been hurried from England, the painting of the ship had been only lately finished; and this circumstance confined Napoleon, whose sense of smell was very acute, to his room for two days. They were now, in the beginning of October, driven into the Gulf of Guinea, where they met a French vessel bound for the Isle of Bourbon. They spoke with the captain, who expressed his surprise and sorrow when he learnt that Napoleon was on board. The wind continued unfavourable and the ship made little progress. The sailors grumbled at the admiral, who had gone out of the usual course. At length they approached the termination of their voyage. The weather cleared up and the wind became favourable; but this change did not take place till twenty-four hours before their arrival. On the 14th, the admiral had informed them that he expected to come within sight of St. Helena that day. They had scarcely risen from table when their ears were saluted with the cry of *Land!* This was within a quarter of an hour of the time that had been fixed on. Napoleon went on the forecastle to see the island; but it was still hardly distinguishable. At daybreak the next morning, they had a tolerably clear view of it: it looked considerable at first, but seemed to diminish as they approached.

At length, about seventy days after their departure from England, and a hundred and ten after their quitting Paris, they cast anchor about noon. They found in the harbour several vessels of the squadron which had separated from them, and which they thought they had left behind. Napoleon, contrary to custom, dressed early and went upon deck: he went forward to the gangway to view the island. He beheld a kind of village surrounded by numerous barren hills towering to the clouds. Every platform, every aperture, the brow of every hill was planted with cannon. Bonaparte viewed the prospect through his glass. His countenance underwent no change. He soon left the deck; and sending for Las Cases, proceeded to his day's work. The admiral, who had gone ashore very early, returned about six much fatigued. He had been walking over various parts of the island, and at length thought he had found a habitation that would suit his captives. The place stood in need of repairs, which might occupy two months. His orders were not to let the French quit the vessel till a house should be prepared to receive them. He, however, undertook on his own responsibility, to set them on shore the next day.

On the 16th, after dinner, Napoleon, accompanied by the grand-marshal, got into a boat to go ashore. As he passed, the officers were assembled on the quarter-deck, and the greater part of the crew on the gangways. Before he stepped into the boat, Napoleon sent for the captain of the vessel, and took leave of him, desiring him at the same time to convey his thanks to the officers and crew. These words appeared to produce the liveliest sensation in all by whom they were understood, or to whom they were interpreted. The remainder of his suite landed about eight. They found their master in the apartments which had been assigned to him: a few minutes after, he went up stairs to his chamber. He was lodged in a sort of inn in the James-Town, which consists only of one short street, or row of houses, built in a narrow valley between two rocky hills.*

* Hazlitt,

CHAPTER XLVI.

1815—1816.

RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

The Emperor, the grand-marshal, and the admiral, riding out to visit Longwood, which had been chosen for the Emperor's residence, on their return saw a small villa, with a pavilion attached to it, about two miles from the town, the residence of Mr. Balcombe, a merchant of the island. This spot pleased Napoleon, and the admiral was of opinion that it would be better for him to remain here than to return to the town, where the sentinels at his door, with the crowds collected round it, in a manner confined him to his chamber. The pavilion was a sort of summer-house on a pointed eminence, about thirty or forty paces from the house, where the family were accustomed to resort in fine weather to amuse themselves: this was the retreat hired for the temporary abode of the Emperor; and he took possession of it immediately. There is a carriage-road from the town; and the valley is in this part less rugged in its aspect. Las Cases was soon sent for. As he ascended the winding path leading to the pavilion, he saw Napoleon standing at the threshhold of the door. His body was slightly bent, and his hands behind his back: he wore his usual neat and simple uniform, and his celebrated little hat. Las Cases paused to look at him with that feeling of respect which greatness and misfortune inspire! The Emperor was alone: the servants were preparing his bed. He took a fancy to walk a little: but there was no level ground on any side of the pavilion, which was surrounded by huge pieces of rock. Taking the arm of his companion, however, he began to converse in a cheerful strain. Night was advancing, profound silence, undisturbed solitude reigned around: —here then was the man who had governed the world, stripped of every thing but his unfading renown, and with all his grandeur concentrated in himself alone. When Napoleon was about

to retire to rest, the servants found that one of the windows was open close to the bed: they barricadoed it as well as they could, so as to exclude the air, of the effects of which Napoleon was very susceptible. Las Cases ascended to an upper room. From this retreat they could hear the sound of the captive's voice and distinguish his words. The valets-de-chambre lay stretched in their cloaks across the threshold of the door. Such is the description of the first night Napoleon passed at the Briars.

An English officer was lodged with them in the house as their guard; and two inferior officers were stationed near the house, to prevent any attempt at escape. Napoleon next proceeded to his dictation, which occupied him for several hours; and then took a walk in the garden, where he was met by the two Miss Balcombes, lively and innocent girls about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who presented him with flowers, and overwhelmed him with the most whimsical questions. Napoleon was amused by their familiarity, to which he had been little accustomed. "We have been to a masked ball," said he, when the young ladies had taken their leave.

The next day a chicken was brought for breakfast, which Bonaparte undertook to carve himself, and was surprised at his succeeding so well, it being a long time since he had done so much. The coffee he considered so bad, that on tasting it he thought himself poisoned, and sent it away. He happened to be using a snuff-box set with ancient medals, having Greek inscriptions. He gave it to Las Cases to translate one of the names, but presently laughed and said, 'I see you are no better a scholar than myself.' It was then handed to young Las Cases, a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, who easily read the names of Mithridates, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and some others. This led Napoleon to remark on the excellent education he had given to the youth of France. He said, if he had thought only of himself and of securing his own authority, he should have hid learning under a bushel, instead of doing every thing in his power to diffuse and improve knowledge. The plan of his University, he added, had been spoiled by others.

In the evening, Napoleon paid a visit to Mr. Balcombe. The young ladies, and an English gentleman who was there, fell into some droll anachronisms respecting persons they had read of in history and in the newspapers of the day. On the 21st the admiral came to visit Bonaparte. Among other privations, Napoleon could not procure a bath, so necessary to his health. In the evening, the whole of his suite met, and were assembled round him, when he made some bitter reflections on their situation. The English ministers had treated him as a prisoner of war: he was not one; or if he were, the right over him ceased with the war itself. His detention and the mode of it he considered equally an act of violence and duplicity. He transmitted a paper stating these arguments (and desiring to hear news of his wife

and son) to the English ministry, by the captain of the vessel which was about to set sail on its return to Europe.

The mornings were passed in business: in the evening Napoleon sometimes strolled to the neighbouring villa, where the young ladies made him play at whist. The "Campaign of Italy" was nearly finished; and Las Cases proposed that the other followers of Napoleon who were lodged in the town should come up every morning to assist in transcribing the "Campaign of Egypt," the "History of the Consulate," &c. This suggestion pleased the Ex-emperor, so that from that time one or two of his suite came regularly veery day to write to his dictation. They then staid to dinner, and thus afforded Bonaparte a little more amusement than he had received hitherto. A tent, the gift of the Colonel of the 53d regiment, was spread out so as to form a prolongation of the pavilion. Their cook took up his abode at Briars. The table-linen was taken from the trunks; the plate was set forth; and the first dinner after these new arrangements was a sort of *fête*. One day at dinner, Napoleon casting his eye on one of the dishes of his campaign-service, on which the imperial arms were engraved, "How they have spoiled that!" he exclaimed; and he could not refrain from observing, that the king was in great haste to take possession of the imperial plate, which certainly did not belong to him. One day he drew out a cabinet, in which were a number of medallions, given him by the Pope and other potentates; some letters of Louis XVIII., which he had left behind him on his writing-table in the suddenness of his flight from the Tuileries on the 20th of March; and a number of other letters found in the portfolio of M. Blacas, intended to calumniate Napoleon.

He now never dressed till about four o'clock: he then walked in the garden, which was particularly agreeable to him on account of its solitude; the English soldiers having been removed at Mr. Balcombe's request. A little arbour in it was covered with canvas, and a chair and table placed in it; and here Napoleon afterwards dictated a great part of his Memoirs. In the evening, when he did not go out, he generally contrived to prolong the conversation till eleven or twelve o'clock. He avoided retiring to bed too early; as when he did so, he awoke in the night, and was obliged to rise and read, to divert his mind from sorrowful reflections.

It was now November. Napoleon one morning had a misunderstanding with Bertrand about a letter of complaint to the governor, which had not been delivered. "If you thought it improperly expressed, why did you not say so? This did not require more than twenty-four hours to deliberate upon; but it is now a fortnight." His good-humour, however, soon returned; and in the evening, to show it had left no disagreeable impression on his mind, he repeated more than once, "It was after we had made it up with the grand-marshal—it was before the mis-

understanding with the grand-marshal." In conversing on the subject, Napoleon expressed doubts of the accounts of the prodigious armies of Xerxes and Darius, and of the brilliant victories obtained by the Greeks over them. He believed, on the contrary, in the numerous armies of Tamerlane and Gengiskan, and the hordes of barbarians who overran Europe in the middle ages; and said the situation of Russia was admirably calculated to bring about another such catastrophe. He observed, that a conqueror to succeed must be ferocious.

Napoleon had been dictating in the garden to Generals Montholon and Gourgaud; and on walking out, found himself fatigued and indisposed. He was annoyed at seeing some females advancing to throw themselves awkwardly in his way, and turned aside to avoid them. Three horses had been placed at his disposal; and it was suggested that riding might be beneficial to him; but he replied that he never could reconcile himself to the idea of riding with an English officer constantly at his side; adding, that every thing in life must be reduced to calculation, and that if the vexation arising from seeing his gaoler were greater than the advantage he might derive from riding, it was of course advisable to renounce the amusement altogether. The horses were accordingly sent back. Napoleon closed the day with a walk. After some broken conversations, he looked at his watch, and was glad to find it was near midnight. He said that sometimes he could not reflect without dismay on the many years he might still have to live, and on the inutility of a protracted old age; and that if he were sure France was tranquil and happy, and did not need his aid, he should have lived long enough.

Thus time passed with little variety or interruption. The weather at this period of the year became delightful, and Napoleon insensibly recovered from his indisposition. One day, his usual task being done, he strolled out towards the town, till he came within sight of the road and shipping. On his return, he met Mrs. Balcombe and a Mrs. Stuart, a comely woman about twenty, who was on her way back from Bombay to England. Napoleon conversed with her on the manners and customs of India, and on the inconveniences of a long voyage at sea, particularly to ladies. He alluded to Scotland, Mrs. Stuart's native country; expatiated on the genius of Ossian, and congratulated his fair interlocutor on the preservation of her clear northern complexion from the effect of an oriental climate. While the parties were thus engaged, some heavily-burdened slaves passed near them. Mrs. Balcombe motioned them to fall back; but Napoleon interposed, exclaiming, "Respect the burden, madam!" As he said this, the Scotch lady, who had been very eagerly scanning the features of Napoleon, whispered to her friend, "Heavens! what a

character, and what an expression of countenance! How different to the idea I had formed of him!"

Napoleon shortly after repeated the same walk, and went into the house of Major Hudson, where he saw some beautiful children at play at the gate. This visit occasioned considerable alarm to the constituted authorities. The governor gave a ball, to which the French were invited; and Las Cases about the same time rode over to Longwood with Madame Bertrand in a carriage drawn by six oxen, to see what advance had been made in the preparations for their reception there. His report on his return was not very favourable. They expected to have remained only a few days at Briars; and they had now been six weeks there, during which time Napoleon had been nearly as much confined as if on board the vessel. His health began to be impaired by it. Las Cases gives it as his opinion that the Emperor did not possess that constitution of iron that is usually ascribed to him; and that it was the strength of his mind, not of his body, that carried him through the labours of the field and of the cabinet. In speaking on this subject, Napoleon himself observed that nature had endowed him with two peculiarities: one was the power of sleeping whenever he needed repose, at any hour or in any place; another advantage, as he considered it, was his being incapable of committing any injurious excess either in eating or drinking. "If," said he, "I go the least beyond my mark, my stomach instantly revolts." He was subject to nausea from very slight causes, and to colds from any change of air.

Among other things, Napoleon amused himself by reading the *New Eloise*, which he criticised at first very favourably, but afterwards more severely: and with giving an account to those about him of his different generals.*

Napoleon is described by the visiters who saw him at Briars to have been cheerful and good-humoured, making few complaints, and putting up with the necessary inconveniences of his situation without murmuring. But the complaints of his suite were loud and vehement: they were "reduced to drain the cup of misery to the dregs;" "their wretched meals were brought to them as though to criminals in a dungeon;" "they were absolutely in want of the necessaries of life," and "exposed on the top of a frightful rock to the severity of man and the rigour of nature."

St. Helena is a "true Siberia," with the *slight* difference that it is warm instead of cold, and a limited spot instead of an extensive continent. From the constant repetition of these and similar grievances, it would appear that the vexatious bickerings between Napoleon and the government of the island, which during the remainder of his life appeared to be almost its chief

* Hazlitt.

occupation, were excited much more by the complaints of his attendants than by his own feelings. They were constantly squabbling both with their guards, or as they persist in calling them, gaolers, and with each other; and Las Cases admits, that Napoleon was much annoyed by their disputes, and took a great deal of useless trouble to make them agree among themselves.

They removed to Longwood on the 10th of December, 1815. Napoleon invited Mr. Balcombe to breakfast with him that morning, and conversed with him in a very lively and cheerful manner. About two, Admiral Cockburn was announced; he advanced with an air of embarrassment. In consequence of the restraints imposed upon him at Briars, and the manner in which those of his suite residing in the town had been treated, Bonaparte had discontinued receiving the visits of the admiral; yet on the present occasion he behaved towards him as though nothing had happened. At length, they left Briars and set out for Longwood. Napoleon rode the horse, a small, sprightly, and tolerably handsome animal, which had been brought for him from the Cape. He wore his uniform of the chasseurs of the guard: and his graceful manner and handsome countenance were particularly remarked. The admiral was attentive to him. At the entrance of Longwood they found a guard under arms, who rendered the prescribed honours to their illustrious captive. Napoleon's horse, unused to this kind of parade, was startled at the sound of the drum; and refused to proceed without the help of the spur. The admiral took great pains to point out the minutest details at Longwood. He had himself superintended all the arrangements, among which was a bath. Bonaparte was satisfied with every thing, and the admiral seemed highly pleased. He had anticipated petulance and disdain; but Napoleon manifested perfect good-humour.

They were now settled in their new abode. Longwood, originally a farm belonging to the East-India Company, and afterwards given as a country residence to the deputy-governor, is situated on one of the highest parts of the island. "The difference between the temperature of this place and the valley below is very great. It stands on a level height of some extent, and near the eastern coast. Continual and frequently violent winds blow regularly from the same quarter. The sun, though rarely seen, nevertheless exercises its influence on the atmosphere, which is apt to produce disorders in the liver. Heavy and sudden falls of rain inundate the ground; and there is no settled course of the seasons. The sun passes over their heads twice a year. Notwithstanding the abundant rains, the grass is either nipped by the wind or dried up by the heat. The water which is conveyed up to Longwood by pipes, is so unwholesome as to be unfit for use till it has been boiled. The trees which at a distance impart a smiling aspect to the country, are merely gum-trees, a wretched kind of shrub, affording no shade. On one hand, the

horizon is bounded by the ocean: but the rest of the scene presents only a mass of huge barren rocks, deep gulfs, and desolate valleys; and in the distance appears the green and misty chain of mountains, above which towers Diana's Peak. In short, Longwood can be agreeable only to the traveller after the fatigues of a long voyage, to whom the sight of any country is a relief." This is Las Cases's account of Napoleon's new residence, and must be received with much caution, for this faithful follower of Bonaparte appears to have been difficult to satisfy.

Workmen had been employed for two months in preparing Longwood for their reception. The entrance to the house was through a room which had been just built, and which was intended to answer the double purpose of an antechamber and a dining-room. This apartment led to another, which was made the drawing-room: beyond this was a third room running in a cross direction and very dark. This was intended to be the depository of Bonaparte's maps and books, but it was afterwards converted into the dining-room. Napoleon's chamber opened into this apartment on the right-hand side. This chamber was divided into two equal parts, forming a cabinet and sleeping-room: a little external gallery served for a bathing-room. Opposite Napoleon's chamber, at the other extremity of the building, were the apartments of Madame Montholon, her husband, and her son, afterwards used as Bonaparte's library. Detached from this part of the house, was a little square room on the ground-floor, contiguous to the kitchen, which was assigned to Las Cases. The windows and beds had no curtains. The furniture was mean and scanty. Bertrand and his family resided at a distance of two miles at a place, called *Hut's Gate*. General Gourgaud slept under a tent, as well as Mr. O'Meara, and the officer commanding the guard. They were surrounded by a garden. In front, and separated from the house by a tolerably deep ravine, was encamped the 53d regiment, different parties of which were stationed on the neighbouring heights.

The domestic establishment of Napoleon consisted of eleven persons.* To one was confided the management of the household, to another the domestic details; one was to take care of the furniture and property, and another to have the management of the stables. These arrangements, however, produced

* Marchand, native of Paris, valet-de-chambre.
St. Denis, called Aly, native of Versailles, the same.
Noverraz, Swiss, the same.
Santini, Corsican, the same.
Archambault, sen., and Archambault, jun., born at Fontainebleau, grooms.
Gentilini, native of Elba, footman.
Cypriani, Corsican, died at St. Helena, maître d'hôtel.
Pierron, native of Paris, butler.
Lepage, cook. Rousseau, native of Fontainebleau, steward.

discontent among Napoleon's attendants. One thought himself injured by being placed in too low an office, another conceived that his new employment entitled him to greater consideration from the others. Las Cases admits that they were no longer the members of one family, each using his best efforts to promote the advantage of all. They were far from practising that which necessity dictated: a wreck of luxury, a remnant of ambition, became an object of contest. He says also, "The admiral has more than once, in the midst of our disputes with him, hastily exclaimed, that the Emperor was decidedly the most good-natured, just, and reasonable of the whole set."

On his first arrival, he went to visit the barracks occupied by some Chinese living on the island, and a place called Longwood farm. He complained to Las Cases that they had been of late idle: but by degrees their hours and the employment of them became fixed and regular. "The Campaign of Italy" being now finished, Napoleon corrected it and dictated on other subjects. This was their morning's work. They dined late, Madame Montholon being seated on Napoleon's right, Las Cases on his left, and Gourgaud, Montholon, and Las Cases's son sitting opposite. The smell of the paint not being yet gone off, they remained not more than ten minutes at table, and the dessert was prepared in the adjoining apartment, where coffee was served up, and conversation commenced. Scenes were read from Molière, Racine, and Voltaire: and regret was always expressed at their not having a copy of Corneille. They then played at *reversis*, which had been Bonaparte's favourite game in his youth. The recollection was agreeable to him, and he thought he could amuse himself at it for any length of time, but was soon undeceived. His aim was always to make the *reversis*, that is, to win every trick. Character develops itself in the smallest incidents. He read a libel on himself and contrasted the compliments which had passed between himself and the Queen of Prussia with the brutal behaviour ascribed to him in the English newspapers. On the other hand, two common sailors had at different times, while he was at Longwood and at Briars, in spite of orders and at all risks made their way through the sentinels to gain a sight of Napoleon. On seeing the interest they took in him, he exclaimed, "This is fanaticism! Yes, imagination rules the world!" By degrees, the prejudices of the English who came in contact with him wore off.

The instructions of the English ministers with regard to the treatment of Napoleon at St. Helena, had been prepared with the view completely to secure his person. An English officer was to be constantly at his table. This order, however, was not carried into effect. An officer was also to accompany Napoleon in all his rides; this order was dispensed with within certain prescribed limits, because Napoleon had refused to ride out at all on such conditions. Almost every day brought with

it some new cause of uneasiness and complaint. Sentinels were posted beneath Napoleon's windows and before his doors. This order was, however, doubtless given to prevent him from being annoyed by impertinent curiosity. The French were certainly precluded from all free communication with the inhabitants of the island; but this precaution was of unquestionable necessity for the security of Bonaparte's person. Las Cases complains that the passwords were perpetually changed; so that they lived in constant perplexity and apprehension of being subjected to some unforeseen insult. "Bonaparte," he continues, "addressed a complaint to the admiral, which obtained for him no redress. In the midst of these complaints, the admiral wished to introduce some ladies (who had arrived by the Doris) to Napoleon; but he declined, not approving this alternation of affronts and civilities." He however consented at the request of the colonel, to receive the officers of the 53d regiment. After this officer took his leave, Napoleon prolonged his walk in the garden. He stopped awhile to look at a flower in one of the beds, and asked his companion if it was not a lily? It was indeed a magnificent one. The thought that he had in his mind was obvious. He spoke of the number of times he had been wounded; and said it had been thought he had never met with this sort of accidents from his having kept them secret as much as possible.

It was near the end of December. One day, after a walk and a *tumble* in the mud, Bonaparte returned and found a packet of English newspapers, which the grand-marshal translated to him. This occupied him till late, and he forgot his dinner in discussing their contents. After dinner had been served, Las Cases wished to continue the translation, but Napoleon would not suffer him to proceed from consideration for the weak state of his eyes. "We must wait till to-morrow!" said he. The admiral came in person to visit him; and the interview was an agreeable one. After some animated discussion, it was arranged that Napoleon should henceforth ride freely about the island; that the officer should follow him only at a distance; and that visiters should be admitted to him, not with the permission of the admiral as the inspector of Longwood, but with that of the grand-marshal, who was to do the honours of the establishment. These concessions were however recalled. On the 30th of this month, Piontkowski, a Pole, who had been left behind, but whose entreaties prevailed upon the English government, joined Bonaparte. On New-year's day, all their little party was collected together, and Napoleon, entering into the feelings of the occasion, begged that they might breakfast and pass it together. Every day furnished some new trait of this kind.

Having given some idea of Napoleon's general mode of life, which admitted of slight variation, it is necessary to hasten forward. The English officer having insisted on accompanying

Napoleon in his rides, in consequence of some new orders, he discontinued the exercise for some time, during which he was glad of any book to amuse himself with. "Time," he said, "is the only thing of which we have too much here." Among others, the collection called the *Antigallican* was thrown in his way, at which he laughed heartily. Las Cases observes, that the calumnies in this work were so coarse and ridiculous, that with the exception of the lowest class among the English, its poison carried its own antidote with it. They heard by the papers of the insurrection in Spain and the death of Porlier, the execution of Ney, and the escape of Lavallette. All these occurrences interested Napoleon exceedingly, and he made a variety of observations on them: he had acquired by this time, with Las Cases's assistance, a little knowledge of the English language.

After some mixed conversation one evening, Napoleon inquired, "What is the day of the month?" It was the 11th of March. "It is a year ago," said he, "to-day; it was a brilliant day! I was at Lyons. I reviewed some troops; I invited the mayor to dine with me, who has since boasted that it was the worst dinner he ever made in his life." Bonaparte became animated: he paced the chamber rapidly. "I had again become a great power," he continued; and a sigh escaped him, which he immediately checked with these words, in an accent and with a warmth difficult to describe: "I had founded the finest empire upon earth, and I was so necessary to it, that notwithstanding all my last reverses, here, upon my rock, I seem still to remain master of France. Look at what is now going on there; read the papers; you will find it so in every line. Only let me once more set my foot there: they will see what France and what I can do! What a fatality that the allies did not acquiesce in my return from the isle of Elba; that every one did not perceive that my reign was desirable and requisite to the balance and peace of Europe! But both kings and people feared me; they were in error, and may rue it dearly. I returned a new man; they could not believe it: they could not conceive that a man might have strength of mind enough to alter his character, or to submit to circumstances. I had, however, given proofs of this, and some pledges to the same effect. Who can be ignorant that I am not a man for half measures? I would have been as sincerely the monarch of the constitution and of peace, as I had been of absolute sway and great enterprises. What could the allied sovereigns apprehend? Did they still dread my ambition, my conquests, my universal monarchy? But my power and my resources were no longer the same; and besides, I had only defeated and subdued them in my own defence: this is a truth which time will more fully make manifest every day. *Europe never ceased to make war upon France, her principles, and me; and we were compelled to destroy, to prevent our own destruction.*

"The coalition always existed openly or secretly, avowed or denied; it was permanent: it only remained with the allies to make peace: for ourselves, we were worn out; the French dreaded making new conquests. But even the French mistrusted me: they had the madness to debate when there was nothing left but to fight; and to form themselves into factions when they should have united by all possible means. And was it not better to run the risk of having me again for master, than to subject themselves to that of submitting to a foreign tyranny? Would it not have been easier to shake off a single tyrant than to break through the chains of all the nations united? And whence did they derive this mistrust of me? Because they had already seen me concentrate every effort in myself, and direct them with a vigorous hand. But do they not learn at the present day to their cost, how necessary that was? Well! the danger was in any case the same: the contest terrible, and the crisis imminent. In this state of things, was not absolute power almost indispensable? The welfare of the country obliged me even to declare it openly on my return from Leipsic. I should have done so again on my return from Elba. I was wanting in consistency, or rather in confidence in the French people, because many of them no longer placed any in me, and this was doing me a great wrong. If narrow and vulgar minds only saw in all my efforts the care of my own power, ought not those of greater comprehension to have known that in the circumstances in which we were placed, my power and the country were but one? Did it require such great and incurable mischiefs to enable them to understand me? History will do me more justice: it will point me out as the man of self-denials and disinterestedness. To what temptations was I not exposed in the army of Italy? England offered me the crown of France at the time of the treaty of Amiens: I refused peace at Chatillon: I disdained all personal stipulations at Waterloo—and why? Because all this had no reference to my country, and I had no ambition distinct from her, that of her glory, her ascendancy, her majesty. And that is the reason why, in spite of so many calamities, I remain so popular in France."

CHAPTER XLVII.

1816.

RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

On the 14th of April, 1816, Sir Hudson Lowe, the new governor, arrived at St. Helena. This epoch is important, as marking the beginning of a continued series of squabbles, hard names, accusations, and counter-accusations, by which the last five years of Napoleon's life were constantly occupied, to the great annoyance of himself and all connected with him, and probably to the shortening of his own existence. It would be tedious to detail the progress of this petty war, but as a subject which has formed so great a portion of the life of Napoleon, it must not be omitted. To avoid any thing which may appear like a tendency against Napoleon, the details, unless when otherwise mentioned, will be derived from Las Cases, his devoted admirer.

On the first visit of the new governor, which was the 16th of April, Napoleon refused to admit him. On the second visit he was admitted to an audience. What passed there is not stated by Las Cases, but Napoleon seems to have taken up a prejudice at first sight, as he remarked to his suite that the governor was "hideous, and had a most ugly countenance," though he allowed he ought not to judge too hastily. The spirit of the party was shown by a remark made, that the two first days had been days of battle.

The governor saw Napoleon again on the 30th, and the interview was stormy. Napoleon argued with the governor on the conduct of the allies towards him, said they had no right to dispose of him, who was their equal and sometimes their master. He then declaimed on the eternal disgrace the English had inflicted on themselves by sending him to St. Helena; they wished to kill him by a lingering death; their conduct was worse than that of the Calabrians in shooting Murat. He talked of the cowardliness of suicide, complained of the small extent and

horrid climate of St. Helena, and said it would be an act of kindness to deprive him of life at once. Sir H. Lowe said that a house of wood, fitted up with every possible accommodation was then on its way from England for his use. Napoleon repelled it at once, and exclaimed that it was not a house but an executioner and a coffin that he wanted; the house was a mockery, death would be a favour. A few minutes after, Napoleon took up some bulletins of the campaigns of 1814, which lay on the table, and asked Sir H. Lowe, if he had written them. Las Cases, after saying that the governor replied in the affirmative, finishes his account of the interview; but according to O'Meara, Napoleon said they were full of folly and falsehood. The governor with a much milder reply than most men would have given, retired, and Napoleon harangued upon the sinister expression of his countenance, abused him in the coarsest manner, and made his servant throw a cup of coffee out of the window, because it had stood a moment on a table near the governor.

It was expected and required that all persons who visited at Longwood or at Hut's Gate, should make a report to the governor, or to Sir Thomas Reade, of the conversations they had held with the French. Several additional sentinels were posted around Longwood House and grounds.

During some extremely wet and foggy weather (with high winds) Napoleon did not go out for several days. Messengers and letters continually succeeded one another from Plantation House. The governor appeared anxious to see Napoleon, and was evidently distrustful, although the residents at Longwood were assured of his actual presence by the sound of his voice. He had some communications with Count Bertrand on the necessity there existed, that some one of his officers should see Napoleon daily. He also went to Longwood frequently himself, and finally, after some difficulty, succeeded in obtaining an interview with Napoleon in his bedchamber, which lasted about a quarter of an hour. Some days before, he sent for Mr. O'Meara, asked a variety of questions concerning the captive; walked round the house several times and before the windows, measuring and laying down the plan of a new ditch, which he said he would have dug in order to prevent the cattle from trespassing.

On the morning of the 5th of May Napoleon sent for his surgeon to come to him. He was introduced into his bedchamber, a description of which is thus given: "It was about fourteen feet by twelve, and ten or eleven feet in height. The walls were lined with brown nankeen, bordered and edged with common green bordering-paper, and destitute of surbase. Two small windows, without pulleys, looked towards the camp of the 53d regiment, one of which was thrown up and fastened by a piece of notched wood. There were window-curtains of white long-cloth, a small fireplace, a shabby grate and fire-irons to match,

with a paltry mantelpiece of wood, painted white, upon which stood a small marble bust of his son. Above the mantelpiece hung the portrait of Maria Louisa, and four or five of young Napoleon, one of which was embroidered by the hands of his mother. A little more to the right hung also the portrait of the Empress Josephine; and to the left was suspended the alarm chamber-watch of Frederic the Great, obtained by Napoleon at Potsdam; while on the right, the Consular watch, engraved with the cipher B, hung by a chain of the plaited hair of Maria Louisa, from a pin stuck in the nankeen lining. In the right-hand corner was placed the little plain iron camp-bedstead, with green silk curtains, on which its master had reposed on the fields of Marengo and Austerlitz. Between the windows there was a chest of drawers, and a book-case with green blinds stood on the left of the door leading to the next apartment. Four or five cane-bottomed chairs painted green were standing here and there about the room. Before the back-door there was a screen covered with nankeen; and between that and the fireplace, an oldfashioned sofa covered with white long-cloth, on which Napoleon reclined, dressed in his white morning-gown, white loose trousers and stockings all in one, a chequered red handkerchief upon his head, and his shirt-collar open without a cravat. His air was melancholy and troubled. Before him stood a little round table, with some books, at the foot of which lay in confusion upon the carpet a heap of those which he had already perused, and at the opposite side of the sofa was suspended Isabey's portrait of the Empress Maria Louisa, holding her son in her arms. In front of the fireplace stood Las Cases with his arms folded over his breast and some papers in one of his hands. Of all the former magnificence of the once mighty Emperor of France, nothing remained but a superb washhand-stand containing a silver basin and water-jug of the same metal, in the left-hand corner. The object of Napoleon in sending for O'Meara on this occasion was to question him whether in their future intercourse he was to consider him in the light of a spy and a tool of the governor or as his physician? The doctor gave a decided and satisfactory answer on this point.

"During the short interview that this governor had with me in my bedchamber, one of the first things he proposed was to send you away," said Napoleon to O'Meara, "and that I should take his own surgeon in your place. This he repeated, and so earnest was he to gain his object, that though I gave him a flat refusal, when he was going out he turned about and again proposed it."

On the 11th, a proclamation was issued by the governor, "forbidding any persons on the island from sending letters to or receiving them from General Bonaparte or his suite, on pain of being immediately arrested and dealt with accordingly." Nothing escaped the vigilance of Sir Hudson Lowe. "The governor,"

said Napoleon, "has just sent an invitation to Bertrand for General Bonaparte to come to Plantation-house to meet Lady Moira. I told Bertrand to return no answer to it. If he really wanted me to see her, he would have put Plantation-house within the limits; but to send such an invitation, knowing I must go in charge of a guard if I wished to avail myself of it, was an insult.—It appears," added he, "that this governor was with Blucher, and is the writer of some despatches to his government descriptive of part of the operations in 1814. I pointed them out to him the last time I saw him; and asked him, 'Are these your productions, sir?' He replied, *Yes*. I told him they were full of misrepresentations and nonsense. He shrugged up his shoulders, and said, 'I merely stated what I saw.' If those letters were the only accounts he transmitted, he betrayed his country." A few days after, in consequence of another visit from the governor, he expressed himself thus: "Here has been this ill-favoured wretch to torment me again. Tell him that I never want to see him, and that I hope he may not come again to annoy me with his hateful presence, unless it be with orders to despatch me. He will then find my breast ready for the blow; but till then, let me be rid of his odious countenance: I cannot reconcile myself to it." Bonaparte's aversion to Sir Hudson Lowe, based upon prejudice from beginning to end, was so great, we perceive in this anecdote, as to make him forget what was due to himself. He could not succeed, however, in his endeavours to disturb the equanimity of the governor.

From this time the whole of his intercourse with the governor and his agents was in fact nothing but a series of altercations. "Your government," said he in a moment of irritation, "is mistaken, if it imagines that by endeavouring to distress me, such as sending me here, depriving me of all communication with my nearest and dearest relatives, so that I am ignorant if one of my family exist, isolating me from the world, imposing unnecessary and petty restrictions which are daily getting worse, sending out the lowest of mankind as keepers, it will weary out my patience, and drive me to destroy myself. Even if I ever had entertained a thought of the kind, the idea of the gratification it would afford them would prevent me from completing it. And then that *palace*," he added, laughing, "which they say they are sending out for me, is so much money thrown into the sea. I would much prefer they had sent me four or five hundred volumes of books than all their furniture and houses. Besides, it will take some years to build it; and before that time, I shall be no more."

Napoleon, however, from the elasticity of his spirits, soon recovered his gaiety, and inquired as usual after the news. He was told that some ladies he had received a few days before were highly delighted with his manners; especially as from what

they had read and heard, they had been prepossessed with a very different opinion. "Ah!" said he, laughing, "I suppose they imagined I was some ferocious horned animal." Soon after came the *Declaration of the Allies* and the *Acts of Parliament*, authorizing the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte as a prisoner of war and disturber of the peace of Europe. Against the bill when brought into the House of Lords, there were two protests, those of Lord Holland and of the Duke of Sussex. These official documents did not tend to sooth the temper or raise the spirits of the French to endure their captivity.

In addition to the misery of his own captivity, Napoleon had to contend with the unmanageable humours of his own followers. As often happens with men in such circumstances, they sometimes disagreed among themselves; and part of their petulance and ill-temper fell upon their chief. He took these little incidents deeply to heart. On one occasion, he said in bitterness, "I know that I am fallen; but to feel this among you! I am aware that man is frequently unreasonable and susceptible of offence. Thus, when I am mistrustful of myself, I ask, Should I have been treated so at the Tuileries? This is my sure test."

To the *Declaration of the Allies* he desired Montholon to give the following masterly reply:

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT.

"General,—I have received the treaty of the 2d of August, 1815, concluded between the King of Great Britain, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, annexed to your letter of the 23d of July.

"The Emperor Napoleon protests against the intention of that treaty, as he is not the prisoner of England. After having placed his Abdication in the hands of the representatives of the nation, for the benefit of the Constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he proceeded voluntarily to England, with the view of residing there in retirement, as a private person, under the protection of the British laws. The violation of all laws cannot constitute a right *de facto*. The person of the Emperor Napoleon is in the power of England; but neither, *de facto* nor *de jure*, has he been, nor is he, at present, in the power of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; even according to the laws and customs of England, which has never reckoned, in its exchange of prisoners, Russians, Austrians, Prussians, Spaniards, or Portuguese, although united to those states by treaties of alliance, and making war in conjunction with them. The Convention of the 2d of August, made fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon had arrived in England, cannot lawfully have any effect; it merely presents the spectacle of the Coalition of the four principal powers of Europe, for the oppression of a single man; a Coalition which the opinion of every people disavows, as do all the principles of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the

King of Prussia not having, either *de facto* or *de jure*, any power over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, were incapable of enacting any thing with regard to him. If the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Austria, that prince would have recollected the relations formed by religion and nature between a father and a son—relations which are never violated with impunity. He would have remembered that four times Napoleon re-established him on his throne: at Leoben in 1797, and at Luneville in 1801, when his armies were under the walls of Vienna; at Presburgh in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies were in possession of the capital and of three-fourths of Austria. That prince would have remembered the protestations which he made to him at the bivouac of Moravia in 1806, and at the interview at Dresden in 1812.

"If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been in the power of the Emperor of Russia, he would not have forgotten the ties of friendship, contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurt, and during twelve years of daily intercourse; he would not have forgotten the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon the day subsequent to the battle of Austerlitz, when having it in his power to take him prisoner with the remains of his army, he contented himself with his *parole*, and suffered him to effect his retreat; he would not have forgotten the dangers to which the Emperor Napoleon personally exposed himself in order to extinguish the fire of Moscow and preserve that capital for him; unquestionably that prince would not have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in misfortune. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had been even in the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would have remembered that it depended upon the Emperor's will, after the battle of Friedland, to place another prince on the throne of Berlin; he would have remembered, in the presence of a disarmed enemy, the protestations of devoted attachment which he expressed to him in 1812, at the interviews at Dresden. It is accordingly evident from the 2d and 5th articles of the said treaty, that being incapable of any influence whatever over the fate and the person of the Emperor Napoleon, who is not in their power, these princes refer themselves in that respect to the future conduct of the King of Great Britain, who undertakes to fulfil all obligations.

"These princes have reproached the Emperor Napoleon with preferring the protection of the English laws to their own. The false ideas which the Emperor Napoleon entertained of the liberality of the English laws and of the influence of a great, generous, and free people on its government, induced him to prefer the protection of those laws to that of his father-in-law, or of his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon would always have been able to obtain the security of what related personally to himself by treaty, whether by placing himself again at the head of the army of the Loire, or by putting himself at the head of the army of the Gironde, commanded by General Clausel; but looking for the future only to retirement and to the protection of the laws of a free nation, either English or American, all stipulations appeared unnecessary to him. He thought, that the English people would have felt more bound by his frank conduct, which was noble and confiding, than it could have been by the most solemn treaties. He

has been deceived; but this delusion will for ever excite the indignation of real Britons, and with the present as well as future generations, it will be a proof of the perfidy of the English administration. Austrian and Russian commissioners have arrived at Saint Helena; if the aim of their mission be to fulfil a part of the duties, which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted by the treaty of the 2d of August, and to take care, that the English agents, in a small colony, in the middle of the ocean, do not fail in the attentions due to a prince, connected with them by the ties of relationship, the characteristics of these two sovereigns will be recognised in that measure. But you, Sir, have asserted that these commissioners possessed neither the right nor the power of giving any opinion on whatever may be transacted on this rock.

"The English ministry have caused the Emperor Napoleon to be transported to Saint Helena, two thousand leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic, five hundred leagues removed from every continent, is exposed to the devouring heat of that latitude; it is, during three quarters of the year, covered with clouds and mists; it is both the driest and most damp country in the world. This climate is peculiarly injurious to the Emperor's health. It is hatred which dictated the selection of this residence, as well as the instructions, given by the English ministry to the officers in command in this country; they have been ordered to style the Emperor Napoleon *General*, being desirous of compelling him to acknowledge that he never reigned in France. This decided him not to take an incognito title, as he had determined, on quitting France. First Magistrate for life, under the title of First Consul, he concluded the preliminaries of London and the treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain. He received as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who resided in that quality at his court. He accredited at the court of England Count Otto and General Andreossi, who resided there as ambassadors. When, after the exchange of credentials between the ministers for foreign affairs of the two monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, provided with full powers from the King of England, he treated with the plenipotentiaries provided with full powers by the Emperor Napoleon, and resided several months at the court of the Tuileries. When afterwards at Chatillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum, which the allied powers presented to the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, he thereby recognised the fourth dynasty. That ultimatum was more advantageous than the treaty of Paris; but France was required to renounce Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the propositions of Frankfort and to the proclamations of the allied powers; and was also contrary to the oath by which, at his coronation, the Emperor had sworn to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Emperor then thought these natural limits were necessary to the security of France as well as to the equilibrium of Europe; he thought that the French nation, in the circumstances under which she was placed, ought rather to risk every chance of war than to resign them. France would have obtained that integrity, and with it preserved her honour, had not treason contributed to the success of the allies. The treaty of the 2d of August

and the bill of the British Parliament, style the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte, and give him only the title of General. The title of *General Bonaparte* is no doubt eminently glorious; the Emperor bore it at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcola, at Leoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne that of First Consul and of Emperor; that would be to admit that he had neither been first magistrate of the republic, nor sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who think that nations are flocks, which, by divine right, belong to some families, are neither of this age, nor agree with the spirit of the English legislature, which has several times changed the order of its dynasties, because the great alterations in public opinion, in which the reigning princes did not participate, had made them enemies to the happiness of the great majority of that nation. For kings are but hereditary magistrates, who exist for the happiness of nations, and not nations for the satisfaction of kings. It is the same spirit of hatred, which directed that the Emperor Napoleon should not write nor receive any letter without its being opened and read by the English ministers and the officers of Saint Helena. He has, by that regulation, been interdicted the possibility of receiving intelligence from his mother, his wife, his son, his brothers; and when, wishing to free himself from the inconvenience of having his letters read by inferior officers, he desired to send sealed letters to the Prince Regent, he was told, that open letters only could be taken charge of and conveyed, and that such were the instructions of the ministry. That measure requires no comment; it will suggest strange ideas of the spirit of the administration by which it was dictated; it would be disavowed even at Algiers! Letters have been received for general officers in the Emperor's suite; they were opened and delivered to you; you did not deliver them, because they had not been transmitted through the medium of the English ministry; it was found necessary to make them travel four thousand leagues over again, and these officers had the misfortune to know, that there existed on this rock news from their wives, their mothers, and their children, which they could not become acquainted with in less than six months!—The heart revolts at this. Permission could not be obtained to subscribe to the Morning Chronicle, to the Morning Post, or to some French journals: some broken numbers of the Times have been occasionally sent to Longwood. In consequence of the demand made on board the Northumberland, some books have been sent; but all those which relate to the transactions of late years, have been carefully kept out of the way. It was since intended to open a correspondence with a London bookseller for the purpose of being directly supplied with books which might be wanted, and with those relative to the events of the day: this was prevented. An English author having published in London an account of his travels in France, took the trouble to send it as a present to the Emperor, but you did not think yourself authorized to deliver it to him, because it had not reached you through the channel of your government. It is also said, that other books, sent by their authors, have not been delivered, because the address of some was—*To the Emperor Napoleon*, and of others—*To Napoleon the Great*. The English ministry are not au-

thorized to direct any of these annoyances. The law, however unjust, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war; but prisoners of war have never been prohibited from subscribing to the journals, or receiving books that are printed: such a prohibition only exists in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

"The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is every where inaccessible; the coast is guarded by brigs, posts within sight of each other are placed on the shore, and all communication with the sea is rendered impracticable. There is but one small town, James-Town, where the vessels anchor, and from which they sail. In order to prevent the escape of an individual, it is sufficient to guard the coast by land and sea. By interdicting the interior of the island, one object only can be in view, that of preventing a ride of eight or ten miles, which it would be possible to take on horseback, and the privation of which, according to the opinion of medical men, is calculated to abridge the Emperor's life.

"The Emperor has been placed at Longwood, which is exposed to every wind; a barren piece of ground, uninhabited, without water, and incapable of any cultivation. The space around contains about twelve hundred uncultivated fathoms. At the distance of eleven or twelve hundred fathoms, a camp was established on a rising ground; another has been since placed nearly at the same distance in an opposite direction, so that in the intense heat of the tropic, whichever way the eye is directed, nothing is seen but encampments. Admiral Malcolm, perceiving the utility of a tent to the Emperor in that situation, has had one pitched by his seamen at the distance of twenty paces from the house; it is the only spot in which shade is to be found. The Emperor has, however, every reason to be satisfied with the spirit which animates the officers and soldiers of the gallant 53d, as he had been with the crew of the Northumberland. The house at Longwood was constructed to serve as a barn to the company's farm; some apartments were afterwards made in it by the deputy-governor of the island; he used it for a country-house; but it was in no respect adapted for a residence. During the year it has been inhabited, it has been always in want of repair, and the Emperor has been constantly exposed to the inconvenience and unwholesomeness of a house undergoing repairs. His bedchamber is too small to contain a bedstead of ordinary size; but any additional building at Longwood would prolong the inconvenience arising from the presence of the workmen. There are, however, in this wretched island some beautiful situations, with fine trees, gardens, and tolerably good houses, among others, Plantation House; but you are prevented by the positive instructions of the ministry from granting this house, which would have saved a great deal of expense laid out in building, at Longwood, huts covered with pitched paper, which are already unserviceable. You have prohibited every kind of intercourse between us and the inhabitants of the island; you have, in fact, converted Longwood House into a secret prison; you have even thrown difficulties in the way of our communication with the officers of the garrison. The most anxious care would seem to be taken to deprive us of the few resources afforded by this miserable spot, and we are no better off here than we should be on Ascension

Rock. During the four months you have been at St. Helena, you have, sir, rendered the Emperor's condition worse. It was observed to you by Count Bertrand, that you violated the law of England, that you trampled upon the privileges of general officers, prisoners of war. You answered, that you knew nothing but the letter of your instructions, and that they were still worse than your conduct appeared to us.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.,

(Signed) Count de Montholon.

"P.S.—I had, sir, signed this letter, when I received yours of the 17th, to which you annex the estimate of an annual sum of 20,000*l.* sterling, which you consider indispensable to meet the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, after having made all the reductions which you have thought practicable. The consideration of this estimate can in no respect concern us; the Emperor's table is scarcely supplied with what is necessary; all the provisions are of a bad quality and four times dearer than at Paris. You require a fund of twelve thousand pounds sterling from the Emperor, as your government only allows you eight thousand pounds for all these expenses. I have had the honour of telling you, that the Emperor had no funds; that no letter had been received or written for a year, and that he was altogether unacquainted with what has taken place in Europe. Transplanted by violence to this rock, at the distance of two thousand leagues, without being able to receive or to write any letter, he now finds himself at the mercy of the English agents. The Emperor has uniformly desired and still wishes to provide for all his own expenses of every kind, and he will do so as speedily as you shall render it possible, by removing the prohibition laid upon the merchants of the island, of carrying on his correspondence, and releasing it from all kind of inquisition on your part, or on that of any of your agents. The moment the Emperor's wants shall be known in Europe, the persons entrusted with the care of his affairs will transmit the necessary funds.

"The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange ideas! Can your ministers then be so ignorant as not to know, that the spectacle of a great man struggling with adversity is the most sublime of spectacles? Can they be ignorant that Napoleon at Saint Helena, in the midst of persecutions of every kind, to which he opposes nothing but serenity, is greater, more sacred, more to be revered, than on the first throne of the world, where he was so long the arbiter of kings? Those who fail in respect to Napoleon, in his present position, merely degrade their own character and the nation which they represent!"

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1816.

RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

The mode of life adopted by Napoleon at Longwood was very regular. He usually rose early, and employed an hour or two either in dictating to one of his generals, or in a ride on horseback. He generally took his breakfast about ten o'clock sometimes in his own room, and sometimes with his suite. He devoted the early part of the day to reading or to dictation, until about two or three o'clock, when he was in the habit of receiving visiters. After this he again took an airing, either on horseback or in his carriage, attended by the whole of his suite. On his return, he either resumed his book, or continued his dictation until dinner-time, which was eight o'clock. He preferred plain food, of which he ate plentifully and with appetite; his drink was claret, of which he took but little, very rarely more than a pint. After dinner chess, cards, a play or a romance read aloud, or general conversation, served to pass away the time until ten or eleven o'clock, at which hour he usually went to bed.

One of Napoleon's first excursions was to the house of a farmer, in his neighbourhood, where he took the family by surprise. The wife and children of the farmer, frightened at the very idea of Napoleon, made a rapid escape, and Mr. Warden, the surgeon of the Northumberland, who relates the anecdote, insinuates that the bold farmer himself would have followed the example, if he had not been stopped in the doorway. Mr. Warden thus describes the interview: Master Legg, the tenant of the mansion, a plain, honest countryman, met the Emperor at the door, when the extraordinary visiter dismounted from his horse, and accompanied by the Count Las Cases, entered the house, familiarly took his seat, and as usual began his interrogatories.

"Have you a wife?"—"Yes, and please you, Sir Emperor."
"Have you any children?"—"Six."
"How much land have you got?"—"A hundred acres."
"All capable of being cultivated?"—"No, not one half."
"What profit does it bring you?"—"Not a great deal, but it is much improved since you, Mr. Emperor, came amongst us."
"Ay, how do you make that out?"—"Why, you must know, Sir Emperor, we do not grow corn in this here island, and our green vegetables require a ready market. We have generally had to wait for the arrival of a fleet, and then, rat 'em, they would sometimes all spoil; but now, Sir General, we have a prime sale for every article."
"Where is your wife?"—"Dang it, and please you, I believe she is scared; for I see my children have all run out."
"Send for them and let me be introduced. Pray have you any good water?"—"Yes, sir, and wine too, such as is to be had from the Cape."

The good woman's alarm had by this time subsided, and she was persuaded by her husband to make her appearance. She entered with every mark of respect, and some astonishment. Napoleon, Las Cases, the farmer, and his wife, forming a *partie quarrée*, sat down to four glasses of Cape wine, and when they were emptied, the visit concluded. The farmer and his family had been placed so much at their ease by the courteous demeanour of their unexpected guest, that the subsequent visits laid them under no restraint; and even the little children used frequently to express their wishes by inquiring of their mother, "When will Bonaparte come and see us again?"

On several other occasions he appeared to acquiesce in his new position, and seemed willing to be as contented as a fallen monarch could make himself. He once detained the Lieut.-Governor Skelton and his lady to dine with him, and very agreeably entertained them; and sometimes he paid visits to the persons who resided in his neighbourhood. One day passing a field where some labourers were ploughing, he alighted from his horse, seized the plough, and, to the astonishment of the ploughmen, traced a furrow of considerable length. The attraction of a ball at the governor's house, to which the party were invited, drew even the gentlemen of his suite from the ordinary pertinacity with which they repelled every approach to attention on the part of those persons whom they so politely termed their *gaolers*.

But this tranquil state of things lasted, as we have stated, but a short time; the quarrels of Napoleon's attendants, the eternal question of title and etiquette, and, as it has been with great probability suggested, the desire to keep up an interest in Europe by any means whatever, soon produced hostility. The complaints of the French party were loud and vehement. According to Las Cases they were oppressed

and insulted in every way that ingenuity could devise; and in order to prove to the world the amount of injury inflicted upon them, he sums up in a page or two of his journal, all the insults of Admiral Cockburn, who was governor of the island until April, 1816, when Sir Hudson Lowe arrived. First he adduces the unpardonable familiarity which the admiral assumed towards them, without, as he says, any encouragement from them, and secondly, the more unpardonable familiarity towards the Emperor, whom he styled "general," instead of giving him the imperial title. We may very readily excuse the second grievance in a worshipper of Napoleon, but the first complaint is sufficiently amusing: the British admiral had no idea how far he was presuming when he spoke with familiarity to the Count Las Cases. The smallness of the apartments at Briars (selected, be it observed, by Napoleon himself) is the next insult mentioned. The sentinels placed in the neighbourhood of the residence, and the supervision maintained over the suite generally, takes up a large share in the list. Las Cases next dwells on the caprice of the admiral in granting Napoleon permission to ride about the island without being accompanied by a guard, and afterwards withdrawing it; but he does not state the fact, that the permission was granted on the condition that Napoleon should take no steps to open communications with the inhabitants, and that he violated this condition on the very first opportunity. Another accusation is, that the admiral always chose to visit at the most unseasonable hours, when he knew Napoleon would not see him, and that he even directed those strangers who visited the island to choose the most improper time for paying their respects. This accusation can only be characterized as too absurd for belief, and even if it were true, Las Cases could not possibly know it. He inconsistently concludes with observing, that all these grievances were rather in form than in fact; that the admiral was capable of delicate and generous feelings, but that he was capricious, irascible, and overbearing; that as a *gaoler* he was mild, humane, and generous, but as a host generally unpolite, and often something worse. He states, subsequently, that the conduct of the admiral had never been of a nature to wound their feelings.

A great deal of pains has been taken by Napoleon's adherents and others, to blacken the character of Sir Hudson Lowe, and to make it appear that his sole object was to harass Napoleon and to make his life miserable. Now, although it may be questioned whether Sir H. Lowe was the proper person to be placed in the delicate situation of guard over the fallen Emperor, there is no doubt that quarrels and complaints began long before that officer reached the island; and the character of those complaints will show that at best the prisoners were persons very difficult to satisfy. Their detention at Briars was one of the first causes of complaint. It was stated

that the Emperor was very ill there, that he was confined in a cage with no attendance, that his suite was kept from him, and that he was deprived of exercise. A few pages further in the journal of Las Cases we find the Emperor in good health, and as soon as it was announced that Longwood was ready to receive him, then it was urged that the *gaolers* wished to compel him to go against his will, that they desired to push their authority to the utmost, that the smell of the paint at Longwood was very disagreeable, &c. Napoleon himself was quite ready to go, and seemed much vexed when Count Bertrand and General Gourgaud arrived from Longwood with the intelligence that the place was as yet uninhabitable. His displeasure, however, was much more seriously excited by the appearance of Count Montholon with the information that all was ready at Longwood within a few minutes after receiving the contrary accounts from Bertrand and Gourgaud. He probably perceived that he was trifled with by his attendants, who endeavoured to make him believe that which suited their own convenience. We may also remark that the systematic opposition which was carried to such great length against Sir H. Lowe had begun during the stay of Admiral Cockburn. His visits were refused; he was accused of caprice, arrogance, impertinence, and petty insolence, and he was nicknamed *the shark* by Napoleon himself; his own calmness alone probably prevented more violent ebullitions.

The wooden house arrived at last, and the governor waited on Napoleon to consult with him how and where it should be erected. Las Cases, who heard the dispute in an adjoining room, says that it was long and clamorous. He gives the details in Napoleon's own words, and we have here the advantage of comparing his statement with the account transmitted by Sir Hudson Lowe to the British government, dated 17th May, 1816. The two accounts vary but little. Napoleon admits that he was thrown quite out of temper, that he received the governor with his stormy countenance, looked furiously at him, and made no reply to his information of the arrival of the house, but by a significant look. He told him that he wanted nothing, nor would receive any thing at his hands; that he supposed he was to be put to death by poison or the sword; the poison would be difficult to administer, but he had the means of doing it with the sword. The sanctuary of his abode should not be violated, and the troops should not enter his house but by trampling on his corpse. He then alluded to an invitation sent to him by Sir H. Lowe to meet Lady Loudon at his house, and said there could not be an act of more refined cruelty than inviting him to his table by the title of General, to make him an object of ridicule or amusement to his guests. What right had he to call him General Bonaparte? He would not be deprived of his dignity by him, nor by any one in the world. He certainly should have condescended to visit Lady Loudon, had she been within his

limits, as he did not stand upon strict etiquette with a woman, but he should have deemed that he was conferring an honour upon her. He would not consider himself a prisoner of war, but was placed in his present position by the most horrible breach of confidence. After a few more words, he dismissed the governor, without once more alluding to the house which was the object of the visit. The fate of this unfortunate house may be mentioned here. It was erected after a great many disputes, but was unfortunately surrounded by a sunk fence, and ornamental railing. This was immediately connected in Napoleon's mind with the idea of a fortification; it was impossible to remove the impression, that the ditch and palisade were intended to secure his person. As soon as the objection was made known, Sir Hudson Lowe ordered the ground to be levelled and the rails taken away. But before this was quite completed, Napoleon's health was too much destroyed to permit his removal, and the house was never occupied.

Napoleon seems to have felt that he had been too violent in his conduct: he admitted when at table with his suite a few days after, that he had behaved very ill, and that in any other situation he should blush for what he had done. "I could have wished, for his sake," he said, "to see him evince a little anger, or pull the door violently after him when he went away." These few words let us into a good deal of Napoleon's character: he liked to intimidate, but his vehement language was received with a calmness and resolute forbearance, to which he was quite unaccustomed; and he consequently grew more angry, as his anger was less regarded.

The specimens here given of the disputes with Sir H. Lowe may probably suffice: a great many more are furnished by Las Cases, O'Meara, and other partisans of Napoleon, and even they always make him the aggressor. Napoleon himself in his cooler moments seemed to admit this; after the most violent quarrel with the governor, that of the 13th of August, which utterly put an end to any thing like decent civility between the parties, he allowed that he had used the governor very ill, that he repeatedly and purposely offended him, and that Sir H. Lowe had not in a single instance shown a want of respect, except perhaps that he retired too abruptly.

Great complaints were made of the scanty way in which the table of the exiles was supplied; and it was again and again alleged by them that they had scarcely any thing to eat. The wine, too, was said to be execrable; so bad, that in fact it could not be drunk; and, of such stuff as it was, only one bottle a-day was allowed to each person—an allowance which Las Cases calls ridiculously small. In this state of almost starvation, Napoleon resolved to dispose of his plate in monthly proportions; and as he knew that some East India captains had offered as much as a hundred guineas for a single plate, in order

to preserve a memorial of him, he determined that what was sold should be broken up, the arms erased, and no trace left which could show that they had ever been his. The only portions left uninjured were the little eagles with which some of the dish-covers were mounted. These last fragments were objects of veneration for the attendants of Napoleon; they were looked upon as relics, with a feeling at once melancholy and religious. When the moment came for breaking up the plate, Las Cases bears testimony to the painful emotions and real grief produced among the servants. They could not, without the utmost reluctance, bring themselves to apply the hammer to those objects of their veneration. This act confounded their ideas: it was to them a sacrilege, a desolation. Some of them, he concludes, even shed tears upon the occasion.

In conversation with Las Cases upon one occasion, Napoleon, on being told that his follower in his journal characterized the battle of Waterloo as another BATTLE OF SPURS, expressed himself with great impatience, and exclaimed, "What have you written? Erase it quickly, sir. A battle of spurs, indeed! What a calumny! Ah, my poor army," continued he; "brave soldiers! you never fought better!" And after some moments' pause, he added, with much feeling, "We have had traitors amongst us! May Heaven forgive them! But as for France, when will she recover from that perfidy?"

An answer which Napoleon one day gave to a question put to him by Mr. O'Meara, should be recorded. It being remarked that considerable surprise had been excited that during the height of his glory he had never given a dukedom in France to any person, he replied, "I considered that it would have produced great discontent among the people. If, for example, I had made one of my marshals Duke of Burgundy, instead of giving him a title derived from one of my victories, it would have caused great alarm in Burgundy, as they would conceive that some feudal rights and territory were attached to the title; and the nation hated the old nobility so much, that the creation of any rank resembling them would have given universal umbrage, which I, powerful as I was, dared not venture upon. I instituted the new nobility to crush the old, and to satisfy the people that, as the greater part of those I created had sprung from themselves, every private soldier had a right to look up to the title of duke. I believe that I acted wrong in doing even this, as it impaired the system of equality, which pleased the people so much; but if I had created dukes with a French title, it would have been considered as a revival of the old feudal privileges with which the nation had been cursed so long."

In recording one of his visits to Napoleon, Mr. Warden details a very characteristic scene:

"On entering the room I observed the back of a sofa turned towards me; and, on advancing, I saw Napoleon lying at full

length on it, with his left arm hanging over the upper part. The glare of light was excluded by a Venetian blind, and before him there was a table covered with books. I could distinguish among them some volumes on the French revolution. The heat of the day had occasioned him to dismantle himself of coat and waistcoat. The moment his eye met mine, he started up, and welcomed me in the English language. I bowed in return. Stretching out his hand, he said, 'I have got a fever.' I immediately applied my hand to the wrist, and observing, both from the regularity of the pulsation and the jocular expression of his countenance, that he was amusing himself, I expressed my wish that his health might always remain the same. He then gave me a gentle tap on the cheek, with the back of his hand; and desired me to go into the middle of the room, as he had something to say to me. I now congratulated him on the preservation of his health, and complimented him on the progress he appeared to have made in the English language. 'I certainly enjoy,' he said, 'a very good state of health, which I attribute to a rigorous observance of regimen. My appetite is such that I feel as if I could eat at any time of the day: but I am regular in my meals, and always leave off eating with an appetite: besides, I never, as you know, drink strong wines. With respect to the English language,' he continued, 'I have been very diligent: I now read your newspapers with ease; and must own, that they afford me no inconsiderable amusement. They are, occasionally, inconsistent, and sometimes abusive. In one paper I am called a *Liar*, in another a *Tyrant*, in a third a *Monster*, and, in one of them, which I really did not expect, I am described as a *Coward*; but it turned out, after all, that the writer did not accuse me of avoiding danger in the field of battle, or flying from an enemy, or fearing to look at the menaces of fate and fortune; he did not charge me with wanting presence of mind in the hurry of battle, and in the suspense of conflicting armies. No such thing. I wanted courage, it seems, because I did not coolly take a dose of poison, or throw myself into the sea, or blow out my brains. The writer most certainly misunderstands me: I have, at least, too much courage for that. Your papers are influenced by party principles: what one praises the other will abuse; and so *vice versâ*. Those who live in the metropolis where they are published, can judge of passing events and transactions for themselves; but persons living at a distance from the capital, and particularly foreigners, must be at a loss to determine upon the real state of things, and the characters of public men, from the perusal of your journals.'

"'Nevertheless,' he observed, 'you appear to handle my character rather roughly; and more so since I have been in your power.' He asked me, to my great surprise, if I remembered the history of Captain Wright? I answered, 'Perfectly well; and it is a prevailing opinion in England that you ordered him

to be murdered in the Temple.' With the utmost rapidity of speech, he replied, 'For what object? Of all men, he was the person whom I should have most desired to live. Whence could I have procured so valuable an evidence as he would have proved on the trial of the conspirators in and about Paris? The heads of it he himself had landed on the French coast.' My curiosity was at this moment evident. 'Listen,' continued Napoleon, 'and you shall hear. The English brig of war, commanded by Captain Wright, was employed by your government in landing traitors and spies on the west coast of France. Seventy of the number had actually reached Paris; and so mysterious were their proceedings, so veiled in impenetrable concealment, that although General Raoul, of the police, gave me this information, the name or place of their resort could not be discovered. I received daily assurances that my life would be attempted; and though I did not give entire credit to them, I took every precaution for my preservation. The brig was afterwards taken near l'Orient, with Captain Wright, its commander, who was carried before the prefect of the department of Morbeau, at Vannes. General Julian, then prefect, had accompanied me in the expedition to Egypt, and recognised Captain Wright on the first view of him. Intelligence of this circumstance was instantly transmitted to Paris; and instructions were expeditiously returned to interrogate the crew separately, and transfer their testimonies to the minister of police. The purport of their examination was at first very unsatisfactory; but, at length, on the examination of one of the crew, some light was thrown on the subject. He stated that the brig had landed several Frenchmen, and among them he particularly remembered one, a very merry fellow, who was called *Pichegru*. Thus a clue was found that led to the discovery of a plot, which, had it succeeded, would have thrown the French nation a second time into a state of revolution. Captain Wright was accordingly conveyed to Paris, and confined in the Temple, there to remain till it was found convenient to bring the formidable accessaries of this treasonable design to trial. The law of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death: but he was of minor consideration. My grand object was to secure the principals, and I considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost consequence towards completing my object.' He again and again most solemnly asserted that Captain Wright died in the Temple by his own hand, as described in the Moniteur, and at a much earlier period than has been generally believed. At the same time, he stated, that his assertion was founded on documents which he had since examined. The cause of this inquiry arose from the visit, I think he said, of Lord Ebrington to Elba; and he added, 'That nobleman appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the account which was given him of this mysterious business.'"

CHAPTER XLIX.

1817.

RESIDENCE AT ST. HELENA.

The island of St. Helena is regularly visited by East India ships on the return voyage, which touch there to take in water, and to leave gunpowder for the use of the garrison. On such occasions, there were always persons anxious to pay a visit to the renowned captive. The regulation of those visits was calculated to protect Napoleon from being annoyed by the idle curiosity of strangers, to which he professed a great aversion. Such persons as wished to wait upon him, were in the first place obliged to apply to the governor, by whom their names were forwarded to Count Bertrand. This gentleman, as grand-marshal of the household, communicated the wishes of those persons to Napoleon, and in case of a favourable reply, fixed the hour for an interview.

Those visiters whom Napoleon admitted, were chiefly persons of rank and distinction, travellers from distant countries, or men who had distinguished themselves in the scientific world, and who could communicate interesting information in exchange for the gratification they received. Some of those persons who were admitted to interviews with him, have published narratives of their conversation, and all agree in extolling the extreme grace, propriety, and appearance of benevolence manifested by Bonaparte while holding these levees. His questions were always put with great tact, and on some subject with which the person interrogated was well acquainted, so as to induce him to bring forth any new or curious information of which he might be possessed.

In the month of July, 1817, he had an interview of some length with Lord Amherst, and the gentlemen composing the embassy to China, who were then on their return from that country. He addressed a considerable part of his conversation, or rather declamation, to Mr. Ellis, who accompanied Lord Amherst to China as commissioner. He spoke of Russia, whose

power he considered formidable to the liberties of Europe, and against whose encroachments he had himself always supported the Turks, although he hated them as barbarians. "Alexander," he said, "may have whatever army he pleases. Unlike the French and English, the subjects of the Russian empire improve their condition by becoming soldiers. If I called on a Frenchman to quit his country, I required him to abandon his happiness. The Russian, on the contrary, is a slave while a peasant, and becomes free and respectable when a soldier. A Frenchman, leaving his country, always changes for the worse, while Germany, France, and Italy, are all superior to the native country of the Russians." He then took a rapid review of the military character of the principal nations of Europe, and decided that the English and French were the only troops whose discipline and moral qualities deserved notice. He said the Austrians and Prussians were very inferior, and that real strength and efficiency were confined to the French and English. The English troops, however, he remarked, were too limited in number ever to render England a great military nation, notwithstanding their bravery. Her real strength was in her naval superiority, and the maintenance of a monopoly of commerce. "While your naval pre-eminence remains," said he, "you may blockade all Europe. I well know the effect of blockade. With two small wooden machines, you distress a line of coast, and place a country in the situation of a body rubbed over with oil, and thus deprived of the natural perspiration." He several times repeated the remark that England was too small ever to be a military nation, and added that military affairs were not in the genius of the English people. "None but the very dregs of the nation enlist in your army; the profession is not liked."

This frequent repetition of set phrases has often been remarked by those who have heard Napoleon speak. Mr. Ellis considered him in the short interview he had with him, to possess much eloquence; he abounded in that sort of oracular confidence, so well adapted to produce an impression upon persons already prepared to look up to him. He was little studious of arrangement, but poured out his ideas with a rapidity of language, almost equal to the rapidity of their succession in the mind. His manner is described by Mr. Ellis to have been pleasing, and to possess a mixture of simplicity and conscious superiority, such as he had never witnessed. He considered the expression of his countenance to be more intellectual than commanding, and observed that his person, so far from being overgrown with corpulency, seemed fully equal to the endurance of the greatest exertion. "I should say, that he was as fit as ever to go through a campaign, and that, considering his age, he was not unusually corpulent." It had been observed by Las Cases, who took great pains to teach Napoleon enough of English to read an English newspaper, that he would never try to pronounce

English in any other way than by giving all our letters the sound they have in the French alphabet, which of course rendered it unintelligible. The effect of this resolution was remarked by Mr. Ellis. "Bonaparte miscals English names and words more than any foreigner I ever before heard, who had pretensions to a knowledge of the language." He concludes, "Notwithstanding his reading, and the attention he has probably paid to the subject, he seems little acquainted with the nature of our domestic policy. His plans, like his practice, are all despotic, and are formed without adverting to constitutional restrictions."

A few weeks after this interview, Napoleon received another interesting visit from Captain Basil Hall, who commanded the Lyra, which accompanied the embassy of Lord Amherst to China. Napoleon at once recognised the name of Hall: he remembered having seen his father, Sir James Hall, who had visited the military academy of Brienne when Napoleon was studying there. The circumstance of his recollecting a private individual after the lapse of so many years, and the intervention of so many momentous events, was explained by him. "It is not surprising. Your father was the first Englishman I ever saw; and I have recollected him all my life on that account." He was afterwards very minute in his inquiries respecting the Edinburgh Royal Society, of which body Sir James had been long president.

The conversation then turned upon the Loo-Choo Islands, which Captain Hall had re-discovered, whilst cruising about in the China Seas, after having accompanied Lord Amherst. Bonaparte's inquiries were very close upon this subject, and his surprise at the singular narrative told by the captain was strongly expressed.

The following is Captain Hall's interesting account of this conversation:

"Having settled where the island lay, he cross-questioned me about the inhabitants with a closeness—I may call it a severity of investigation—which far exceeds every thing I have met with in any other instance. His questions were not by any means put at random, but each one had some definite reference to that which preceded it, or was about to follow. I felt in a short time so completely exposed to his view, that it would have been impossible to have concealed or qualified the smallest particular. Such, indeed, was the rapidity of his apprehension of the subjects which interested him, and the astonishing ease with which he arranged and generalized the few points of information I gave him, that he sometimes outstripped my narrative, saw the conclusion I was coming to before I spoke it, and fairly robbed me of my story.

"Several circumstances, however, respecting the Loo-Choo people, surprised even him a good deal; and I had the satisfac-

tion of seeing him more than once completely perplexed, and unable to account for the phenomena which I related. Nothing struck him so much as their having no arms. '*Point d'armes!*' he exclaimed, '*c'est à dire points de canons—ils ont des fusils?*' —'Not even muskets,' I replied. '*Eh bien donc—des lances, ou, au moins, des arcs et des flèches?*' I told him they had neither one nor other. '*Ni poignards?*' cried he, with increasing vehemence. 'No, none.'—'*Mais!*' said Bonaparte, clenching his fist, and raising his voice to a loud pitch—'*Mais! sans armes, comment se bat-on?*' I could only reply, that as far as we had been able to discover, they had never had any wars, but remained in a state of internal and external peace. 'No wars!' cried he, with a scornful and incredulous expression, as if the existence of any people under the sun without wars was a monstrous anomaly.

"In like manner, but without being so much moved, he seemed to discredit the account I gave him of their having no money, and of their setting no value upon our silver or gold coins. After hearing these facts stated, he mused for some time, muttering to himself, in a low tone, 'Not know the use of money —are careless about gold and silver.' Then looking up, he asked, sharply, 'How, then, did you contrive to pay these strangest of all people for the bullocks and other good things which they seem to have sent on board in such quantities?' When I informed him that we could not prevail upon the people of Loo Choo to receive payment of any kind, he expressed great surprise at their liberality, and made me repeat to him twice, the list of things with which we were supplied by these hospitable islanders."

The conversation proceeded with equal spirit, and it is singular to remark the acuteness of Napoleon, in seizing upon the most remarkable and interesting facts, notwithstanding the hurry of a casual conversation. The low state of the priesthood in Loo-Choo was a subject which he dwelt on without coming to any satisfactory explanation. Captain Hall illustrated the ignorance of the people of Loo-Choo with respect to all the world, save Japan and China, by saying they knew nothing of Europe at all—knew nothing of France and England—and never had even heard of his Majesty; at which last proof of their absolute seclusion from the world, Napoleon laughed heartily. During the whole interview, Napoleon waited with the utmost patience until his questions were replied to, inquired with earnestness into every subject of interest, and made naturally a most favourable impression on his visiter.

"Bonaparte," says this acute traveller, "struck me as differing considerably from the pictures and busts I had seen of him. His face and figure looked much broader and more square, larger, indeed, in every way, than any representation I had met with. His corpulency, at this time, universally reported to be

excessive, was by no means remarkable. His flesh looked, on the contrary, firm and muscular. There was not the least trace of colour in his cheeks; in fact, his skin was more like marble than ordinary flesh. Not the smallest trace of a wrinkle was discernible on his brow, nor an approach to a furrow on any part of his countenance. His health and spirits, judging from appearances, were excellent; though at this period it was generally believed in England, that he was fast sinking under a complication of diseases, and that his spirits were entirely gone. His manner of speaking was rather slow than otherwise, and perfectly distinct: he waited with great patience and kindness for my answers to his questions, and a reference to Count Bertrand was necessary only once during the whole conversation. The brilliant and sometimes dazzling expression of his eye could not be overlooked. It was not, however, a permanent lustre, for it was only remarkable when he was excited by some point of particular interest. It is impossible to imagine an expression of more entire mildness, I may almost call it of benignity and kindness, than that which played over his features during the whole interview. If, therefore, he were at this time out of health and in low spirits, his power of self-command must have been even more extraordinary than is generally supposed; for his whole deportment, his conversation, and the expression of his countenance, indicated a frame in perfect health and a mind at ease."

The date of this meeting was 13th of August, 1817.

The manner assumed by Napoleon in the occasional interviews he had with such visiters, was so very opposite to that which he constantly maintained towards the authorities in whose custody he was placed, that we can scarcely doubt he was acting a part at least in one of those situations. It was suggested by Mr. Ellis that either he wished by means of his continual complaints to keep alive his interest in England, where he flattered himself there was a party favourable to him, or that his troubled mind found an occupation in the annoyance which he caused to the governor. Every attempt at conciliation on the part of Sir Hudson furnished fresh causes for irritation. He sent fowling-pieces to Longwood, and the thanks returned were a reply from Napoleon that it was an insult to send fowling-pieces where there was no game. An invitation to a ball was resented vehemently, and descanted upon by the French party as a great offence. He at one time sent a variety of clothes and other articles received from England, which he imagined might be useful at Longwood. Great offence was taken at this; they were treated, they said, like paupers; the articles ought to have been left at the governor's house, and a list to be sent respectfully to the household, stating that such things were at their command if they wanted them.

An opinion has already been expressed that much of this

annoyance was due to the offended pride of Napoleon's attendants, who were at first certainly far more captious than himself. He admitted as much himself on one occasion in a conversation with O'Meara. He said, "Las Cases certainly was greatly irritated against Sir Hudson, and contributed materially towards forming the impressions existing upon my mind." He attributed this to the feeling mind of Las Cases, which he said was peculiarly sensible of the ill-treatment Napoleon and himself had been subjected to. Sir Hudson also felt this, and remarked, like Sir George Cockburn, on more than one occasion, that he always found Napoleon himself more reasonable than the persons about him.

The claim put forth by Napoleon, to be still addressed by his title of Emperor, was another great source of the annoyances, both to himself and all around him. This was adhered to with great tenacity, and insisted upon on occasions which would hardly have been imagined calculated to give rise to such a claim. Many instances of this have been adduced, and Napoleon owned to O'Meara, that one half of his vexations at St. Helena arose from it. He seemed to impute an almost sacred character to the title: majesty was not to be profaned, it was not to be used but to himself, even in jest. A curious instance of his feeling on this point is given by Las Cases. "In his moments of goodhumoured familiarity, the Emperor was accustomed to salute me with all sorts of titles, such as 'Good morning, Monseigneur, how is your Excellency?' &c. One evening, when I was about to enter the drawing-room, the usher opened the door for me, and at the same moment the door of the Emperor's apartment also opened, and he came out. We both met together, and in a fit of abstraction he stopped me, and seizing me by the ear, said, playfully, 'Well, where is your Majesty going?' But the words had no sooner been uttered than he immediately let go my ear, and, assuming a grave expression of countenance, began to talk to me on some serious topic. I had, it is true, learned to close my ears when it was necessary; but the Emperor was evidently sorry for having suffered the expression, 'your Majesty,' to escape him. He seemed to think that though other titles might be used in jest, yet the case was very different with the one he had just employed; both on account of its own peculiar nature, and the circumstances in which we were placed. Be this as it may, the reader may form what conjecture he pleases; I merely relate the fact."

When offence is determined to be taken, any thing is sufficient to blow the flame, and the occasional misapprehensions caused by an imperfect knowledge of the language spoken by one of the parties was an occasional cause of irritation. Several instances of the sort appear in the journals published by persons who were in attendance on Napoleon; among others, one is related in O'Meara's journal, by which Napoleon was greatly

offended. A Pole in Napoleon's service, named Piontkowski, had accompanied young Las Cases to James-Town; while they were walking about, the servant who held their horses got drunk, and was evidently unable to take care of them, and even of himself. Sir Thomas Reade, seeing him in this state, thought it an act of civility to order his own servant to take charge of the horses, and to attend upon Las Cases with them. Upon this, young Las Cases was greatly enraged, expressed himself with great violence, and reported at Longwood that he had been compelled to leave the town by the orders of Sir Thomas Reade.

When Napoleon had once formed an opinion, no argument could shake it; he never listened to what was said by his opponent, and, in fact, studiously avoided every means by which he might be convicted of error. Once at odds with the governor, he afterwards held no terms of decency towards him. He was branded with every opprobrious name: liar, town hangman, were common epithets. He was characterized as bearing the mark of Cain on his forehead: he was like the man who heated the bar of iron red-hot, by which Edward was murdered in Berkeley castle. His retiring after presenting Lord Amherst to Napoleon was the mark of a low mind; the ornamental rails of iron which were to be placed round the dwelling of Napoleon, were a new species of confinement invented by the ferocious gaoler, in spite of the evidence of O'Meara that such palisades frequently surrounded gentlemen's houses in England.

Another occasion of annoyance was the resolution of Napoleon not upon any terms to acknowledge himself a prisoner, and his refusal to submit to such regulations as would render his captivity less burdensome. More than once the attendance of an officer was offered to be discontinued if he would allow himself to be seen once every day, and promise to take no means of escaping. "If he were to give me the whole of the island," said Napoleon, "on condition that I would pledge my word not to attempt an escape, I would not accept of it; because it would be equivalent to acknowledging myself a prisoner, although at the same time I would not make the attempt. I am here by force, and not by right. If I had been taken at Waterloo, perhaps I might have had no hesitation in accepting it, although even in that case it would be contrary to the law of nations, as now there is no war. If they were to offer me permission to reside in England on similar conditions, I would refuse it." The very idea of exhibiting himself to an officer every day, though but for a moment, was repelled with indignation. He even kept loaded pistols to shoot any person who should attempt it. It is stated in a note in O'Meara's journal, that "the Emperor was so firmly impressed with the idea that an attempt would be made forcibly to intrude on his privacy, that from a short time after the departure of Sir George Cockburn, he always kept four or five pair of loaded pistols, and some swords in his apart-

ment, with which he was determined to despatch the first who entered against his will." It seems this practice was continued to his death. In a violent tirade against "the wretch," addressed to Antommarchi soon after his arrival, he said, "He sent me his satellites twice a-day. Reade and Wynyard, his confidential officers, beset these miserable cabins, and wanted to penetrate into my apartments; but I caused the door to be barricaded, loaded my guns and my pistols, and have kept them so ever since, and swore that I would blow out the brains of the first that violated my asylum. I sent to inform the governor that my patience was exhausted, and my mind fully made up to despatch the first of his people who should pass the threshold of my door."

These violent scenes and impossible claims demonstrate the difficulty of any attempts at a conciliatory conduct on the part of the governor, when all the feelings of the governed were moving in a decidedly opposite tendency: and perhaps the words of Las Cases, in a long letter addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe on his departure from St. Helena, will best explain the respective feelings of the parties. He expresses himself in the following terms: "I am free to confess, that since I have been under your immediate control, I have found myself surrounded by very unexpected attentions. I have witnessed daily some agreeable alterations which I should not have expected. I was forcibly struck with this. Might it not proceed, said I, from the facility of my disposition? Could I have been mistaken at Longwood? Can I be mistaken here? Surely not. You did not appear to me the same man. I no longer saw you, as I have already said, through the blood-stained veil. At last I have resolved the problem: here I find myself on a level with you: every thing has harmonized between us: whereas you have never been in harmony for a single moment with that gigantic scale of Longwood, the magnitude of which you either will not perceive, or obstinately endeavour to diminish, rather than raise yourself to its proportions." Here we are candidly informed, that if Sir H. Lowe had contented himself with being the slave of the prisoner who was placed under his control, instead of watching over him, to prevent his escape, all would have been well. Las Cases leaves no doubt of the inordinate expectations formed by them. He states what his own conduct would have been had he been governor of St. Helena. "I should have felt the importance and extent of the duty imposed upon me, and I should have fulfilled it. I should have answered for the safety of my captive, but having secured that point, I should not have left him with a wish ungratified: it would not have been enough to possess his esteem, I should have obliged him to love me. I should not have approached his chains but on my knees."

With such expectations and so little likelihood of their being gratified, it cannot be a subject of surprise that the last days of

Napoleon, instead of closing at least with quiet and dignity, were passed in petty squabbles about trifles, in constant murmurings at what was evidently unavoidable, and in perpetual aspirations after the splendour that was gone, and could never by possibility return.

Napoleon continued to pass the mornings in dictating his memoirs, and the evenings in reading or conversation. He grew fonder of Racine; but his favourite was Corneille. He repeated that had he lived in his time, he would have made him a prince. He had a distaste to Voltaire; and found considerable fault with his dramas, perhaps justly, as conveying opinions rather than sentiments. He criticised his *Mahomet*, and said he had made him merely an impostor and a tyrant, without representing him as a great man. This was owing to Voltaire's religious and political antipathies; for those who are free from common prejudices, get others of their own in their stead, to which they are equally bigoted, and which they bring forward on all occasions. When the evening passed off in conversation without having recourse to books, he considered it a point gained. Some one having asked the Emperor which was the greatest battle that he had fought, he replied, it was difficult to answer that question without inquiring what was implied by the greatest battle. "Mine," continued he, "cannot be judged of separately: they formed a portion of extensive plans. They must therefore be estimated by their consequences. The battle of Marengo, which was so long undecided, procured for us the command of all Italy. Ulm annihilated a whole army: Jena laid the whole Prussian monarchy at our feet; Friedland opened the Russian empire to us; and Eckmuhl decided the fate of a war. The battle of the Moskwa was that in which the greatest talent was displayed, and by which we obtained the fewest advantages. Waterloo, where every thing failed, would, had victory crowned our efforts, have saved France and given peace to Europe." Madame Montholon having inquired what troops he considered the best, "Those which are victorious, madam," replied the Emperor. "But," added he, "soldiers are capricious and inconstant, like you ladies. The best troops were the Carthaginians under Hannibal; the Romans under the Scipios; the Macedonians under Alexander; and the Prussians under Frederick." He thought, however, that the French soldiers were of all others those which could most easily be rendered the best, and preserved so. "With my complete guard of forty or fifty thousand men, I would have undertaken to march through Europe. It is perhaps possible to produce troops as good as those that composed my army of Italy and Austerlitz; but certainly none can ever surpass them." Napoleon, who had conversed for a considerable time on a subject so peculiarly interesting to him, suddenly recollecting himself, asked what it was o'clock. Being told it was eleven,

"Well," said he, rising, "we at least have the merit of having got through the evening without the help either of tragedy or comedy."

The anniversary of the battle of Waterloo produced a visible impression on the Emperor. "Incomprehensible day!" said he, dejectedly, "concurrence of unheard-of fatalities! Grouchy, Ney, d'Erlon—was there treachery or was it merely misfortune? Alas! poor France!" Here he covered his eyes with his hands. "And yet," said he, "all that human skill could do was accomplished! All was not lost until the moment when all had succeeded." A short time afterwards, resuming the subject, he exclaimed, "In that extraordinary campaign, thrice, in less than a week, I saw the certain triumph of France slip through my fingers. Had it not been for a traitor, I should have annihilated the enemy at the outset of the campaign. I should have destroyed him at Ligny, if my left wing had only done its duty. I should have destroyed him again at Waterloo, if my right had seconded me.—Singular defeat, by which, notwithstanding the most fatal catastrophe, the glory of the conquered has not suffered!"

It has been generally supposed, that Napoleon was a believer in the doctrine of predestination. The following conversation with Las Cases clearly decides that point. "Pray," said he, "am I not thought to be given to a belief in predestination?"—"Yes, sire; at least by many people."—"Well, well! let them say what they please, one may sometimes be tempted to act a part, and it may occasionally be useful. But what are men? How much easier is it to occupy their attention and to strike their imaginations by absurdities than by rational ideas! But can a man of sound sense listen for one moment to such a doctrine? Either predestination admits the existence of free-will, or it rejects it. If it admits it, what kind of predetermined result can that be which a simple resolution, a step, a word, may alter or modify *ad infinitum*? If predestination, on the contrary, rejects the existence of free-will, it is quite another question; in that case, a child need only be thrown into its cradle as soon as it is born; there is no necessity for bestowing the least care upon it; for if it be irrevocably decreed that it is to live, it will grow though no food should be given to it. You observe that such a doctrine cannot be maintained: predestination is but a word without meaning. The Turks themselves, the professors of predestination, are not convinced of the doctrine; for in that case medicine would not exist in Turkey; and a man residing in a third floor would not take the trouble of going down stairs, but would immediately throw himself out of the window. You see to what a string of absurdities that will lead."

Las Cases remarks, that whenever the Emperor took up any subject, if he became in the least animated, his language was fit to be printed. On one occasion, when an English news-

paper spoke of the immense treasures which Napoleon must possess, and which he no doubt concealed, he observed, "They are great, it is true, but they are all exposed to light;" and he then enumerated with much eloquence the great public works he had executed, and the numerous improvements he had effected in France. Upon another occasion, Napoleon reading in an English newspaper Lord Castlereagh's statement that he had declared at St. Helena, he never would have made peace with England but with the view to deceive her, take her by surprise, and destroy her; and that if the French army was attached to Napoleon, it was because he gave the daughters of the richest French families in marriage to his soldiers, he exclaimed indignantly, "These calumnies uttered against a man who is not allowed to make his voice heard in answer to them, will be disbelieved by all well-educated and well-disposed persons. When I was seated on the throne of France, then no doubt my enemies had a right to say whatever they pleased; my actions were public, and were a sufficient refutation; but to utter new and unfounded calumnies against me at the present moment, is an act of the greatest meanness and cowardice, which will fail to produce the end proposed. Numberless libels have been and are still published every day; but they do no harm. Sixty millions of men of the most polished nations in the world raise their voices to confute them; and fifty thousand Englishmen, who are now travelling on the continent, will on their return home publish the truth to the people of Great Britain, who will be ashamed at having been so grossly deceived. As for the bill, by virtue of which they have exiled me to this rock, it is an act of proscription similar to those of Sylla," said he, "and still more atrocious. The Romans unrelentingly pursued Hannibal to the frontier of Bithynia; and Flaminius obtained from King Prusias the death of that soldier; yet at Rome Flaminius was accused of having acted thus in order to gratify his personal hatred. It was in vain that he alleged in his defence that Hannibal, still in the vigour of life, might again prove a dangerous enemy, and that his death was necessary: a thousand voices were raised and unanswered, that unjust and ungenerous actions can never promote the welfare of a great nation; and that upon such pretences as that now stated, murder, poisoning, and every species of crime might be justified. The succeeding generations reproached their ancestors with this base act; they would have given any thing to have such a stain effaced; and since the restoration of letters, every subsequent age has added its imprecations to those uttered by Hannibal when he drank the fatal cup: he cursed Rome, who, whilst her fleets and legions covered Europe, Asia, and Africa, wreaked her vengeance upon one man, alone and unprotected, because she feared or pretended to fear him. The Romans, however, never violated the rights of hos-

pitality. Sylla found an asylum in the house of Marius. Flaminius did not, before he proscribed Hannibal, receive him on board his ship, and declare that he had orders to treat him favourably: the Roman fleet did not convey him to the port of Ostia; and Hannibal, instead of placing himself under the protection of the Romans, preferred trusting his person to a King of Asia. At the moment when he was banished, he was not under the protection of the Roman flag; he was under the banners of a king who was an enemy to Rome. If in future ages a King of England should be one day brought before the awful tribunal of the nation, his defenders will urge in his behalf the sacred character of a king, the respect due to the throne, to all crowned heads, to the *anointed of the Lord!* But his accusers will have a right to answer thus: One of the ancestors of this king whom you defend, banished a man who was his guest, in time of peace; afraid to put him to death in the face of a nation governed by positive laws and by regular and public forms, he exposed his victim on an unwholesome rock, situated in the midst of the ocean, where this guest perished after a protracted agony, a prey to the climate, to want, to insults of every kind! Nevertheless that guest was also a great sovereign, raised to the throne on the shields of thirty-six millions of citizens; he was master of almost every capital in Europe; the most powerful kings composed his court; he was generous towards all; he was during twenty years the arbiter of nations; his family was allied to every reigning family, even to that of England; he was twice the *anointed of the Lord,* twice consecrated by the august ceremonies of religion!"

The following traits are characteristic of the man. In the common intercourse of life and his familiar conversation, Napoleon mutilated the names most familiar to him, even French names: yet this would not have occurred on any public occasion. He has been heard many times during his walks to repeat the celebrated speech of Augustus in Corneille's tragedy; and he has never missed saying, "Take a seat, Sylla," instead of Cinna. He would frequently create names according to his fancy; and when he had once adopted them, they remained fixed in his mind, although they were pronounced properly a hundred times a-day in his hearing; but he would have been struck if others had used them as he had altered them.* It was the same thing with respect to orthography: in general, he did not attend to it: yet if the copies which were made contained any faults of spelling, he would have complained of it. One day

* This account of him in his latter years forcibly throws us back to the description of his early childhood, with his stockings down about his heels, and fighting with all those who noticed it, or repeated the verses—

"Napoleone a mezza calzetta
Fa l' amore di Giacominetta?"

Napoleon said to Las Cases, "Your orthography is not correct, is it?" This question gave occasion to a sarcastic smile from a person who stood near, who thought it was meant to convey a reproach. The Emperor, who saw this, continued, "At least, I suppose it is not; for a man occupied with important public business, a minister for instance, cannot, and need not, attend to orthography. His ideas must flow faster than his hand can trace them: he has only time to place his points; he must put words in letters, and phrases in words, and let the scribes make it out afterwards." He indeed left a great deal for the copyists to do: he was their torment: his handwriting actually resembled hieroglyphics: he often could not decipher it himself. Las Cases's son was one day reading to him a chapter of the Campaign of Italy: on a sudden he stopped short, unable to make out the writing. "The little blockhead," said Napoleon, "cannot read his own handwriting."—"It is not mine, sire."—"And whose, then?"—"Your majesty's."—"How so, you little rogue; do you mean to insult me?" The Emperor took the manuscript, tried a long while to read it, and at last threw it down, saying, "He is right: I cannot tell myself what is written." He has often sent the copyists to Las Cases that he should endeavour to read what he had himself been unable to decipher.

Not long after their arrival at St. Helena, Madame Bertrand gave birth to a son, and when Napoleon went to visit her, she said, "I have the honour of presenting to your majesty the first French subject who has entered Longwood without the permission of Lord Bathurst."

In reference to the British embassy to China, Napoleon remarked to O'Meara that he thought the English ministers had acted wrongly in not ordering him to comply with the customs of the place he was sent to, as otherwise they ought not to have sent him at all. "I observed," says Mr. O'Meara, "that the English would consider it as debasing to the nation, if Lord Amherst had consented to prostrate himself in the manner required; that if such a point were conceded, the Chinese would probably not be contented, and would require similar ceremonies to be performed to those insisted upon by the Japanese, and so disgracefully complied with by the Dutch." Napoleon replied, "It is quite a different thing. One is a mere ceremony, performed by all the great men of the nation to their chief: the other is a national degradation required of strangers, and of strangers only. It is my opinion, that whatever is the custom of a nation, and is practised by the first characters of that nation towards their chief, cannot degrade strangers who perform the same. Different nations have different customs. In England, you kiss the king's hand at court. Such a thing in France would be looked upon as ridiculous, and the person who did it would be held up to public scorn: but still the French ambassador who performed it in England would

not be considered as having degraded himself. In England, some hundred years back, the king was served kneeling: the same ceremony now takes place in Spain. In Italy, you kiss the pope's toe: yet it is not considered as a degradation. A man who goes into a country must comply with the ceremonies in use there; and it would have been no degradation whatever for Lord Amherst to submit to such ceremonies before the Emperor of China as are performed by the first mandarins of that empire. You say that he was willing to render such homage as was paid to his own king. You have no right to send a man to China to tell them that they are to perform certain ceremonies, because such are practised in England. If I had sent an ambassador to China, I would have ordered him to make himself acquainted with the ceremonies performed by the first mandarins before the emperor, and, if required, to do the same himself, and no more. You ought to have treated those barbarians like children, and to have humoured them, as if you had sent an ambassador to the moon. I recollect having had a conversation on the subject at Tilsit with the Emperor Alexander, when we were very good friends. He asked my opinion and advice: I gave it him nearly as I have done to you. He was perfectly convinced; and wrote a reprimand to his ambassador for not having complied with the ceremonies required from him."

"'I always had a high opinion of your seamen,' said Napoleon one day, in a conversation arising out of our expedition to Algiers. 'When I was returning from Holland along with the Empress Maria Louisa, we stopped to rest at Givet. During the night a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which swelled the Meuse so much that the bridge of boats over it was carried away. I was very anxious to depart, and ordered all the boatmen in the place to be assembled, that I might be enabled to cross the river. They said that the waters were so high that it would be impossible to pass before two or three days. I questioned some of them, and soon discovered that they were fresh-water seamen. I then recollected that there were English prisoners in the barracks, and ordered that some of the oldest and best seamen among them should be brought before me to the banks of the river. The waters were very high, and the current rapid and dangerous. I asked them if they could join a number of boats together so that I might pass over. They answered that it was possible, but hazardous. I desired them to set about it instantly. In the course of a few hours they succeeded in effecting what the others had pronounced to be impossible; and I crossed before the evening was over. I ordered those who had worked at it to receive a sum of money each, a suit of clothes, and their liberty. Marchand was with me at the time.'"

In the beginning of 1817 the English newspapers were full of

the distresses experienced in this country. Bonaparte often adverted in forcible terms to this subject, and on one occasion remarked, "All your miseries I maintain to be owing to the imbecility and ignorance of your ministry. What would those Englishmen who lived a hundred years ago say, if they could rise from their graves, be informed of your amazing successes, cast their eyes upon England, witness her distress, and be told that in the treaty of peace not a single article for the benefit of England had been stipulated; that on the contrary you had given up conquests and commercial rights necessary to your existence? When Austria gained ten millions of inhabitants, Russia eight, Prussia ten, when Holland, Bavaria, Sardinia, and every other power obtained an increase of territory, why not England, who was the main organ of all the success? Instead of establishing a number of independent maritime states, such as Hamburg, Stralsund, Dantzic, Genoa, to serve as *entrepôts* for your manufactures, with conditions, either secret or otherwise, favourable to your commerce, you have basely given up Genoa to the King of Sardinia, and united Belgium to Holland. You have rendered yourselves hateful to the Italians and Belgians, and have done irreparable injury to your own trade. For although it is a great point for you that Belgium should be separated from France, it is a serious disadvantage that she should be united to Holland. Holland has no manufactures, and consequently would become a warehouse for yours, whence a prodigious influx might be kept up on the continent. Now, however, that Belgium has been annexed to Holland, this last will naturally prefer taking the manufactures of its own subjects to those of a stranger, and the whole of Belgium may be called a manufacturing town. Independently of this, in case of any future war with France, Holland must join the latter through fear of losing the provinces of Belgium. It would have been much better to give it to Austria; or why not have made it an independent country, and placed an English prince on the throne? Now let us see the position you actually stand in. You are nearly as much shut out from the continent as when I reigned and promulgated the continental system. I ask you what peace dictated by me, had I been victorious, could have been more prejudicial in its effects for England than the one made by your ministry, when England was triumphant? The hatred which they bore to me has precipitated them into an abyss. I thought it bad policy to leave the English troops in France, and make Lord Wellington commander-in-chief. The ill effects of it are now manifest. Prussia prohibits entrance to your merchandise. What can you do? You can neither pretend to intimidate, nor proceed to extremities, as Prussia would fall upon Lord Wellington and his forty thousand men. While you retain your troops upon the continent, you will never be independent. Had you, after the grand blow was struck, when I

was disposed of, withdrawn your troops from the continent, you would not have drawn down the hatred and jealousy of the continental powers, especially at seeing Lord Wellington commander-in-chief, and they never would have dared to shut their ports against you. You could then have sent your ships, blockaded their ports, and have declared, "If you do not permit my merchandise to enter, no other shall either go in or come out!" They would soon have listened to reason. Now, your hands are tied; your meddling in continental affairs, and trying to make yourselves a great military power, instead of attending to the sea and commerce, will yet be your ruin as a nation. You were greatly offended with me for having called you a *nation of shopkeepers*. Had I meant by this that you were a nation of cowards, you would have had reason to be displeased, even though it were ridiculous and contrary to historical facts; but no such thing was ever intended. I meant that you were a nation of merchants, and that all your riches and your grand resources arose from commerce, which is true. What else constitutes the riches of England? It is not extent of territory nor a numerous population. It is not mines of gold, silver, or diamonds. Moreover, no man of sense ought to be ashamed of being called a shopkeeper. When a nation has been favoured so much as yours has been, and misery exists in that nation, it is attributable to the imbecility of its ministers. The transition from war to peace cannot explain it. It is of too long a continuance. England has played for all or nothing. She has gained all, performed wonders, yet has nothing; and her people are starving and worse off than they were in the war; while France, which has lost every thing, is doing well, and the wants of her people are abundantly supplied."

We shall here give Napoleon's own opinion of the battle of Waterloo.

"The plan of the battle," said he, "will not, in the eyes of the historian reflect any credit on Lord Wellington as a general. In the first place he ought not to have given battle with the armies divided. They ought to have been united and encamped before the 15th. In the next, the choice of ground was bad; because if he had been beaten he could not have retreated, as there was only one road leading through the forest in his rear. He also committed a fault which might have proved the destruction of all his army, without its ever having commenced the campaign, or being drawn out in battle; he allowed himself to be surprised. On the 15th I was at Charleroi, and had beaten the Prussians without his knowing any thing about it. I had gained forty-eight hours of manœuvres upon him, which was a great object; and if some of my generals had shown that vigour and genius which they had displayed on other occasions, I should have taken his army in cantonments without ever fighting a battle. But they were discouraged, and fancied

that they saw an army of a hundred thousand men every where opposed to them. I had not time enough myself to attend to the *minutiæ* of the army. I counted upon surprising and cutting him up in detail. I knew of Bulow's arrival at eleven o'clock; but I did not regard it. I had still eighty chances out of a hundred in my favour. Notwithstanding the great superiority of force against me, I was convinced that I should obtain the victory. I had about seventy thousand men, of whom fifteen thousand were cavalry. I had also two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon; but my troops were so good, that I esteemed them sufficient to beat a hundred and twenty thousand. Of all those troops, however, I only reckoned the English as being able to cope with my own. The others I thought little of. I believe that of English there were from thirty-five to forty thousand. These I esteemed to be as brave and as good as my own troops; the English army was well known latterly on the continent; and besides, your nation possesses courage and energy. As to the Prussians, Belgians, and others, half the number of my troops were sufficient to beat them. I only left thirty-four thousand men to take care of the Prussians. The chief causes of the loss of that battle were, first of all, Grouchy's great tardiness and neglect in executing his orders; next, the *grenadiers à cheval* and the cavalry under General Guyot, which I had in reserve, and which were never to leave me, engaged without orders and without my knowledge; so that after the last charge, when the troops were beaten, and the English cavalry advanced, I had not a single corps of cavalry in reserve to resist them; instead of one which I esteemed to be equal to double their own number. In consequence of this, the English attacked, succeeded, and all was lost. There was no means of rallying. The youngest general would not have committed the fault of leaving an army entirely without reserve which however occurred here, whether in consequence of treason or not, I cannot say. These were the two principal causes of the loss of the battle of Waterloo."

"If Lord Wellington had intrenched himself," continued he, "I would not have attacked him. As a general, his plan did not show talent. He certainly displayed great courage and obstinacy: but a little must be taken away even from that, when you consider that he had no means of retreat, and that had he made the attempt, not a man of his army would have escaped. First, to the firmness and bravery of his troops, for the English fought with the greatest courage and obstinacy, he is principally indebted for the victory, and not to his own conduct as a general; and next, to the arrival of Blucher, to whom the victory is more to be attributed than to Wellington, and more credit due as a general; because he, although beaten the day before, assembled his troops, and brought them into action in the evening. I believe, however," continued Napoleon, "that Wellington is a

man of great firmness. The glory of such a victory is a great thing; but in the eye of the historian, his military reputation will gain nothing by it."

It is quite unnecessary to refute this account. Our readers have already perused an impartial narrative of this memorable victory, which decided the fate of Napoleon and of Europe. The mean desire to depreciate the military genius of Wellington, evinced in the foregoing passage, we would willingly forget—it is unworthy of Napoleon's own unquestionable renown.

About this time Las Cases was compelled to leave St. Helena. He had written a letter to Lucien Bonaparte, and intrusted it to a Mulatto servant to be forwarded to Europe. He was detected; and as he was thus endeavouring to carry on (contrary to the regulations of the island) a clandestine correspondence with Europe, Las Cases and his son were sent off, first to the Cape and then to England, where he was not suffered to land.

CHAPTER L.

1818—1821.

The last days of Napoleon—His death—His will.

We are now approaching the last melancholy epoch of Napoleon's life, when he first felt the ravages of that malady which finally put a period to his existence. The disease had probably existed for some years, and occasional manifestations of its presence had been exhibited; but his usual health always returned after every attack, and its fatal nature was not suspected, although Napoleon himself had several times said that he should die of a schirrus in the pylorus, the disease which killed his father, and which the physicians of Montpelier declared would be hereditary in his family. About the middle of the year 1818, it was observed that his health grew gradually worse, and it was thought proper by Mr. O'Meara to report to the governor the state in which he was. Even on these occasions Napoleon seized the opportunity for renewing his claim to the title of Emperor. He insisted that the physician should not send any bulletin whatever, unless he named him in it by his Imperial designation. Mr. O'Meara explained that the instructions of his government and the orders of Sir H. Lowe, prohibited him from using the obnoxious term; but it was in vain; after some difficulty, it was agreed upon that the word "patient" should be used instead of the title of General, which caused so much offence, and this substitution got rid of the difficulty.

Mr. O'Meara afterwards proposed to call in the assistance of Dr. Baxter, the principal medical officer of the island, but this offer Napoleon refused at once, alleging that, although "it was true he looked like an honest man, he was too much attached to that hangman:" he also persisted in rejecting the aid of medicine, and determined to take no exercise out of doors as long as he should be subjected to the challenge of sentinels. To a representation that his determination might convert a curable to a fatal malady, he replied, "I shall at least have the consolation

that my death will be an eternal dishonour to the English nation who sent me to this climate to die under the hands of * * * * *."

This desperate course seems to have been caused partly by the reckless feelings of despondency caused by his situation, and the deep resentment he felt against England, and partly by his belief in the inutility of medicine, and his ideas of fatalism. He more than once returned for answer, when urged to take care of his health, that the dishonour to England was a consolation for death; and only a very short time before his dissolution, he exclaimed, "No: England calls for my corpse: I will not keep her waiting, and shall die very well without drugs." His more usual reply to his medical adviser, was a rejection of the advice, and an argument on the ignorance of physicians. "We are," he would say, "a machine made to live: we are organized for that purpose, and such is our nature. Do not counteract the living principle—let it alone; leave it at liberty to defend itself—it will do better than your drugs. Our body is a watch that is intended to go a given time. The watch-maker cannot open it, and must in handling it, grope his way blindfold and at random. For once that he assists and relieves it, by dint of tormenting it with his crooked instruments, he injures it ten times, and at last destroys it."

An important incident in Napoleon's monotonous life was the removal of Dr. O'Meara, who had attended him as his physician from the time of his arrival on the island. The removal of this gentleman was occasioned by the suspicion of a similar conduct to that which brought about the dismissal of Las Cases, twenty months previously, namely, the carrying on secret correspondence with persons out of the island. Napoleon complained bitterly of the loss of his medical attendant, though he had most assuredly very seldom attended to his advices, and repelled as an insult the offered assistance of Dr. Baxter, insinuating that the governor wished to have his life in his power. Some time after, Dr. Stokoe, a surgeon on board a ship at the station, was called in, but dismissed soon after from some cause which seems not to be explained. After this, Napoleon expressed his determination to admit of no more visits from any English physician whatever, and Cardinal Fesch was requested by the British ministry to select some physician of reputation in Italy, who should be sent to St. Helena to attend on Napoleon. The choice fell on Dr. Antommarchi, who was accordingly sent to St. Helena in company with two catholic priests and two domestics, in compliance with the wish of Napoleon to that effect. The party reached the island in September, 1819.

On his first visit, the Emperor overwhelmed Antommarchi with questions concerning his mother and family, the Princess Julia, and Las Cases, whom he had seen in passing through Frankfort;

expatiated with satisfaction on the retreat which he had at one time meditated in Corsica; entered into some discussions with the doctor on his profession; and then directed his attention to the details of his disorder. While he examined the symptoms, the Emperor continued his remarks. They were sometimes serious, sometimes lively. Kindness, indignation, gaiety, were expressed by turns in his words and in his countenance. "Well, doctor!" he exclaimed, "what is your opinion? Am I to trouble much longer the digestion of kings?"—"You will survive them, sire."—"Ay, I believe you: they will not be able to subject to the b n of Europe the fame of our victories: it will traverse ages: it will proclaim the conquerors and the conquered, those who were generous, and those who were not so: posterity will judge; I do not dread its decision."—"This after-life belongs to you of right. Your name will never be repeated with admiration, without recalling those inglorious warriors so basely leagued against a single man. But you are not near your end: you have yet a long career to run."—"No, doctor! I cannot hold out long under this frightful climate."—"Your excellent constitution is proof against its pernicious effects."—"It once did not yield to the strength of mind with which nature has endowed me; but the transition from a life of action to a complete seclusion has ruined all. I have grown fat, my energy is gone, the bow is unstrung." Antommarchi did not try to combat an opinion but too well-founded, but diverted the conversation to another subject. "I resign myself," said he, "to your direction. Let medicine give the order, I submit to its decisions. I entrust my health to your care. I owe you the detail of the habits I have acquired, of the affections to which I am subject.

"The hours at which I obey the injunctions of nature are in general extremely irregular. I sleep, I eat according to circumstances or the situation in which I am placed: my sleep is ordinarily sound and tranquil. If pain or any accident interrupt it, I leap on the floor, call for a light, walk, set to work, and fix my attention on some object: sometimes I remain in the dark, change my apartment, lie down in another bed, or stretch myself on the sofa. I rise at two, three, four in the morning: I call for some one to keep me company, amuse myself with recollections or business, and wait for the return of day. I go out as soon as dawn appears, take a stroll, and when the sun shows itself, I re-enter and go to bed again, where I remain a longer or shorter time, according as the day promises to turn out. If it is bad, and I feel irritation and uneasiness, I have recourse to the method I have just mentioned. I change my posture, pass from my bed to the sofa, from the sofa to the bed, seek and find a degree of freshness. I do not describe to you my morning costume; it has nothing to do with the sufferings I endure, and besides I do not wish to deprive you of the pleasure of your surprise when you see it. These ingenious contrivances

carry me on to nine or ten o'clock; sometimes later. I then order the breakfast to be brought, which I take from time to time in my bath, but most frequently in the garden. Either Bertrand or Montholon keep me company, often both of them. Physicians have the right of regulating the table: it is proper that I should give you an account of mine. Well, then, a basin of soup, two plates of meat, one of vegetables, a salad when I can take it, compose the whole service: half a bottle of claret, which I dilute with a good deal of water, serves me for drink: I drink a little of it pure towards the end of the repast. Sometimes, when I feel fatigued, I substitute champagne for claret: it is a certain means of giving a fillip to the stomach."

The doctor having expressed his surprise of Napoleon's temperance, he replied, "In my marches with the army of Italy, I never failed to put into the bow of my saddle a bottle of wine, some bread, and a cold fowl. This provision sufficed for the wants of the day; I may even say that I often shared it with others. I thus gained time. I eat fast, masticate little, my meals do not consume my hours. This is not what you will approve the most; but in my present situation, what signifies it? I am attacked with a liver complaint,* a malady which is general in this horrible climate

The journal of Antommarchi has made us acquainted with the last twenty months of Napoleon's life: it is not so interesting on many accounts as those of Las Cases and O'Meara, and is so filled with rancour against every thing English, that it cannot be read without suspicion where the actions of any Englishman are related; but it is interesting inasmuch as it supplies that information respecting the close of Napoleon's eventful life, which we must otherwise have wanted. He seems to have entered heart and soul into the spirit of opposition against the governor: if Napoleon calls him hangman and liar, Antommarchi designates him as a tiger and a savage. Napoleon's prejudice began, as we have observed, at the first interview with the governor. Antommarchi's before he saw him. A few hours' delay of the vessel entering the port was a snare laid by Sir Hudson Lowe, who wished to gain time to meditate evil. Every Englishman was a villain: the captain of the ship who brought them was a pirate and a corsair.

Antommarchi, having gained his confidence, now became companion as well as physician to the Emperor, and sometimes read with him. He eagerly turned over the newspapers when they arrived, and commented freely on their contents. "It is amusing," he would say, "to see the sage measures resorted to by the allies to make people forget my tyranny!" On one occasion, he felt more languid than ordinary, and lighting on the *Andromache* of Racine, he took up the book, began to read, but

* This afterwards proved to be an error.

soon let it drop from his hands. He had come to the famous passage where the mother describes her being allowed to see her son once a day.

> " Je passais jusqu'aux lieux où l'on garde mon fils,
> Puisqu'une fois le jour, vous souffrez que je voie
> Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie
> J'allais, seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui ;
> Je ne l'ai point encore embrassé d'aujourd'hui."

He was moved, covered his face with his hands, and saying that he was too much affected, desired to be left alone. He grew calmer, fell asleep ; and when he awoke, desired Antommarchi to be called again. He was getting ready to shave, and the doctor was curious to witness the operation. He was in his shirt, his head uncovered, with two valets at his side, one holding the glass and a towel, the other the rest of the apparatus. The Emperor spread the soap over one side of his face, put down the brush, wiped his hands and mouth, took a razor dipped in hot water, and shaved the right side with singular dexterity. " Is it done, Noverraz ?"—" Yes, sire."—" Well, then, face about. Come, villain, quick, stand still." The light fell on the left side ; which after applying the lather, he shaved in the same manner and with the same dexterity. He drew his hand over his chin. " Raise the glass. Am I quite right ?"—" Quite so."—" Not a hair has escaped me : what say you ?"—" No, sire," replied the valet-de-chambre. " No ! I think I perceive one. Lift up the glass : place it in a better light. How, rogue ! Flattery ? You deceive me at St. Helena ? On this rock ? You, too, are an accomplice." With this he gave them both a box on the ear, laughed, and joked in the most pleasant manner possible.

As a sample of Antommarchi's manner to the governor, as well as of his epigrammatical and to us often unintelligible dialogue, we extract a page from his journal, where he describes a scene with Sir Hudson, who had come to Longwood to endeavour to see Bonaparte, who had for several days constantly concealed himself from the officer whose duty it was to ascertain his presence daily. The attendants on Napoleon endeavoured to dissuade the governor from attempting to get an interview ; but, says Antommarchi, " It was of little concern to him whether the prisoner lived or died : his duty was to secure his person, and that duty he would fulfil. I saw the tiger prowling round the house : I was suffocating with rage, and was going out, when he stopped me. ' What is *General Bonaparte* doing ?'—' I know not.'—' Where is he ?'—' I cannot say.'—' He is not there ?' (pointing to the cabin)—' He is not.'—' What ! he has disappeared ?'—' Quite.'—' How ? When ?'—' I do not recollect precisely.'—' Endeavour to collect your ideas : since what hour ?'—' What hour ! The last battle he commanded was

that of Aboukir. He fought for civilization; you were protect, ing barbarism: he defeated your allies, and threw them into the sea; his victory was complete. I have not heard of him since. 'Doctor!'—'Excellency!—'All here . . . .'—'No!'—'Who?'—'I.'—'You?'—'I.'—'Soldiers!'—'Soldiers! hasten—fill up the measure of your indignities by depriving the Emperor of the short remains of his existence.'—'The Emperor! what Emperor?'—'He who made England tremble! He who showed France the way to Dover; and placed in the hands of the continent the weapon which will sooner or later give the deathblow to your aristocracy.'" On hearing this balderdash, the governor retired, leaving the doctor making comparison between him and the Cimbrian about to kill Marius, and likening his soul to the mud of the Thames.

An extraordinary and almost incredible instance of the determination of the exiles to make as many enemies as they possibly could, was exhibited to Antommarchi on his arrival at Longwood. He states that, before he was permitted to enter on his functions as surgeon, he was required to take an oath, that he would not communicate with nor say any thing to the English, and that he would more especially avoid giving them the least information respecting the progress of Napoleon's disorder. He was not allowed to see his illustrious patient until the oath was taken. After exacting such an oath from his physician, the attendants of Bonaparte had little right to complain, as they did, that the real state of his disorder was purposely concealed from the world by the English government. It would have been more extraordinary if any true account of it had been published. At all events it is more than probable that the constant attempts observed to throw mystery and secrecy around them, must have tended to create the suspicion of escape, and to increase the consequent rigour of the regulations maintained by the governor.

Soon after the arrival of the priests, Napoleon determined, we may suppose, partly in jest, to elevate one of them to the dignity of bishop, and he chose for a diocese the Jumna, a river of India, which unites with the Ganges. The whole circumstance is characteristic; it occurred while the attendants were unpacking the boxes brought from Europe by Antommarchi, who relates the anecdote. "The last box had been broken open; it contained the vases and church ornaments. 'Stop,' said Napoleon, 'this is the property of St. Peter, have a care who touches it; send for the abbés—but talking of the abbés, do you know that the cardinal is a poor creature? He sends me missionaries and propagandists, as if I were a penitent, and as if a whole string of their eminences had not always attended at my chapel. I will do what he ought to have done; I possess the right of investiture, and I shall use it. Abbé!' (Buonavita was just entering the room) 'I give you the episcopal mitre.'—'Sire!'

'I restore it to you; you shall wear it in spite of the heretics; they will not again take it from you.'—'But, sire!'—'I cannot add to it so rich a benefice as that of Valencia, which Suchet had given you, but at any rate your see shall be secure from the chances of battles. I appoint you Bishop of—let me see—of the Jumna. The vast countries through which that river flows were on the point of entering into alliance with me—all was in readiness, all were going to march. We were about to give the finishing blow to England." The speech concluded with an order to Count Montholon to procure the necessary dress for the abbé, in order to strike with awe all the heretics. The upshot of the whole was, that the scarlet and violet coloured cloths necessary to furnish the new bishop with the only valuable portion of his temporalities, his dress, could not be procured in the island, and the abbé remained an abbé in spite of the investiture, and the whole farce was forgotten.

For the celebration of mass a moveable altar was constructed out of the pieces of the bedstead which had been sent out to Napoleon by the British government: the opportunity for a sarcasm was too good to be lost. He directed the boards necessary for the altar to be taken from the ill-shaped machine, and the remainder to be thrown into some corner of the garden; he then compared it to a rat-trap, and concluded with the remark, "British taste alone could be delivered of such a conception."

We occasionally see the exile in better moods, when he listened to the voice of reason, and thought less of the annoyances inseparable from the state to which his ambition, or as he himself always averred, his destiny, had reduced him. He had for a long time debarred himself from all exercise, having, as he expressed it, determined not to expose himself to the insult of being accompanied on his side by a British officer, or the possibility of being challenged by a sentinel. One day when he complained of his inactive life, his medical attendant recommended the exercise of digging the ground; the idea was instantly seized upon by Napoleon, with his characteristic ardour. Noverraz, his valet-de-chambre, who had been formerly accustomed to rural occupations, was honoured with the title of head gardener, and under his directions Napoleon proceeded to work with great vigour. He sent for Antommarchi to witness his newly-acquired dexterity in the use of the spade. "Well, doctor," said he to him, "are you satisfied with your patient, is he obedient enough? This is better than your pills, Dottoraccio; you shall not physic me any more." At first he soon got fatigued, and complained much of the weakness of his body and delicacy of his hands; but "never mind," said he, "I have always accustomed my body to bend to my will, and I shall bring it to do so now, and inure it to the exercise." He soon grew fond of his new employment, and pressed all the inhabitants of Longwood into the service. Even the ladies had great diffi-

culty to avoid being set to work. He laughed at them, urged them, entreated them, and used all his arts of persuasion, particularly with Madame Bertrand. He assured her that the exercise of gardening was much better than all the doctor's prescriptions—that it was in fact one of his prescriptions. But in this instance, his eloquence failed in its effect, and he was obliged, though with much reluctance, to desist from his attempts to make lady gardeners.

But in recompense, he had willing labourers on the part of the gentlemen. Antommarchi says, "The Emperor urged us, excited us, and every thing around us soon assumed a different aspect. Here was an excavation, there a basin or a road. We made alleys, grottoes, cascades; the appearance of the ground had now some life and diversity. We planted willows, oaks, peach-trees, to give a little shade round the house. Having completed the ornamental part of our labours, we turned to the useful. We divided the ground, we manured it, and sowed it with abundance of beans, peas, and every vegetable that grows in the island." In the course of their labours they found that a tank would be of great use to hold water, which might be brought by pipes from a spring at a distance of three thousand feet. For this laborious attempt it was absolutely necessary to procure additional forces, and a party of Chinese, of whom there are many on the island, was engaged to help them. These people were much amused with Napoleon's working-dress, which was a jacket, and large trousers, with an enormous straw hat to shield him from the sun, and sandals. He pitied those poor fellows who suffered from the heat of the sun, and made each of them a present of a large hat like his own. After much exertion the basin was finished, the pipes laid, and the water began to flow into it. Napoleon stocked his pond with gold fish, which he placed in it with his own hands, and frequently visited it. He would remain by the pond for hours together, at a time when he was so weak that he could hardly support himself. It was the usual object and limit of his walks. He would amuse himself by following the motion of the fishes, throwing bread to them, studying their ways, taking an interest in their loves and their quarrels, and endeavouring with anxiety to find out points of resemblance between their motives and those of mankind. He often sent for his attendants to communicate his remarks to them, and directed their observations to any peculiarities he had observed. His favourites at last sickened, they struggled, floated on the water, and died one after another. He was deeply affected by this, and remarked to Antommarchi, "You see very well that there is a fatality attached to me. Every thing I love, every thing that belongs to me, is immediately struck: heaven and mankind unite to persecute me." From this time he visited them daily in spite of sickness or bad weather, nor did his anxiety diminish until it was discovered that a coppery

cement, with which the bottom of the basin was plastered, had poisoned the water. The fish which were not yet dead were then taken out and put into a tub.

Napoleon appears to have taken peculiar interest in observing the instincts of animals, and comparing their practices and propensities with those of men. A rainy day, during which the digging of the tank could not be proceeded with, gave occasion for some observations on the actions of a number of ants, which had made a way into his bedroom, climbed upon a table on which some sugar usually stood, and taken possession of the sugar-basin. He would not allow the industrious little insects to be disturbed in their plans; but he now and then moved the sugar, followed their manœuvres, and admired the activity and industry they displayed until they had found it again: this they had been sometimes even two or three days in effecting, though they always succeeded at last. He then surrounded the basin with water, but the ants still reached it: he finally employed vinegar, but the insects were unable to get through the new obstacle. Napoleon took occasion from this to descant on the vacillation of the French nation, and on the certainty of all the sovereigns of Europe being eclipsed by himself, a man of the people, had the French people possessed the unanimity of those insects: forgetting that he had himself ceased to be the man of the people, and had allied himself to those sovereigns long before the French had forsaken him.

But the slight activity of mind that now remained to him was soon to be exchanged for the languor and gloominess of sickness, with but few intervals between positive suffering and the most distressing lowness of spirits. Towards the end of the year 1820 he walked with difficulty, and required assistance even to reach a chair in his garden. He became nearly incapable of the slightest action; his legs swelled; the pains in his side and back were increased; he was troubled with nausea, profuse sweats, loss of appetite, and was subject to frequent faintings. "Here I am, doctor," said he one day, "at my last cast. No more energy or strength left: I bend under the load. ..... I am going. I feel that my hour is come."

Some days after, as he lay on his couch, he feelingly expressed to Antonmarchi the vast change which had taken place within him. He recalled for a few moments the vivid recollection of past times, and compared his former energy with the weakness which he was then sinking under.

The news of the death of his sister Eliza also affected him deeply. After a struggle with his feelings, which had nearly overpowered him, he rose, supported himself on Antommarchi's arm, and regarding him steadfastly, said, "Well, doctor! you see Eliza has just shown me the way. Death, which seemed to have forgotten my family, has begun to strike it: my turn cannot be far off. What think you?"—"Your majesty is in no

danger: you are still reserved for some glorious enterprise."—"Ah! doctor, I have neither strength, nor activity, nor energy; I am no longer Napoleon. You strive in vain to give me hopes, to recal life ready to expire. Your care can do nothing in spite of fate: it is immoveable; there is no appeal from its decisions. The next person of our family who will follow Eliza to the tomb is that great Napoleon, who hardly exists, who bends under the yoke, and who still, nevertheless, keeps Europe in alarm. Behold, my good friend, how I look on my situation! As for me, all is over: I repeat it to you, my days will soon close on this miserable rock." "We returned," says Antommarchi, "into his chamber. Napoleon lay down in bed." "Close my windows," he said; "leave me to myself; I will send for you by-and-by. What a delightful thing rest is! I would not exchange it for all the thrones in the world! What an alteration! How I am fallen! I, whose activity was boundless, whose mind never slumbered, am now plunged into a lethargic stupor, so that it requires an effort even to raise my eyelids. I sometimes dictated to four or five secretaries, who wrote as fast as words could be uttered: but then I was Napoleon—now I am no longer any thing. My strength—my faculties forsake me. I do not live—I merely exist."

From this period the existence of Napoleon was evidently drawing to a close—his days were counted. Whole hours, and even days, were either passed in gloomy silence, or filled up by pain, distressing coughs, and all the melancholy signs of the approach of death. He made a last effort to ride a few miles round Longwood on the 22d of January, but it exhausted his strength, and from that time his only exercise was in the calash. Even that slight motion soon became too fatiguing.

He now kept his room, and no longer stirred out. His disorder and his weakness increased upon him. He still was able to eat something, but very little, and with a worse appetite than ever. The conversation on one occasion turned upon the fine arts. One of the speakers made little account of music, and did not conceal his opinion. "You are wrong," said the Emperor, "it is of all the liberal arts the one which has most influence on the passions; and that which the legislator is bound to encourage most. A well-composed piece of music touches, melts the soul, and produces more effect than a treatise of morality, which convinces the reason, leaves us cold and unmoved, and makes not the slightest alteration of our habits." The controversy continued between Napoleon and his physician respecting the taking of the pills, draughts, &c.; but in general, the patient submitted, though with a very ill grace, and to very little purpose. The night of the 6th of March was passed in a restless state: he got a little sleep towards the morning. He was less feeble than he had been for some days. He was standing up, his dress neglected: Antommarchi begged him to pay some attention to his toilet.

"When I was Napoleon," he replied, with a degree of emotion, "I did so readily and with pleasure; but at present, what concern have I in looking well or ill? Besides, all this costs me more trouble now than it formerly gave me to arrange the plan of a campaign. Nevertheless, let us set about it:" and he accordingly proceeded to shave himself, but at intervals, being obliged to stop several times. He finished at length, and lay down the rest of the morning.

Lady Holland had sent out some books, and a plaster-cast of the head marked with the different organs, according to the system of Gall and Spurzheim. He asked Antommarchi to examine it and give his opinion, and expressed his own as unfavourable to it. He classed the authors with Lavater, Cagliostro, and Mesmer, and said he would never see Gall, though Corvisart had much pressed him to do so. Towards the middle of the month his spirits became more depressed: a deathlike coldness seized the lower extremities. "Ah! doctor," he exclaimed, "how I suffer! Why did the cannon-balls spare me, only to die in this deplorable manner? I that was so active, so alert, can now scarcely raise my eyelids:"—and he closed his eyes.

His last airing was on the 17th of March. The disease increased, and Antommarchi, who was much alarmed, obtained, with difficulty, permission to see an English physician. He held a consultation, on the 26th of March, with Dr. Arnott, of the 20th regiment; but the result was of no use: Napoleon still refused to take medicine, and often repeated his favourite saying: "Every thing that must happen is written down: our hour is marked, and it is not in our power to take from time a portion which nature refuses us." He continued to grow worse, and at last consented to see Dr. Arnott, whose first visit was on the 1st of April. He was introduced into the chamber of the patient, which was darkened, and into which Napoleon did not suffer any light to be brought: examined his pulse and the other symptoms, and was requested to repeat his visit the next day. Napoleon was now within a month of his death, and although he occasionally spoke with the eloquence and vehemence he had so often exhibited, his mind was evidently giving way. The reported appearance of a comet was taken as a token of his death. He was excited, and exclaimed with emotion, "A comet! that was the sign precursive of the death of Cæsar."

On the 3d of April the symptoms of the disorder had become so alarming, that Antommarchi informed Bertrand and Montholon he thought Napoleon's danger imminent, and that he ought to take steps to put his affairs in order. He was now attacked by fever and by violent thirst, which often interrupted his sleep in the night. On the 14th, Napoleon found himself in better spirits, and talked with Dr. Arnott on the merits of

Marlborough, whose *Campaigns* he desired him to present to the 20th regiment, learning that they did not possess a copy in their library.

On the 15th, Napoleon's doors were closed to all but Montholon and Marchand, and it appeared that he had been making his will. From this time the disorder took various turns, still, however, making progress. On the 19th he was better, was free from pain, sat up, and ate a little. He was in good spirits, and wished them to read to him. As General Montholon with the others expressed his satisfaction at this improvement, he smiled gently, and said, "You deceive yourselves, my friends: I am, it is true, somewhat better; but I feel no less that my end draws near. When I am dead, you will have the soothing consolation of returning to Europe. One will meet his relations, another his friends; and as for me, I shall behold my brave companions in arms in the Elysian Fields. Yes," he went on, raising his voice, "Kleber, Desaix, Bessières, Duroc, Ney, Murat, Masséna, Berthier, all will come to greet me: they will talk to me of what we have done together. I will recount to them the latest events of my life. On seeing me, they will become once more intoxicated with enthusiasm and glory. We will discourse of our wars with the Scipios, the Hannibals, the Cæsars, and the Frederics—there will be a satisfaction in that: unless," he added, laughingly, "they should be alarmed below to see so many warriors assembled together!"

He addressed Dr. Arnott, who came in while he was speaking, on the treatment he had received from England; said that she had violated every sacred right in making him prisoner, that he should have been much better treated in Russia, Austria, or even Prussia: that he was sent to the horrible rock of St. Helena on purpose to die: that he had been purposely placed on the most uninhabitable spot of that inhospitable island, and kept six years a close prisoner, and that Sir Hudson Lowe was his executioner. He concluded with these words: "You will end like the proud republic of Venice: and I, dying upon this dreary rock, away from those I hold dear, and deprived of every thing, bequeath the opprobrium and horror of my death to the reigning family of England." On the 21st, Napoleon gave directions to the priest who was in attendance, as to the manner in which he would be placed to lie in state after his death; and finding his religious attendant had never officiated in such a solemnity, he gave the most minute instructions for the mode of conducting it. He afterwards declared that he would die, as he was born, a Catholic, and desired that mass should be said by his body, and the customary ceremonies should be performed every day until his burial. The expression of his face was earnest, even convulsive: he saw Antommarchi watching the contractions which he underwent, when his eye caught some indication that displeased him.

"You are above these weaknesses: but what do you wish? I am neither philosopher nor physician. I believe in God: I am of the religion of my fathers: every one cannot be an atheist who pleases." Then turning to the priest—"I was born in the Catholic religion. I wish to fulfil the duties which it imposes, and to receive the succour which it administers. You will say mass every day in the adjoining chapel, and you will expose the Holy Sacrament for forty hours. After I am dead, you will fix your altar at my head, in the funeral chamber: you will continue to celebrate mass, and perform all the customary ceremonies; you will not cease till I am laid in the ground." The abbé withdrew; Napoleon reproved his fellow-countryman for his supposed incredulity. "Can you carry it to this point? Can you disbelieve in God? Every thing proclaims his existence; and, besides, the greatest minds have thought so."—"But, sire, I have never called it in question. I was attending to the progress of the fever, your majesty fancied you saw in my features an expression which they had not."—"You are a physician, doctor," he replied, laughingly; "these folks," he added, half to himself, "are conversant only with matter: they will believe in nothing beyond."

In the afternoon of the 25th he was better; but being left alone, a sudden fancy possessed him to eat. He called for fruits, wine, tried a biscuit, then swallowed some Champagne, seized a bunch of grapes, and burst into a fit of laughter as soon as he saw Antommarchi return. The physician ordered away the dessert, and found fault with the *maitre d'hôtel;* but the mischief was done, the fever returned and became violent. The Emperor was now on his death-bed, but he testified concern for every one. He asked Antommarchi if five hundred guineas would satisfy the English physician, and if he himself would like to serve Maria Louisa in quality of a physician? "She is my wife, the first princess in Europe; and after me, you should serve no one else." Antommarchi expressed his acknowledgments. The fever continued unabated, with violent thirst and cold in the feet. On the 27th he determined to remove from the small chamber into the saloon. They were preparing to lift him. "No," he said, "not till I am dead: for the present, it will be sufficient if you support me."

Between the 27th and 28th the Emperor passed a very bad night; the fever increased, the cold spread over all his limbs, his strength was quite gone. He spoke a few words of encouragement to Antommarchi; then in a tone of perfect calmness and composure, he delivered to him the following instructions: "After my death, which cannot be far off, I wish you to open my body: I wish also, nay, I require, that you will not suffer any English physician to touch me. If, however, you find it indispensable to have some one to assist you, Dr. Arnott is the only one I am willing you should employ. I am desirous, fur-

ther, that you should take out my heart, that you put it in spirits of wine, and that you carry it to Parma to my dear Maria Louisa: you will tell her how tenderly I have loved her, that I have never ceased to love her; and you will report to her all that you have witnessed, all that relates to my situation and my death. I recommend you above all carefully to examine my stomach, to make an exact, detailed report of it, which you will convey to my son. The vomitings which succeed each other without intermission lead me to suppose that the stomach is the one of my organs which is the most deranged; and I am inclined to believe that it is affected with the disease which conducted my father to the grave; I mean a cancer in the lower stomach. What think you?" His physician hesitating, he continued—"I have not doubted this since I found the sickness become frequent and obstinate. It is nevertheless well worthy of remark, that I have always had a stomach of iron, that I have felt no inconvenience from this organ till latterly, and that whereas my father was fond of high-seasoned dishes and spirituous liquors, I have never been able to make use of them. Be it as it may, I entreat, I charge you to neglect nothing in such an examination, in order that when you see my son you may communicate the result of your observations to him, and point out the most suitable remedies. When I am no more, you will repair to Rome; you will find out my mother and my family You will give them an account of all you have observed relative to my situation, my disorder, and my death on this remote and miserable rock: you will tell them that the great Napoleon expired in a state the most deplorable, wanting every thing, abandoned to himself and his glory." It was ten in the forenoon: after this the fever abated, and he fell into a sort of doze.

The Emperor passed a very bad night and could not sleep. He grew light-headed and talked incoherently; still the fever had abated in its violence. Towards morning the hiccough began to torment him, the fever increased, and he became quite delirious. He spoke of his complaint, and called upon Baxter (the governor's physician) to appear, to come and see the truth of his reports. Then all at once summoning O'Meara, he imagined a dialogue between them, throwing a weight of odium on the English policy. The fever having subsided, his hearing became distinct; he grew calm, and entered into some further conversation on what was to be done after his death. He felt thirst, and drank a large quantity of cold water. "If fate should determine that I shall recover, I would raise a monument on the spot where this water gushes out: I would crown the fountain in memory of the comfort which it has afforded me. If I die, and they should not proscribe my remains as they have proscribed my person, I should desire to be buried with my ancestors in the cathedral of Ajaccio, in Corsica. But if I am not allowed to repose where I was born, why then let them bury

me in the spot where this fine and refreshing water flows." This request was afterwards complied with.*

He remained nearly in the same state for some days. On the 1st of May he was delirious nearly all day, and suffered dreadful vomitings. He took two small biscuits and a few drops of red wine. On the 2d he was rather quieter, and the alarming symptoms diminished a little. At 2 p. m., however, he had a paroxysm of fever, and became again delirious. He talked to himself of France, of his dear son, of some of his old companions in arms. At times he was evidently in imagination on the field of battle. "Steingel!" he cried; "Dessaix! Massena! Ah! victory is declaring! run—rush forward—press the charge!—they are ours!"

"I was listening," says Dr. Antommarchi, "and following the progress of that painful agony in the deepest distress and affliction, when Napoleon, suddenly collecting his strength, jumped on the floor, and would absolutely go down into the garden to take a walk. I ran to receive him in my arms, but his legs bent under the weight of his body: he fell backwards, and I had the mortification of being unable to prevent his falling. We raised him up and entreated him to get into bed again; but he did not recognise any body, and began to storm and fall into a violent passion. He was unconscious, and anxiously desired to walk in the garden. In the course of the day, however, he became more collected, and again spoke of his disease, and the precise anatomical examination he wished to be made of his body after death. He had a fancy that this might be useful to his son."—"The physicians of Montpelier," he said to Antommarchi, "announced that the scirrhosis in the pylorus would be hereditary in my family; their report is, I believe, in the hands of my brother Louis; ask for it and compare it with your own observations on my case, in order that my son may be saved from this cruel disease. You will see him, doctor, and you will point out to him what is best to do, and will save him from the cruel sufferings I now experience. This is the last service I ask of you." Later in the day he said, "Doctor, I am very ill—I feel that I am going to die."

The last time Napoleon spoke, except to utter a few short unconnected words, was on the 3d of May. It was in the afternoon, and he had requested his attendants, in case of his losing consciousness, not to allow any English physician to approach him except Dr. Arnott. "I am going to die," said he, "and you to return to Europe; I must give you some advice as

* The place determined on for his grave was a verdant spot about three miles from Longwood—a place pointed out by himself a short time before his death. It was a small secluded recess, where his Chinese servants used to draw the water which they carried to Longwood for his use. It was more green and shady than any other in the neighbourhood, and it was here that Napoleon was accustomed to repose, under the beautiful willows which overhung the spring.

Death of Napoleon.

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to the line of conduct you are to pursue. You have shared my exile, you will be faithful to my memory, and will not do any thing that may injure it. I have sanctioned all principles, and infused them into my laws and acts; I have not omitted a single one. Unfortunately, however, the circumstances in which I was placed were arduous, and I was obliged to act with severity, and to postpone the execution of my plans. Our reverses occurred; I could not unbend the bow; and France has been deprived of the liberal institutions I intended to give her. She judges me with indulgence; she feels grateful for my intentions; she cherishes my name and my victories. Imitate her example, be faithful to the opinions we have defended, and to the glory we have acquired: any other course can only lead to shame and confusion."

From this moment it does not appear that Napoleon showed any signs of understanding what was going forward around him. His weakness increased every moment, and a harassing hiccough continued until death took place. The day before that event a fearful tempest threatened to destroy every thing about Longwood. The plantations were torn up by the roots, and it was particularly remarked that a willow, under which Napoleon usually sat to enjoy the fresh air, had fallen. "It seemed," says Antommarchi, "as if none of the things the Emperor valued were to survive him." On the day of his death, Madame Bertrand, who had not left his bedside, sent for her children to take a last farewell of Napoleon. The scene which ensued is affecting: the children ran to the bed, kissed the hands of Napoleon, and covered them with tears. One of the children fainted, and all had to be carried from the spot. "We all," says Antommarchi, "mixed our lamentations with theirs: we all felt the same anguish, the same cruel foreboding of the approach of the fatal instant, which every minute accelerated. The favourite valet, Noverraz, who had been for some time very ill, when he heard of the state in which Napoleon was, caused himself to be carried down stairs, and entered the apartment in tears. He was with great difficulty prevailed upon to leave the room: he was in a delirious state, and he fancied his master was threatened with danger, and was calling upon him for assistance: he said he would not leave him but would fight and die for him. But Napoleon was now insensible to the tears of his servants, and to all other objects: he had scarcely spoken since the 3d of May; early in the morning he articulated a few broken sentences, among which the only words distinguishable were, '*tête d'armée*,' the last that ever left his lips, and which indicated the tenour of his fancies. The day passed in convulsive movements, and low moanings, with occasionally a loud shriek, and the dismal scene closed just before six in the evening. A slight froth covered his lips, and he was no more."

After he had been dead about six hours, Antommarchi had the body carefully washed and laid out on another bed. The executors then proceeded to examine two codicils which were directed to be opened immediately after the Emperor's decease. The one related to the gratuities which he intended out of his private purse for the different individuals of his household, and to the alms which he wished to be distributed among the poor of St. Helena; the other contained his last wish that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom he had loved so well." The executors notified this request to the governor, who stated that his orders were that the body was to remain on the island. On the next day, after taking a plaster cast of the face of Napoleon, Antommarchi proceeded to open the body in the presence of Sir Thomas Reade, some staff officers, and eight medical men.

The Emperor had intended his hair (which was of a chesnut colour) for presents to the different members of his family; and it was cut off and kept for this purpose. He had grown considerably thinner in person during the last few months. After his death, his face and body were pale, but without alteration or any thing of a cadaverous appearance. His physiognomy was fine, the eyes fast closed; and you would have said that the Emperor was not dead, but in a profound sleep. His mouth retained its expression of sweetness, though one side was contracted into a bitter smile. Several scars were seen on his body. On opening it, it was found that the liver was not affected, but that there was that cancer of the stomach which he had himself suspected, and of which his father and two of his sisters died. This painful examination having been completed, Antommarchi took out the heart and placed it in a silver vase filled with spirits of wine: he then directed the valet-de-chambre to dress the body as he had been accustomed in the Emperor's lifetime: with the grand *cordon* of the Legion of Honour across the breast, in the green uniform of a colonel of the chasseurs of the guard; decorated with the orders of the Legion of Honour and of the Iron Crown; long boots, with little spurs; finally, his three-cornered hat. Thus habited, Napoleon was removed at five hours and three-quarters (on the 6th) out of the hall, into which the crowd rushed immediately. The linen which had been employed in the dissection of the body, though stained with blood, was eagerly seized, torn in pieces, and distributed among the bystanders.

Napoleon lay in state in his little bed-room which had been converted into a funeral chamber. It was hung with black cloth brought from the town. It was this circumstance which first apprized the inhabitants of his death. The corpse, which had not been embalmed, and which was of an extraordinary whiteness, was placed on one of the camp-beds, surrounded with little white curtains, which served for a sarcophagus. The blue

cloak which Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo covered it. The feet and the hands were free; the sword on the left side, and a crucifix on the breast. At some distance was the silver vase containing the heart and stomach, which were not allowed to be removed. At the back of the head was an altar, where the priest in his stole and surplice recited the customary prayers. All the individuals of Napoleon's suite, officers, and domestics, dressed in mourning, remained standing on the left. Dr. Arnott had been charged to see that no attempt was made to convey away the body.

For some hours the crowd had besieged the doors; they were admitted, and beheld the inanimate remains of Napoleon without disorder, and in respectful silence. The officers of the 20th and 66th regiments were admitted first: then the others. The following day (the 7th) the throng was greater. Antommarchi was not allowed to take the heart of Napoleon to Europe with him; he deposited that and the stomach in two vases, filled with alcohol, and hermetically sealed, in the corners of the coffin in which the corpse was laid. This was a case of tin, lined with a mattress, furnished with a pillow, and covered with white satin. There not being room for the hat to remain on his head, it was placed at his feet, with some eagles, the pieces of French money coined during his reign, a plate engraved with his arms, &c. The coffin was closed, carefully soldered up, and then fixed in another case of mahogany, which was enclosed in a third, made of lead, which last was fastened in a fourth of mahogany, which was sealed up, and fastened with iron screws. The coffin was exposed in the same place as the body had been, and was covered with the cloak that Napoleon had worn at the battle of Marengo. The funeral was ordered for the morrow; and the troops were to attend in the morning by break of day.

This took place accordingly: the governor arrived first, the rear-admiral soon after; and shortly all the authorities, civil and military, were assembled at Longwood. The day was fine, the people crowded the roads, music resounded from the heights; never spectacle so sad and solemn had been witnessed in these remote regions. At half-past twelve, the grenadiers took hold of the coffin, lifted it with difficulty, and succeeded in removing it into the great walk in the garden, where the hearse awaited them. It was placed in the carriage, covered with a pall of purple velvet, and with the cloak which the hero wore at Marengo. The Emperor's household were in mourning. The cavalcade was arranged by order of the governor in the following manner: The Abbé Vignali in his sacerdotal robes, with young Henry Bertrand at his side, bearing a holy-water sprinkle: Doctors Arnott and Antommarchi, the persons intrusted with the superintendence of the hearse, drawn by four horses, led by grooms, and escorted by twelve grenadiers without arms, on each side: these last were to carry the coffin on their shoulders

as soon as the ruggedness of the road prevented the hearse from advancing: young Napoleon Bertrand and Marchand, both on foot, and by the side of the hearse; Counts Bertrand and Montholon on horseback close behind the hearse; a part of the household of the Emperor; Countess Bertrand with her daughter Hortense, in a calash drawn by two horses, led by hand by her domestics, who walked by the side of the precipice; the Emperor's horse led by his equerry Archambaud; the officers of marine on horseback and on foot; the officers of the staff on horseback; the members of the council of the island, in like manner; General Coffin and the Marquis Montchenu on horseback; the rear-admiral and the governor on horseback; the inhabitants of the island.

The train set out in this order from Longwood, passed by the barracks, and was met by the garrison, about two thousand five hundred in number, drawn up on the left of the road as far as *Hut's Gate*. Groups of musicians placed at different distances added still more, by the mournful airs which they played, to the striking solemnity of the occasion. When the train had passed, the troops followed and accompanied it to the burying-place. The dragoons marched first. Then came the 20th regiment of infantry, the marines, the 66th, the volunteeers of St. Helena, and lastly, the company of royal artillery, with fifteen pieces of cannon. Lady Lowe and her daughter were on the road-side at Hut's Gate, in an open carriage drawn by two horses. They were attended by some domestics in mourning, and followed the procession at a distance. The fifteen pieces of artillery were ranged along the road, and the cannoneers were at their posts, ready to fire. Having advanced about a quarter of a mile beyond Hut's Gate, the hearse stopped, the troops halted, and drew up in line of battle by the road-side. The grenadiers then raised the coffin on their shoulders, and bore it thus to the place of interment, by the new route which had been made on purpose on the declivity of the mountain. All the attendants alighted, the ladies descended from their carriages, and the procession followed the corpse without observing any regular order.

Counts Bertrand and Montholon, Marchand and young Napoleon Bertrand, carried the four corners of the pall. The coffin was put down on the side of the tomb, which was hung with black. Near were seen the cords and pulleys which were to lower it into the earth. Every thing had a sombre aspect, all conspired to increase the melancholy and silent grief of the attendants. The coffin was then uncovered, the Abbé Vignali repeated the usual prayers, and the body was let down into the grave, with the feet to the east. The artillery then fired three salutes in succession of fifteen discharges each. The admiral's vessel had fired during the march twenty-five cannon-shot from time to time. A huge stone, which was to have been employed

Burial of Napoleon.

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in the building of the new house of the Emperor, was made use of to close his grave. This was also strengthened by a stone wall with a covering of cement. While this was doing, the crowd fell upon the willows, which the former presence of Napoleon had already rendered objects of veneration. Every one was ambitious to possess a branch or some leaves of these trees, which were henceforth to shadow the tomb of this great man; and to preserve them as a precious relic of so memorable a scene. The governor and admiral endeavoured to prevent this outrage, but in vain. The governor, however, surrounded it afterwards with a barricade, where he placed a guard to keep off all intruders. The tomb of the Emperor is about a league from Longwood. It is of a quadrangular shape, wider at top than at bottom: the depth is about twelve feet. The coffin is fixed on two strong pieces of wood, and is detached in its whole circumference. Sir Hudson Lowe had committed Bonaparte to the ground; his task was ended.

The following account of the last moments of Napoleon, by Marchand,* is now first given to the English public:

On the 27th of April, 1821, eight days before his death, the Emperor had passed several hours in forming an inventory of his snuff-boxes and other articles destined for his son; enclosing the whole in three mahogany cases, numbered 1, 2, 3. He deposited them with me to place them in the hands of his son when he should become of age.

This day was the most fatiguing which the Emperor had experienced during his illness, and one of the most painful to us his followers, as his approaching end was no longer doubtful. At various intervals sickness compelled him to suspend for a time the expression of his last wishes. All our efforts to induce him to desist from a labour which produced such serious consequences, were unsuccessful. "I am very much exhausted," said he, "but am convinced that I have little time left, and that I must complete my task. Give me a little of that Constantia which Las Cases sent me; a little excitement will do me no harm." I ventured to remark, that that wine was very different from that which Dr. Antommarchi had prescribed for him. "Bah!" said he, striking his forehead, "neither he nor you understand any thing about it: we want every thing in this country. Why should you wish to see me remain here? give me some of that wine; it will restore me. I do not desire to shorten my life, but I would do nothing to prolong it. Ah!" said he,

* M. Marchand succeeded Constant, as valet-de-chambre to the Emperor, at the moment of his quitting Fontainebleau to retire to the Isle of Elba. He was proposed to Napoleon by Constant.

placing his hand upon his right side, "I feel here as if a razor were cutting me."

Every thing that was said by the Emperor was full of dignity, of resignation, and of goodness; the bed upon which he sat was covered with articles carefully sealed up, and destined for his son and family. Among the number was a gold snuff-box, with a very beautiful cameo, which he bequeathed to Lady Holland, as a token of regard and grateful acknowledgment of the solicitude which this lady had manifested for the illustrious captive, in sending those little trifles always so well appreciated, and of which we are doubly sensible in the hour of misfortune. There was also a plain gold snuff-box, which he intended for Dr. Arnott, upon which he scratched with a penknife the letter N. A small sheet of pasteboard which he held in his left-hand, served him for a writing-desk. Count Montholon stood near his bed with an inkstand. Near him was a diamond necklace. Napoleon took it up, and giving it to me, said, "Keep this; I do not know what may be the state of my pecuniary affairs in Europe; that amiable creature Hortense gave it to me when I left Malmaison, thinking that it might be useful to me. Its value is, I believe, 200,000 francs; conceal it about your person. When you return to France, it will enable you to wait for what I desire to give you by my will and codicils. Make an honourable marriage; choose your wife from among the families of officers or soldiers of my old guard. There are many of those brave fellows who are not in good circumstances; better fortune awaited them but for the reverses which France has experienced. Posterity will give me credit for what I would have done to serve them if events had taken another course." Fatigued with the exertion of talking, he paused. These expressions will never be effaced from my memory, and though fifteen years have passed away, my tears flow upon recollection of them. After a short repose, he sealed up his various wills and codicils to the number of nine separate packets, all nearly of a similar form, but of different thickness, folded at one of the four corners, tied up with red ribbon, to which he annexed his signature and seal. About nine o'clock in the evening, wrapped up in his dressing-gown, and sitting in an easy chair with a little table before him, the Emperor caused the signatures and seals of his three executors to be affixed to his will and codicils, Count Bertrand, Count Montholon, and myself, also the Abbé Vignali, who was called for the same purpose. General Bertrand then made in his presence the following *procès verbal*, or inventory of the nine sealed packets:

Upon that numbered I. was written "This is my will, written entirely with my own hand. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon a packet numbered II., "This is a second codicil to my will, written entirely with my own hand. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon a packet without any number, "This is a third codicil

to my will, written entirely with my own hand. Signed and sealed with my arms. To be opened the same day and immediately after the opening of my will. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon another packet without any number, "This is my fourth codicil, forming a sequel to my will. To be opened the same day that my will is read."

Upon a packet numbered V., "This is my codicil or record of my last will and desire; the execution of which I recommend to my very dear wife, the Empress Maria Louisa. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon a packet numbered VI., "This is my codicil or record of my last will, the execution of which I recommend to my son, Eugène Napoleon, written entirely by my own hand. Signed, NAPOLEON."

Upon a packet without any number, "These are instructions for my three executors, Bertrand, Montholon, and Marchand. I have executed a will and seven codicils, which I have deposited with Marchand. Signed, NAPOLEON."

The Emperor having thus, as he wished, put his affairs in order, employed himself for a long time in considering what our condition and employments would be on our return to Europe. He conversed with his executors upon the course they would have to adopt upon their arrival in England and France, in order that his ashes might not remain in exile at St. Helena. I extract in this place, from the verbal instructions that he gave, those which related to the King of Rome: "You will induce him to resume the name of Napoleon as soon as he shall have attained the age of discretion, and that he can do it opportunely. If fortune should be propitious to him, and he should ascend the throne of France, it is the duty of my executors to call his attention to the debt of gratitude I owe to my old officers and soldiers, and to my faithful adherents. The recollection of me should form the glory of his life; you will do every thing to encourage this feeling in him; you will direct his ideas to facts and events; you ought to find in the possession of Albe, Fain, Menneval, and Bourrienne, many papers and documents of the highest interest to him. Unless fortune should restore France to my family, I desire that my nephews and nieces should form marriages amongst themselves, and settle either in the Roman States, in America, or in Switzerland, so that my blood should not mingle in the courts of kings. To the Empress Maria Louisa, you will, either by letter or in a personal interview, express the esteem and high sentiments I entertain for her; recommend to her my son, whose only resource and chance of success is on her side. Make a collection of paintings, of books, and of medals, such as can give to my son true ideas, and destroy those false ones which foreign policy has been able, no doubt, to inculcate, in order that he may learn the real state of things. When my campaigns of Italy and of

Egypt, as well as those manuscripts which I leave, shall be printed, I desire they may be dedicated to my son; I wish also that to these may be added the letters from sovereigns; they may be procured in the Archives: the national vanity will gain much by the publication of them, so that the permission to obtain them will not be refused."

This last desire of Napoleon was executed by the publication of a part only of those manuscripts which were dictated by him to the Generals Gourgaud and Montholon; the remainder are in the possession of General Bertrand, to whom I have been indebted for the permission to print the "Notes upon the Commentaries of Cæsar," which have been in my hands during the last eighteen months. The nature of my service obliged me to be near the person of the Emperor, for he constantly did me the honour to desire I would read to him, or write from his dictation. It was in this manner that the "Notes on the Commentaries of Cæsar" were written by me, and dictated by Napoleon, during his long and sleepless nights, "during which," he would say, "study and occupation bring some alleviation to my sufferings, and strew a few flowers on the path that conducts me to the grave."

It was my intention to have added to that work, my recollections of our stay on the Isle of Elba, of the Hundred Days, and of St. Helena, but not in the form of a diary, for I should have been guilty of a want of that respect and fidelity with which we were all actuated towards the person of the Emperor, if I had kept one without his permission.

The last moments of a great man offer so much interest, that it is incumbent on those who have been witnesses of them, to transmit the particulars to future ages. I shall here, therefore, give a few particulars relative to the Emperor, during the last hours of his illustrious life: they are in part taken from my notes, and some are supplied by my memory, where they are and ever must be, indelibly fixed.

The hours which preceded the death of Napoleon were employed in serious conversation, or in reading aloud, more than in the care of his health. The last two readings which were made to the Emperor by his desire were, the Campaigns of Hannibal, read to him by Count Bertrand; and the other, which I had the honour to read, were the Campaigns of Dumouriez. The last dictation that he undertook was to Count Montholon, in the night of the 29th of April: it was a project of a military organization for France, and entitled, "PREMIÈRE RÊVERIE." From four to five o'clock in the morning he continued to dictate to me the same subject, after the Count had retired, desiring me to call it "SECONDE RÊVERIE," and to annex it to the other part.

I am not aware that these papers have hitherto been published. Would it not be matter of regret if these last thoughts of the Emperor, uttered on the brink of the grave, were lost?

When he had finished, he told me that he felt capable of riding fifteen leagues. Alas! this state was not to last long.

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of the 2d of May, being much occupied with testamentary matters, and expressing often a tender anxiety for his son, the Emperor dictated to me the following paper:

"I leave to my son the house I occupied at Ajaccio, with its accessories; two other houses in the neighbourhood of Salines, with their gardens; also, all my property in the territory of Ajaccio, which, united, will furnish him with an annual income of fifty thousand francs.

"I leave....." He now found himself so much fatigued that he could dictate no more: he postponed the remainder until the morrow; his memory seemed to fail, and the existence of this great man was also rapidly advancing towards a close.

I knew the property that belonged to the Emperor in Corsica, and was perfectly aware while he dictated this last legacy, that he possessed nothing of the kind he specified, and could not, therefore, leave it to his son. I perceived several times during this day great incoherency in his manner, both in speaking and dictating. This aberration of mind continued at intervals until the 5th of May, when his great genius quitted this earth for an endless tranquillity.

During the night of the 4th he was much agitated. Amidst a long and continued delirium the words "France, army," were frequently though indistinctly uttered by him; and these were the last sounds we heard from his lips. The Emperor spoke no more!

At four o'clock in the morning a comparative calm succeeded the troubles of the night: it was the serenity of courage, the peace of resignation. The eye of the Emperor became fixed; his mouth remained open: a few drops of saccharine water given to him by Dr. Antommarchi seemed to animate his pulse; a sigh escaped from his noble bosom; but we had still hope.

At six o'clock, all the French who were attached to the service of Napoleon were permitted to enter his room. They endeavoured to stifle the grief that oppressed them: they approached the bed on which he lay: the silence of the chamber of death chilled our very souls. We looked steadfastly on the dying Emperor, occasionally watching with anxious eye the countenance of the doctor, as though we would read in his features some expression of hope. But it was in vain: relentless death approached!

At half-past six o'clock in the evening a gun from the fort announced "the retreat;" the sun sank below the horizon; it was also the moment that this great man, who had commanded the world, was enveloped in immortal glory. The anxiety of

Dr. Antommarchi increased. That hand which had so often commanded victory was now arrested by death. Dr. Arnott, holding his watch, looked on it with fixed attention, to count the intervals of pulsation, and the moments between the lingering sighs. Fifteen seconds—then thirty; now a minute intervenes. We waited: we hoped. Alas! the Emperor was dead.

His lips were colourless; his mouth was slightly contracted; his eyes open, but fixed; his countenance was calm and serene.

Our tears flowed at this instant with increased force, for hitherto they had been compressed by an overpowering grief. The children of Madame Bertrand were permitted once more to kiss that hand which, during six years, had lavished on them so much tenderness. The scene of desolation was to their young hearts too appalling to support: the eldest fainted, and they were all removed from the chamber.

In a few minutes Captain Croket was introduced by Dr. Arnott, to verify the hour of the Emperor's death: his countenance indicated the feelings of his heart. He immediately retired with much respect, and expressed his sorrow at the obligation imposed on him. Immediately afterwards two English doctors entered, and having placed their hands on the heart of the Emperor, withdrew to certify to Sir Hudson Lowe the report of Dr. Arnott.

Thus perished the Emperor Napoleon, surrounded by only a few faithful and devoted servants, exiled beyond the reach of those natural objects of affection which man seeks in the last and most trying moments of need—a mother, a wife, and a child. I have read in the last work published relating to St. Helena, that the Emperor, after having eulogised the Duke of Marlborough, and after presenting to Dr. Arnott, for the 20th regiment, a copy of that general's campaigns, turned the duke into ridicule after he had dismissed the English doctor, and sung the first verse of the well-known ballad, written on Marlborough: I declare that I have no knowledge of any such circumstance. I was present, as well as the author of the work alluded to (the Emperor having sent for me), when the present of the books in question took place. Napoleon had passed in a sort of critical review the great generals, and stopping at the name of Marlborough, applauded his tactics and courage. With that solemn tone of voice, which Napoleon knew so well how to assume when he wished to stamp his munificence with an imposing character, he said "Doctor, I love the brave of every nation; I wish to make a present to the 20th regiment; take these volumes, and place them from me in their library."

When at St. Helena, the Emperor honoured General Bertrand with an exchange of his own watch for that of the count; he attached even to this act a glorious recollection: "Take this,

Bertrand," said he; "it struck two in the morning when I ordered Jaubert to attack Rivoli." It was thus the Emperor knew how to add a value to his gifts.

In the same volume relating to St. Helena, we read that the Emperor gave very long and minute instructions to the Abbé Vignali, respecting the room in which he was to lie in state, which ceremony was to be conducted by the abbé: "The Emperor," says the author, "saw something in my face that displeased him." My memory and my notes assist me perfectly to confirm this circumstance: but the following words said to be spoken by him, do not appear to have any just foundation: "You are above these idle weaknesses, but what would you have me do? I am neither a philosopher nor a physician." It would have been more faithful to have related the exact conversation of the Emperor with the Abbé Vignali.

I shall not here endeavour to refute the errors which have been written respecting the Emperor, but prefer concluding this sketch by the very flattering homage Napoleon paid to one of our most celebrated physicians. "Do you know Larrey?" said the Emperor one day to Dr. Arnott, during his visit. "I only know him by name," replied the latter. This question arose out of a conversation, wherein the Emperor endeavoured to ascertain whether the English lost more of their wounded soldiers after a battle, than the French army. Arnott admitted that the French surgeons were very clever, but he thought that the greater loss was almost always on the side of the Emperor. The latter believed the contrary, and gave as a reason, the great care and extraordinary talent of Larrey, of whom he spoke in the following terms: "What an intrepid and worthy man is Larrey! How sedulously did he employ himself to the army of Egypt during the painful passage of the Desert, as well as after the siege of Saint-Jean-d'Acre, and in Europe. I formed an esteem and an opinion of him which he never forfeited. If the army should ever erect a monument of gratitude, it should be dedicated to Larrey!"

If we have been happy enough to collect and to gather the last words of the Emperor, let us remember that, in reciting them faithfully, we only give publicity to that which must honour a virtuous man, and one who has so well merited the good opinion of France and of her ruler.

(Signed) MARCHAND.

Paris, 1st of June, 1835.

THE WILL OF NAPOLEON.

NAPOLEON.

This 15th of April, 1821, at Longwood, Island of St. Helena This is my Testament, or Act of my last Will.

1. I die in the Apostolical Roman religion, in the bosom of which I was born more than fifty years since.

2. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom I have loved so well.

3. I have always had reason to be pleased with my dearest wife, Maria Louisa. I retain for her, to my last moment, the most tender sentiments—I beseech her to watch, in order to preserve my son from the snares which yet environ his infancy.

3. I recommend to my son, never to forget that he was born a French prince, and never to allow himself to become an instrument in the hands of the triumvirs who oppress the nations of Europe: he ought never to fight against France, or to injure her in any manner; he ought to adopt my motto;—"*Every thing for the French people.*"

5. I die prematurely, assassinated by the English oligarchy and its * * *. The English nation will not be slow in avenging me.

6. The two unfortunate results of the invasions of France, when she had still so many resources, are to be attributed to the treason of Marmont, Augereau, Talleyrand, and Lafayette.

I forgive them—May the posterity of France forgive them as I do!

7. I thank my good and most excellent mother, the Cardinal, my brothers Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Pauline, Caroline, Julie, Hortense, Catherine, Eugène, for the interest they have continued to feel for me. I pardon Louis for the libel he published in 1820: it is replete with false assertions and falsified documents.

8. I disavow the "*Manuscript of St. Helena*," and other works, under the title of *Maxims, Sayings*, &c., which persons have been pleased to publish for the last six years. Such are not the rules which have guided my life. I caused the Duc d'Enghien to be arrested and tried, because that step was essential to the safety, interest, and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois was maintaining, by his own confession, sixty assassins at Paris. Under similar circumstances, I should act in the same way.

II.—1. I bequeath to my son the boxes, orders, and other articles; such as my plate, field-bed, saddles, spurs, chapel-plate, books, linen which I have been accustomed to wear and use, according to the list annexed (A). It is my wish that this slight bequest may be dear to him, as recalling the memory of a father, of whom the universe will discourse to him.

2. I bequeath to Lady Holland the antique cameo which Pope Pius VI. gave me at Tolentino.

3. I bequeath to Count Montholon two millions of francs, as a proof of my satisfaction for the filial attentions he has paid me during six years, and as an indemnity for the losses his residence at St. Helena has occasioned him.

4. I bequeath to Count Bertrand five hundred thousand francs.

5. I bequeath to Marchand, my first valet-de-chambre, four hundred thousand francs. The services he has rendered me are those of a friend; it is my wish that he should marry the widow, sister, or daughter of an officer of my Old Guard.

6. Item. To St. Denis, one hundred thousand francs.

7. Item. To Novarre (Noverraz), one hundred thousand francs.

8. Item. To Pieron, one hundred thousand francs.

9. Item. To Archambaud, fifty thousand francs.

10. Item. To Cursot, twenty-five thousand francs.

11. Item. To Chandellier, twenty-five thousand francs

12. To the Abbé Vignali, one hundred thousand francs. It is my wish that he should build his house near the Ponte Novo di Rostino.

13. Item. To Count Las Cases, one hundred thousand francs.

14. Item. To Count Lavallette, one hundred thousand francs.

15. Item. To Larrey, surgeon-in-chief, one hundred thousand francs. He is the most virtuous man I have known.

16. Item. To General Brayher, one hundred thousand francs.

17. Item. To General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, one hundred thousand francs.

18. Item. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

19. Item. To General Cambrone, one hundred thousand francs.

20. Item. To the children of General Mouton Duvernet, one hundred thousand francs.

21. Item. To the children of the brave Labédoyère, one hundred thousand francs.

22. Item. To the children of General Girard, killed at Ligny, one hundred thousand francs.

23. Item. To the children of General Chartrand, one hundred thousand francs.

24. Item. To the children of the virtuous General Travôt, one hundred thousand francs.

25. Item. To General Lallemand, the elder, one hundred thousand francs.

26. Item To Count Réal, one hundred thousand francs.

27. Item. To Costa de Bastelica, in Corsica, one hundred thousand francs.

28. Item. To General Clausel, one hundred thousand francs.

29. Item. To Baron de Menneval, one hundred thousand francs.

30. Item. To Arnault, the author of Marius, one hundred thousand francs.

31. Item. To Colonel Marbot, one hundred thousand francs. I recommend him to continue to write in defence of the glory of the French armies, and to confound their calumniators and apostates.

32. Item. To Baron Bignon, one hundred thousand francs. I recommend him to write the history of French diplomacy from 1792 to 1815.

33. Item. To Poggi di Talavo, one hundred thousand francs.

34. Item. To Surgeon Emmery, one hundred thousand francs.

35. These sums will be raised from the six millions which I deposited on leaving Paris in 1815; and from the interest at the rate of 5 per cent. since July, 1815. The account thereof will be settled with the banker by Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand.

36. Whatever that deposit may produce beyond the sum of five million six hundred thousand francs, which have been above disposed of, shall be distributed as a gratuity amongst the wounded at the battle of Waterloo, and amongst the officers and soldiers of the battalion of the Isle of Elba, according to a scale to be determined upon by Montholon, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambrone, and the surgeon Larrey.

37. These legacies, in case of death, shall be paid to the widows and children; and in default of such, shall revert to the bulk of my property.

III.—1. My private domain being my property, of which I am not aware that any French law has deprived me, an account of it will be required from the Baron de la Bouillerie, the treasurer thereof: it ought to amount to more than two hundred millions of francs; namely, 1. The portfolio, containing the savings which I made during fourteen years out of my civil list, which savings amounted to more than twelve millions per annum, if my memory be good. 2. The produce of this portfolio. 3. The furniture of my palaces, such as it was in 1814, including the palaces of Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this furniture was purchased with moneys accruing from the civil list. 4. The proceeds of my houses in the kingdom of Italy, such as money, plate, jewels, furniture, equipages; the accounts of which will be rendered by Prince Eugene and the steward of the crown, Campagnoni.

NAPOLEON.

(*Second Sheet.*)

2. I bequeath my private domain, one half to the surviving officers and soldiers of the French army, who have fought since 1792 to 1815 for the glory and the independence of the nation; the distribution to be made in proportion to their appointments upon active service; and one half to the towns and districts of Alsace, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Burgundy, the Isle of France, Champagne Forest, Dauphiné, which may have suffered by either of the invasions. There shall be previously set apart from this sum, one million for the town of Brienne, and one million for that of Mêri. I appoint Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and Marchand, the executors of my will.

This present will, wholly written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

(L.S.) NAPOLEON.

LIST (A).

Annexed to my Will.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
this 15th April, 1821.

I.—1. The consecrated vessels which have been in use at my chapel at Longwood.

2. I direct Abbé Vignali to preserve them, and to deliver them to my son when he shall reach the age of sixteen years.

II.—1. My arms; that is to say, my sword, that which I wore at Austerlitz, the sabre of Sobieski, my dagger, my broad sword, my hanger, my two pair of Versailles pistols.

2. My gold dressing-case, that which I made use of on the morning of Ulm and of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Eylau, of Friedland, of the Island of Lobau, of the Moskwa, of Montmirail. In this point of view it is my wish that it may be precious in the eyes of my son. (It has been deposited with Count Bertrand since 1814.)

3. I charge Count Bertrand with the care of preserving these objects, and of conveying them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

III.—1. Three small mahogany boxes, containing, the first, thirty-three snuff-boxes or comfit-boxes; the second, twelve boxes with the imperial arms, two small eye-glasses, and four boxes found on the table of Louis XVIII. in the Tuileries, on the 20th of March, 1815; the third, three snuff-boxes, ornamented with silver medals, habitually used by the Emperor; and sundry articles for the use of the toilet, according to the list numbered I. II. III.

2. My field-beds, which I used in all my campaigns.

3. My field-telescope.

4. My dressing-case, one of each of my uniforms, a dozen of shirts, and a complete set of each of my dresses, and generally of every thing used in my toilet.

5. My washhand-stand.

6. A small clock which is in my bedchamber at Longwood.

7. My two watches, and the chain of the Empress's hair.

8. I entrust the care of these articles to Marchand, my principal valet-de-chambre, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

IV.—1. My cabinet of medals.

2. My plate, and my Sèvres china, which I used at St. Helena. (List B and C.)

3. I request Count Montholon to take care of these articles, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

V.—1. My three saddles and bridles, my spurs which I used at St. Helena.

2. My fowling-pieces, to the number of five.

3. I charge my *chasseur*, Noverraz, with the care of these articles, and direct him to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

VI.—1. Four hundred volumes, selected from those in my library which I have been accustomed to use the most.

2. I direct St. Denis to take care of them, and to convey them to my son when he shall attain the age of sixteen years.

NAPOLEON.

LIST (A).

1. None of the articles which have been used by me shall be sold; the residue shall be divided amongst the executors of my will and my brothers.

2. Marchand shall preserve my hair, and cause a bracelet to be made of it, with a little gold clasp, to be sent to the Empress Maria-Louisa, to my mother, and to each of my brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, the Cardinal; and one of larger size for my son.

3. Marchand will send one pair of my gold shoe-buckles to Prince Joseph.

4. A small pair of gold knee-buckles to Prince Lucien.

5. A gold collar-clasp to Prince Jerome.

List (A).

Inventory of my Effects which Marchand will take care of and convey to my son.

1. My silver dressing-case, that which is on my table, furnished with all its utensils, razors, &c.

2. My alarum-clock: it is the alarum-clock of Frederic II., which I took at Potsdam. (In box No. III.)

3. My two watches, with the chain of the Empress's hair, and a chain of my own hair for the other watch: Marchand will get it made at Paris.

4. My two seals (one the seal of France, contained in box No. III.)

5. The small gold clock which is now in my bed-chamber.

6. My washhand-stand, its water-jug, foot-bath, &c.

7. My night-tables, those I used in France, and my silver-gilt bidet.

8. My two iron bedsteads, my mattresses, and my coverlets, if they can be preserved.

9. My three silver decanters, which held my eau-de-vie, and which my *chasseurs* carried in the field.

10. My French telescope.

11. My spurs, two pair.

12. Three mahogany boxes, No. I. II. III., containing my snuff-boxes and other articles.

13. A silver-gilt perfuming pan.

Body Linen.

Six shirts. Six handkerchiefs. Six cravats. Six napkins. Six pair of silk stockings. Four black stocks. Six pair of under-stockings. Two pair of cambric sheets. Two pillow-cases. Two dressing-gowns. Two pair of night-drawers. One pair of braces. Four pair of white kerseymere breeches and vests. Six madras. Six flannel-waistcoats. Four pair of drawers. Six pair of gaiters. One small box filled with my snuff. One gold neck-buckle. One pair gold knee-buckles. One pair gold shoe-buckles, contained in the little box, No. III.

Clothes.

One uniform of the Chasseurs. One uniform of the Grenadiers. One uniform of the National Guard. Two hats. One green-and-gray great-coat. One blue cloak (that which I had at Marengo). One sable green pelisse. Two pair of shoes. Two pair of boots. One pair of slippers. Six belts.

Napoleon.

List (B).

Inventory of the Effects which I left in the possession of Monsieur the Count de Turenne.

One sabre of Sobiesky. (It is, by mistake, inserted in list (A). that being the sabre which the Emperor wore at Aboukir, and which is in the hands of Count Bertrand.)
One Grand Collar of the Legion of Honour.
One sword of silver-gilt.
One Consular sword.
One sword of steel.
One velvet belt.
One Collar of the Golden Fleece.
One small dressing-case of steel.
One night-lamp of silver.
One handle of an antique sabre.
One hat *à la* Henry IV., and a *toque*.* The lace of the Emperor
One small cabinet of medals.
Two Turkey carpets.
Two mantles of crimson velvet, embroidered, with vests, and small-clothes.

I give to my son the sabre of Sobiesky.
Do. the Collar of the Legion of Honour.
Do. the sword silver-gilt.
Do. the Consular sword.
Do. the steel sword.
Do. the collar of the Golden Fleece.
Do. the hat *à la* Henry IV., and the *toque*.
Do. the golden dressing-case for the teeth, which is in the hands of the dentist.
To the Empress Maria Louisa, my lace.
To Madame, the silver night-lamp.
To the Cardinal, the small steel dressing-case.
To Prince Eugène, the wax-candlestick, silver gilt.
To the Princess Pauline, the small cabinet of medals.
To the Queen of Naples, a small Turkey carpet.
To the Queen Hortense, a small Turkey carpet.
To Prince Jerome, the handle of the antique sabre.
To Prince Joseph, an embroidered mantle, vest, and smallclothes.
To Prince Lucien, an embroidered mantle, vest, and smallclothes.

Napoleon.

April 16, 1821, Longwood.

This is a Codicil to my Will.

1. It is my wish that my ashes may repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people whom I loved so well.

2. I bequeath to Counts Bertrand, Montholon, and to Marchand, the money, jewels, plate, china, furniture, books, arms, and generally every thing that belongs to me in the island of St. Helena.

This codicil, entirely written with my own hand, is signed and sealed with my own arms.

(L. S.) Napoleon.

* A velvet hat, with a flat crown, and brims turned up.

This 24th of April, 1821, Longwood.

This is my Codicil, or Act of my last Will.

Upon the funds remitted in gold to the Empress Maria Louisa, my very dear and well-beloved spouse, at Orleans, in 1814, she remains in my debt two millions, of which I dispose by the present Codicil, for the purpose of recompensing my most faithful servants, whom moreover I recommend to the protection of my dear Maria Louisa.

1. I recommend to the Empress to cause the income of thirty thousand francs, which Count Bertrand possessed in the Duchy of Parma, and upon the Mont-Napoleon at Milan, to be restored to him, as well as the arrears due.

2. I make the same recommendation to her with regard to the Duke of Istria, Duroc's daughter, and others of my servants who have continued faithful to me, and who have never ceased to be dear to me: she knows them.

3. Out of the above-mentioned two millions I bequeath three hundred thousand francs to Count Bertrand, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be employed in legacies of conscience, according to my dispositions.

4. I bequeath two hundred thousand francs to Count Montholon, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. Item, two hundred thousand francs to Count Las Cases, of which he will lodge one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

6. Item, to Marchand one hundred thousand francs, of which he will place fifty thousand in the treasurer's chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

7. To Jean Jerome Levi, the Mayor of Ajaccio at the commencement of the Revolution, or to his widow, children, or grand-children, one hundred thousand francs.

8. To Duroc's daughter, one hundred thousand francs.

9. To the son of Bessières, Duke of Istria, one hundred thousand francs.

10. To General Drouot, one hundred thousand francs.

11. To Count Lavallette, one hundred thousand francs.

12. Item, one hundred thousand francs; that is to say

Twenty-five thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.

Twenty-five thousand to Noverraz, my *chasseur*.

Twenty-five thousand to St. Denis, the keeper of my books.

Twenty-five thousand to Santini, my former doorkeeper.

13. Item, one hundred thousand francs; that is to say:

Forty thousand to Planat, my orderly officer.

Twenty thousand to Hébert, lately housekeeper of Rambouillet, and who belonged to my chamber in Egypt.

Twenty thousand to Lavigné, who was lately keeper of one of my stables, and who was my *piqueur* in Egypt.

Twenty thousand to Jeanet Dervieux, who was overseer of the stables, and served me in Egypt.

14. Two hundred thousand francs shall be distributed in alms to the inhabitants of Brienne-le-Château, who have suffered most.

15. The three hundred thousand francs remaining shall be distributed to the officers and soldiers of the battalion of my guard at the

Island of Elba who may be now alive, or to their widows and children, in proportion to their appointments, and according to an estimate which shall be fixed by my testamentary executors; those who have suffered amputation, or have been severely wounded, shall receive double; the estimate to be fixed by Larrey and Emmery.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

[On the back of the Codicil is written:]

This is my codicil, or act of my last will, the execution of which I recommend to my dearest wife, the Empress Maria Louisa.

(L.S.) NAPOLEON.

[Attested by the following witnesses, whose seals are respectively affixed:]

MONTHOLON, BERTRAND, MARCHAND, VIGNALI. } A piece of green silk.

Sixth Codicil.

Monsieur Lafitte, I remitted to you, in 1815, at the moment of my departure from Paris, a sum of near six millions, for which you have given me a receipt in duplicate. I have cancelled one of the receipts, and I charge Count Montholon to present you with the other receipt, in order that you may pay to him, after my death, the said sum, with interest at the rate of five per cent., from the first of July, 1815, deducting the payments which you have been instructed to make by virtue of my orders.

It is my wish that the settlement of your account may be agreed upon between you, Count Montholon, Count Bertrand, and the Sieur Marchand; and this settlement being made, I give you, by these presents, a complete and absolute discharge from the said sum.

I also, at that time, placed in your hands a box, containing my cabinet of medals. I beg you will give it to Count Montholon.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur Lafitte, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

Longwood, Island of St. Helena,
the 25th of April, 1821.

Seventh Codicil.

Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, treasurer of my private domain, I beg you to deliver the account and the balance, after my death, to Count Montholon, whom I have charged with the execution of my will.

This letter having no other object, I pray God, Monsieur le Baron Labouillerie, to have you in his holy and good keeping.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821. Longwood.

This is my Codicil, or Note of my last Will.

Out of the settlement of my civil list of Italy, such as money jewels, plate, linen, equipages, of which the viceroy is the depositary, and which belonged to me, I dispose of two millions, which I bequeath to my most faithful servants. I hope that, without availing himself of any reason to the contrary, my son Eugène Napoleon will pay them faithfully. He cannot forget the forty millions which I gave him in Italy, and in the distribution of the inheritance of his mother.

1. Out of these two millions, I bequeath to Count Bertrand three hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the treasurer's chest, to be applied according to my dispositions in payment of legacies of conscience.

2. To Count Montholon, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

3. To Count Las Cases, two hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit one hundred thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

4. To Marchand, one hundred thousand francs, of which he will deposit fifty thousand in the chest, for the same purpose as above mentioned.

5. To Count Lavalette, one hundred thousand francs.

6. To General Hogendorf, of Holland, my aide-de-camp, who has retired to the Brazils, one hundred thousand thousand francs.

7. To my aide-de-camp, Corbineau, fifty thousand francs.

8. To my aide-de-camp, General Caffarelli, fifty thousand francs.

9. To my aide-de-camp, Dejean, fifty thousand francs.

10. To Percy, surgeon-in-chief at Waterloo, fifty thousand francs.

11. Fifty thousand francs, that is to say:

Ten thousand to Piéron, my maître d'hôtel.
Ten thousand to St. Denis, my head *chasseur*.
Ten thousand to Noverraz.
Ten thousand to Cursot, my clerk of the kitchen.
Ten thousand to Archambaud, my *piqueur*.

12. To Baron de Mennevalle, fifty thousand francs.

13. To the Duke d'Istria, son of Bessières, fifty thousand francs.

14. To the daughter of Duroc, fifty thousand francs.

15. To the children of Labédoyère, fifty thousand francs.

16. To the children of Mouton Duvernet, fifty thousand francs.

17. To the children of the brave and virtuous General Travôt, fifty thousand francs.

18. To the children of Chartrand, fifty thousand francs.

19. To General Cambrone, fifty thousand francs.

20. To General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, fifty thousand francs.

21. To be distributed amongst such proscribed persons as wander in foreign countries, whether they be French, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Spanish, or inhabitants of the departments of the Rhine, under the directions of my executors, and upon their orders, one hundred thousand francs.

22. To be distributed amongst those who suffered amputation, or were severely wounded at Ligny or Waterloo, who may be still living,

according to lists drawn up by my executors, to whom shall be added Cambrone, Larrey, Percy, and Emmery. The guards shall be paid double; those of the island of Elba, quadruple; two hundred thousand francs.

This codicil is written entirely with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821, at Longwood.

This is a third Codicil to my Will of the 15th of April.

1. Amongst the diamonds of the crown which were delivered up in 1814, there were some to the value of five or six hundred thousand francs, not belonging to it, but which formed part of my private property; repossession shall be obtained of them in order to discharge my legacies.

2. I had in the hands of the banker Torlonia, at Rome, bills of exchange to the amount of two or three hundred thousand francs, the product of my revenues of the island of Elba since 1815. The Sieur de la Perruse, although no longer my treasurer, and not invested with any character, possessed himself of this sum. He shall be compelled to refund it.

3. I bequeath to the Duke of Istria three hundred thousand francs, of which only one hundred thousand francs shall be reversible to his widow, should the duke be dead before payment of the legacy. It is my wish, should there be no inconvenience in it, that the duke may marry Duroc's daughter.

4. I bequeath to the Duchess of Frioul, the daughter of Duroc, two hundred thousand francs: should she be dead before the payment of this legacy, none of it shall be given to the mother.

5. I bequeath to General Rigaud (to him who was proscribed) one hundred thousand francs.

6. I bequeath to Boisnod, the intendant-commissary, one hundred thousand francs.

7. I bequeath to the children of General Letort, who was killed in the campaign of 1815, one hundred thousand francs.

8. These eight hundred thousand francs of legacies shall be considered as inserted at the end of article thirty-six of my testament, which will make the legacies I have disposed of by will amount to the sum of six millions four hundred thousand francs, without including the donations I have made by my second codicil.

This is written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

(L.S.) NAPOLEON.

[On the outside, nearly in the centre, is written:]

This is my third codicil to my will, entirely written with my own hand, signed, and sealed with my arms.

[The words are intermixed with the signatures of Bertrand, Mon-

tholon, Marchand, and Vignali, with their respective seals; and a piece of green silk runs through the centre. On the upper left corner are the following directions :]

To be opened the same day, and immediately after the opening of my will.

NAPOLEON.

This 24th of April, 1821. Longwood.

This is a fourth Codicil to my Testament.

By the dispositions we have heretofore made, we have not fulfilled all our obligations, which has decided us to make this fourth codicil.

1. We bequeath to the son or grandson of Baron Dutheil, lieutenant-general of artillery, and formerly Lord of St. André, who commanded the school of Auxonne before the revolution, the sum of one hundred thousand francs, as a memento of gratitude for the care which that brave general took of us when we were lieutenant and captain under his orders.

2. Item. To the son or grandson of General Dugomier, who commanded in chief the army of Toulon, the sum of one hundred thousand francs. We, under his orders, directed that siege, and commanded the artillery; it is a testimonial of remembrance for the marks of esteem, affection, and friendship, which that brave and intrepid general gave us.

3. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the son or grandson of the deputy of the convention, Gasparin, representative of the people to the army of Toulon, for having protected and sanctioned with his authority the plan we had given, which procured the capture of that city, and which was contrary to that sent by the committee of public safety. Gasparin, by his protection, sheltered us from the persecution and ignorance of the general officers who commanded the army before the arrival of my friend Dugomier.

4. Item. We bequeath one hundred thousand francs to the widow, son, or grandson of our aide-de-camp, Muiron, killed at our side at Arcola, covering us with his body.

5. Item. Ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer, Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that *oligarchist*, as the latter had to send me to perish upon the rock of St. Helena. Wellington, who proposed this outrage, attempted to justify it by pleading the interest of Great Britain. Cantillon, if he had really assassinated that lord, would have pleaded the same excuse, and been justified by the same motive—the interest of France—to get rid of this general, who, moreover, by violating the capitulation of Paris, had rendered himself responsible for the blood of the martyrs, Ney, Labédoyère, &c.; and for the crime of having pillaged the museums, contrary to the text of the treaties.

6. These four hundred thousand francs shall be added to the six millions four hundred thousand of which we have disposed, and will make our legacies amount to six millions eight hundred and ten thou-

sand francs; these four hundred and ten thousand are to be considered as forming part of our testament, article thirty-six, and to follow in every respect the same course as the other legacies.

7. The nine thousand pounds sterling which we gave to Count and Countess Montholon, should, if they have been paid, be deducted and carried to the account of the legacies which we have given him by our testament. If they have not been paid, our notes of hand shall be annulled.

8. In consideration of the legacy given by our will to Count Montholon, the pension of twenty thousand francs granted to his wife is annulled. Count Montholon is charged with the payment of it to her.

9. The administration of such an inheritance, until its final liquidation, requiring expenses of offices, journeys, missions, consultations, and law-suits, we expect that our testamentary executors shall retain three per cent. upon all the legacies, as well upon the six millions eight hundred thousand francs, as upon the sums contained in the codicils, and upon the two hundred millions of francs of the private domains.

10. The amount of the sums thus retained shall be deposited in the hands of a treasurer, and disbursed by drafts from our testamentary executors.

11. Should the sums arising from the aforesaid deductions not be sufficient to defray the expenses, provision shall be made to that effect at the expense of the three testamentary executors and the treasurer, each in proportion to the legacy which we have bequeathed to them in our will and codicils.

12. Should the sums arising from the before-mentioned subtractions be more than necessary, the surplus shall be divided amongst our three testamentary executors and the treasurer, in the proportion of their respective legacies.

13. We nominate Count Las Cases, and in default of him his son, and in default of the latter, General Drouot, to be treasurer.

This present codicil is entirely written with our hand, signed, and sealed with our arms.

NAPOLEON.

CHAPTER LI.

SKETCH OF THE CAREER OF NAPOLEON.

BY THE COUNT ST. LEU (LOUIS BONAPARTE).

Napoleon was born under French laws and on the French territory. Reared up in its bosom he became acquainted with foreign countries and beautiful Italy, whence his family derived its origin, only when at the head of the immortal legions of France. His family which resided in a small town, was in easy circumstances, without possessing great riches; but in the 13th century his ancestors had been distinguished in Tuscany and in the Trevisian Marches, and had even enjoyed sovereign privilege in Treviso.

I am far from attaching any material importance to the circumstance of birth; I merely repeat a fact, because libellers have been pleased to spread false reports concerning our family. As to all else it appears to me that nobility may be compared to the impression on money, which is real if the metal it covers has an intrinsic value, but which is nothing and worthless if the metal be false and valueless. He was not the eldest of his family, but occupied that rank, and filled the office of chief of his house from the earliest period. In the military schools of Brienne and Paris he distinguished himself, and enjoyed an extraordinary consideration for his age both from the professors and from his companions.

It was necessary to submit to two examinations in order to receive the rank of an officer of artillery, and to pass from the military schools into a regiment; he alone went through them both at one time, and was received without opposition in the most brilliant manner at seventeen years of age, either into the regiment of La Fere or that of Grenoble, in which he served before the Revolution; he there enjoyed a reputation considerably above his years. I shall not stop at the contemptible assertion that Napoleon ran the risk of being thrown into the river by

his comrades; on the contrary, it was they who saved him one day when the cramp having attacked him in swimming, he was in great danger of perishing.

As I was myself intended for the corps of artillery, I went through the necessary studies, and it was for this purpose that I accompanied my brother to Auxonne, where his regiment (that of La Fere) was garrisoned. I recollect, as well as my extreme youth would permit me, that my brother accomplished the solution of a problem proposed to all officers of artillery, after having been shut up in his apartment for seventy-two hours in order to complete his purpose.

At the period of the Revolution, and when every thing announced approaching war, he was at Valence, in the regiment of Grenoble, to which he had been promoted. At this time all the officers who had not emigrated, had permission to return home, in order to prepare for the campaign. We returned to Corsica, where he was soon after appointed to one of the newly-levied battalions.

A law, which appears to have been made for him, allowed the fresh-levied troops to select chiefs from amongst officers of the line, and allowed the latter the liberty of afterwards returning to their old regiments, keeping the rank they had received in the year. This law was intended to induce officers at that time to enter the battalions as volunteers, in order that the latter might be promptly organized and instructed. It had, however, a particular application to Napoleon, who belonged to the privileged corps of artillery. In this corps promotion, depending entirely on seniority, he could not have attained for many years the rank of a superior officer; but having been named a chief of battalion in the newly-raised troops, he returned soon after to his regiment of Grenoble, as a superior officer, at that time scarcely twenty-four years of age. He then joined the expedition to Sardinia, under Admiral Truguet and old General Casa Bianca, and commanded a corps which was directed to attack the islands of Magdalena. His attack succeeded, and he returned to Corsica in consequence of the failure of the principal operations. It was then that old General Paoli, commandant of Corsica, delivered up the island to the English, and that Napoleon, faithful to his duty, and not to be persuaded to betray his country, rejoined his regiment in the army of Italy, the head-quarters of which were at Nice, and retained his rank of lieutenant-colonel.

A short time after, on his return from his commission of inspecting the different arsenals, he visited his family at Marseilles, where they then resided, and with whom I then was. He was retained, and to use the expression of the times, put in requisition to command the artillery at the neighbouring siege of Toulon, although he was only a lieutenant-colonel, in order

to replace General Dommartin, who had just been severely wounded.

I am astonished that Sir Walter Scott, in his Life of Napoleon, should not only venture to criticise him, but that he should even go so far as to give him lessons in tactics. As these instructions were not published in the time of Napoleon, it is not surprising that the latter did not profit by them. The author cannot conscientiously reproach him for it; nevertheless, he must allow that he whose actions he sometimes denominates *extravagances*, and sometimes *the effects of the rarest talent*, had something more than this in him! Let him observe Napoleon at the age of twenty-four, before a seaport town occupied by a strong combined army, and defended by a numerous fleet, at the head of a few troops, in part newly levied, driving away the enemy's ships, and seizing upon the place, with a weak artillery, not by opening the trenches, and observing the long rules of circumvallation, intrenchments, &c., which were not applicable to the situation, but by a superior and perfectly novel act. His eagle eye marked out the spot, the possession of which would enable him to disperse the fleet, and render the place untenable.

Having joined the army of Italy as commandant of artillery, he gave council to the aged and valetudinarian General-in-chief du Merbion, and directed the movements of the troops: the impregnable position of Saorgio was stormed; Oneille Garesio, Ormea were occupied, the battle of Cairo was won, and the route into Italy was laid open. But the general-in-chief and the representatives, who possessed all the power, became alarmed at the plan of the campaign he presented to them, and the success of the army was thus stopped. A short time afterwards, being in Paris, and summoned to the assistance of Government, which was threatened by the greater part of the population of the capital, he commanded in chief, although nominally only second in command, repulsed every attack, and quelled the sedition.

Being soon afterwards raised to the principal command of the army in Italy, he put into execution the plan he had previously proposed to du Merbion. He conquered in the very places he had previously pointed out, divided the Piedmontese and Austrian armies, detached Piedmont from the coalition formed against France, invaded Italy, which he progressively conquered advanced into Germany, and succeeded in forcing the Emperor of Austria, whose capital he threatened, into a peace. Intrusted after the peace with the command of the French army in the east, he crossed the Mediterranean at the head of a squadron and of a considerable armament, in defiance of the English fleet; seized on the island of Malta, hitherto reputed impregnable, almost under the eyes of Nelson, and

in spite of the English fleet. He departed from Malta, landed in Egypt, and seized on Alexandria.

A few weeks after he gained several general actions, destroyed the Mamelukes, and conquered the whole of Egypt. When far from his sight, his fleet was destroyed near Alexandria, which the Ottomans and the English prepared to attack on all sides, he crossed the desert, and possessed himself of the whole of Syria, except St. Jean d'Acre. There he experienced his first reverse; but, far from being cast down, he returned into Egypt to defend his conquest against a powerful Mussulman army, which he defeated at Aboukir. A mere general of the Directory or Government of France, he was informed of its distresses, and ventured to return to its succour. He once again crossed the Mediterranean in despite of Nelson and the English fleet, and disembarked at Frejus. He was received and led in triumph to Paris, where he was placed with two colleagues at the head of the Government. France had lost Italy; the suppressed factions again became powerful; the finances were in distress, the treasury empty, credit lost, the territory menaced on all sides. In a few weeks afterward the treasury was replenished, credit restored, the nation reassured, and the armies recruited and strengthened. In the mean time the Austrians had advanced upon the Var, and threatened Provence. Genoa in the occupation of the French, and defended by the intrepid Masséna, the conqueror of Zurich, was pressed by the victorious armies of the enemy, who had become masters of the whole of Italy, and of the numerous strong places of that beautiful territory. The Italians, whom the French had formerly summoned to independence by the voice of Napoleon, turned towards them with hopeless regret; could they a second time perform what they had achieved in 1796, except through a series of extraordinary successes?

The allies were on the frontiers of France; the whole of Italy in the power of the coalition, their strong places, their armies, twice as numerous as those of France, deprived the Italians of all hope. If even the French could have regained their superiority, could they venture to hope that they should again conquer Italy and renew the same prodigies?

Nevertheless Napoleon set out on his campaign, and by a conception which surpassed that of Hannibal and Cæsar, he passed the Alps in the rear of the enemy, and whilst the latter advanced upon Provence, Napoleon, whose progress the Alps, defended by natural and impregnable fortresses, could not arrest, occupied the vast plains of Piedmont, obliged the enemy to retrace his steps, and in the plains of Marengo, in a single day, notwithstanding the fall of Genoa, which Masséna had defended against every thing but absolute famine, he gained the brilliant victory of Marengo over Melas, forced him to capitulate, and in one day conquered all the strong places of Piedmont, one of

which alone might have occupied his army during a whole campaign. At a later period when a new coalition was formed, he passed the Rhine, possessed himself of Germany and Vienna, the capital of Austria, and concluded a peace after having defeated the united armies of Prussia and Austria, at Austerlitz. The following year, when threatened by the powerful and warlike monarchy of Prussia, he marched, and in a single day at Jena, he destroyed the armies of Frederick and took possession of the monarchy and the capital. Two years afterwards another coalition was again formed, and though he was in the midst of Spain with his veteran legions, he accepted the defiance of Austria, and flew in person with prodigious celerity from Burgos to Ratisbon; and at the head of a body of troops, principally composed of Bavarians, he defeated the Austrian armies, and advanced upon Vienna, which he occupied a second time, and threatened for the fourth.

He dared to conceive the prodigious Russian campaign, and formed a combined army with astonishing rapidity, for the attack of that great empire, unaided by Poland, that is to say, without the independence of that country, and despite of every obstacle he arrived at the ancient capital of the Northern empire; when alike deceived by the policy of the enemy, by flattery, and perhaps by perfidious suggestions, he ventured to remain on the ruins of the burning city of Moscow. What energy, what perseverance, what activity, what vigilance, in short, what genius did it not require to resist in this position all that simultaneously attacked him!

I repeat, that it was scarcely to be expected that a single man could have escaped this frightful catastrophe, and whatever may be said against Napoleon, he cannot be denied the merit of having preserved every link in the chain of command, and of having saved the feeble remains of the grand army which escaped either in the march to Smolensko or the astonishing passage of the Beresina. Instead of his detractors accusing him of undergoing any alteration in his moral faculties, they ought rather to be astonished at their vigour, since they sufficed to save him from so extraordinary a situation. In fact, every individual member of the grand army, defeated by the elements, by unheard-of fatigues, by bodily suffering, by innumerable enemies, in short, by misfortunes great as the imagination can reach, must have been morally overwhelmed by so many fatalities. What was not due then to him to whom all looked up, who was intrusted with the command, with the general direction, and who was obliged to think for all, and to provide in the best manner against every evil, who had only the physical faculties of others, and experienced the same wants and the same sufferings? I do not think history, in its greatest military details, possesses any thing comparable to the Russian campaign, nor any thing which can equal the sublimity, for the right expression fails me, with

which the French army rose from the catastrophe in the plains of Bautzen and Lutzen. Imagine an army hastily formed, consisting of youths, from the age of eighteen to twenty, and of men from the depots with a few companies of marines, who had never served in the line; imagine an army, I say, united and formed under the eye of Napoleon, and manœuvring without cavalry, and with heavy besieging artillery, in an open country, supplying every thing by enthusiasm, courage, and genius, arresting the veteran legions of the north and depriving them of victory. Next contemplate Napoleon at Dresden, betrayed and surrounded on all sides, boldly encountering every thing, and it will be granted that this spectacle was the greatest ever recorded in the annals of war. At Leipsic, it is true, he was near falling under the double weight of his accumulated enemies, and of the allies who abandoned him, but he passed over their bodies at Hanau, and a second time regained his frontiers, as if by enchantment, and when it would seem he must have perished with the last of his soldiers. Let us view him during the campaign of France, facing innumerable armies with a handful of brave soldiers, seizing again upon victory the moment she escaped from him, despite of both open and secret treachery.

During his campaigns in Italy he protected the priests and emigrants; he would not destroy the petty princes whom the fate of war placed in some sort at the mercy of the army, and signed with them treaties which cost them, it is true, contributions in money and in works of art, but which assured to them their political existence, at least for a time, and as long as Napoleon could command it. Subordinate to the Directory, he both resisted the orders of the latter, who desired the destruction of the Holy See and the dictates of false glory, by halting at Tolentino, and as it were at the gates of Rome; he there concluded a peace with the Holy See, and saved it from the overthrow, which the Directory effected at a later period when Napoleon no longer commanded in Italy. When he subscribed the armistice of Leoben, and afterwards of Campo Formio, he outstepped his instructions, and acted as if he had been the governor of France.

He every where showed himself just, severe, economical, an enemy to pillage, and the terror of depredators. In conquered countries he was really a governor, and there first manifested the superior talent and genius which he fully displayed at a later period. When he attained the Consulate, his colleagues were eclipsed, and he alone governed France.

On his promotion to the empire it was not France only that he governed, but all the allied countries, and his influence soon extended throughout Europe, and even beyond it.

We thus find that he was at an early age an exception to general rules. One may affirm, without exaggeration, that he was born with the instinct for command and superiority. The

character of Napoleon announced itself from its infancy, and never belied itself; he was eminently French: perhaps he pushed this affection to extremes.

He undoubtedly loved glory passionately. We may address to him the reproaches which Alexander, Charlemagne, and so many other heroes, have deserved infinitely more. He has, moreover, explained himself on this head in the most precise manner, and no one but himself would so reply and justify himself; but it will be averred by those who knew him personally, as well as by those who will judge his memory impartially, that no one amongst those upon whom depended the fate of nations, was less vindictive and less cruel. He was sober, and possessed only the nobler passions. It is vain to dwell upon the horrors with which it has been attempted to taint his manners; since the accusations rest solely upon the reports and the sarcasms of libels, they may well be the appendage of such ephemeral writings, but they do not belong to the province of history. It is undeniable that, as the husband of a first wife much older than himself, he lived with her as a husband in the greatest harmony until the last day of their union, without giving her any cause of complaint.

It is also undeniable that he cannot be reproached with any titled mistress, nor any scandal, and that when he married a second time, at forty-two years of age, he displayed towards his second wife a courtesy, an amiability, a gracefulness, and an attention, which never failed. We must, in answer to an accusation of Sir Walter Scott, respecting the egotism of Napoleon, here relate what passed before the birth of his son, when the celebrated Dubois reported to him that the alarming circumstances of the accouchement endangered both the mother and child, and that he must submit to the loss of either one or the other. He replied, *above all things save the mother.* Is not such conduct a sufficiently formal contradiction given the author beforehand?

His field sports were neither injurious nor burdensome to the public. Even the luxury of his court had for its object the advancement of arts and manufactures, while its simplicity was extreme. His administration was admirable; it bore the stamp of genius, and deserves as much study as his campaigns; and his enemies must allow that they were despite themselves his pupils.

From him may be dated the increased activity and vigilance of governments; and since his time, utility and improvement have become their principal objects; and his enemies will vainly deny that they are compelled to follow in the track which he has laid down. It cannot be forgotten that he was the promoter of the general and uniform codes which govern France. What difficulties had he not to encounter and overcome, in wounded self-love and private interests? With what perseverance did he not

attain to this noble and generous end? His genius is displayed in all his actions, and chiefly in those immortal assemblies in which the most distinguished men of France met together to discuss its code of laws. He mingled in their discussions as if he had been a consummate lawyer. On quitting the cabinet, where he had just combined his plans of campaign, or discussed the difficult affairs of policy and administration, he entered the council of state. and put himself on a level with the Portalis and Tronchets. Whatever changes may occur in these immortal codes, it will never be forgotten that he was their author, for if this title justly belongs to princes who have conceived the idea of collecting and classifying the laws, it appertains by a still greater reason to him who took an active part in their composition. Perfection belongs to God alone; every mortal who approaches towards it is wise, but he who pretends to have attained it, proves himself to be a madman. Where is the hero, the conqueror, who is irreproachable? Titus, who is considered as the best of princes, may he not, as I have already remarked, be accused of the death of more than a million Jews? Did he not crucify his unfortunate prisoners in sight of the desolate people of Jerusalem. War and the cares of government not only demand a firm but an almost insensible heart, and this is the lot of great men. As for me, I scarcely envy those who are crowned with the *halo* of glory; but while I render full justice to the beauty, the splendour, and the merit of great actions, I confess that fame is only acquired at a price too painful for and incompatible with a sensitive heart.

Let those who accuse Napoleon of having held the reins with too firm a hand, and of having neglected all secondary considerations, in order to advance the general interests of France, think upon the extreme difficulty of the times and of his situation, and chiefly of the almost impossibility of escape from the snares of flattery and the systems of intestine intrigue carried on against the commencement of his power, perhaps even from his campaigns in Italy, and he will be fully justified.

He fell at length beneath long premeditated treason, and vicissitudes of fortune, at a time when the boldest and most skilful of his manœuvres would have produced the most brilliant and decisive victories, if Paris had held out for a few days.

He fell, but armed, and possessing the esteem and even the respect of his enemies, the tears of his warriors and the fond regrets of the great majority of the nation. He was recalled only a few months previously by these wishes and regrets, and almost alone he reappeared upon the soil of his ancient empire against a powerful king, who was supported by the right of birth and the armies of all Europe. He reappeared, and in twenty days was re-established on the throne, carried almost in triumph, and without shedding a single drop of blood.

The coalition was formed anew; he appeared on the field of

battle and victory gave him a passing acknowledgment, but as if she were taking her last farewell. He sunk at Waterloo, at Paris, and more deeply still at Rochfort, where he took the fatal resolution of placing himself in the hands of his most powerful, but the most ancient and the most infuriated of his enemies.

He perished after six years of agony, confined two thousand leagues from Europe—he whom so many battles had respected! He perished, but enmity itself, whilst overwhelming him with its last attacks, contributed to his triumph.

What greater proof could be given of the influence of his genius and of the affection of France than of the precaution of placing between her and Napoleon the immensity of the ocean?

What more conclusive proof can be afforded of the value and merit of such a prisoner than the precautions adopted to guard a single individual! The two thousand leagues of sea did not suffice; a body of troops and a fleet were also necessary. This was not even judged sufficient, and the belligerent powers sent a resident minister, commissioned to assure himself that Napoleon should not escape them. If Sir Walter Scott and the numerous cohort of periodical writers would for one instant be impartial, they would easily be convinced, that since the world was created there has never appeared a captain, a conqueror, a king, who could be compared with Napoleon.

L. DE SAINT LEU.

Florence, May 26th, 1828.

CHAPTER LII.

CHARACTER OF NAPOLEON.

BY DR. CHANNING.

The Life of Napoleon Bonaparte by Sir Walter Scott has been anticipated with an eagerness, proportioned to the unrivalled power of the author, and to the wonderful endowments and fortunes of the hero. That the general expectation has been satisfied, we cannot affirm. But few will deny, that the writer has given us a monument of his great talents. The rapidity with which such a work has been thrown off astonishes us. We think, however, that the author owed to himself and to the public a more deliberate execution of this important undertaking. He should either have abandoned it, or have bestowed on it the long and patient labour which it required. The marks of negligence and haste which are spread through the work, are serious blemishes, perhaps inexpiable defects. It wants compression and selection throughout. Many passages are encumbered with verbiage. Many thoughts are weakened by useless expansion, and worse than useless repetition. Comparisons are accumulated to excess, and whilst many are exquisite, perhaps as many are trite and unworthy of history. The remarks are generally just, but obvious, and we fear we must add, often superficial. We state these defects plainly, that we may express the more freely our admiration of the talents which have executed so rapidly a work so extensive and various, so rich in information, so fresh and vivid in description, and furnishing such abundant specimens of a free, graceful, and vigorous style.

The work has the great merit of impartiality. It is probably inaccurate in many of its details, but singularly free from prejudice and passion. Not a few, who considered that the author was both a Briton and a friend of the principles and policy of Pitt, were expecting from his pen a discoloured delineation of the implacable foe of England and of that great minister. But the rectitude of his mind, and his reverence for historical truth, have effectually preserved him from abusing the great power, conferred on him by his talents, over public opinion. We think that his laudable fear of wronging the enemy of his country, joined to an admiration of the dazzling qualities of Napoleon,

has led him to soften unduly the crimes of his hero, and to give more favourable impressions than truth will warrant.

But enough of the author, who needs not our praise, and can suffer little by our censure. Our concern is with his subject. A just estimate of the late Emperor of France seems to us important. That extraordinary man, having operated on the world with unprecedented power during his life, is now influencing it by his character. That character we apprehend is not viewed as it should be. The kind of admiration which it inspires, even in free countries, is a bad omen. The greatest crime against society, that of spoiling it of its rights, and loading it with chains, still fails to move that deep abhorrence which is its due; and which if really felt, would fix on the usurper a brand of indelible infamy. Regarding freedom as the chief interest of human nature, as essential to its intellectual, moral, and religious progress, we look on men who have signalized themselves by their hostility to it, with an indignation at once stern and sorrowful, which no glare of successful war, and no admiration of the crowd, can induce us to suppress. We mean then to speak freely of Napoleon. But if we know ourselves, we could on no account utter one unjust reproach. We speak the more freely, because conscious of exemption from every feeling like animosity. We war not with the dead. We would resist only what we deem the pernicious influence of the dead. We would devote ourselves to the cause of freedom and humanity a cause perpetually betrayed by the admiration lavished on prosperous crime and all-grasping ambition. Our great topic will be the character of Napoleon; and with this we shall naturally intersperse reflections on the great interests which he perpetually influenced.

We begin with observing, that it is an act of justice to Bonaparte to remember, that he grew up under disastrous influences, in a troubled day, when men's minds were convulsed, old institutions overthrown, old opinions shaken, old restraints snapped asunder; when the authority of religion was spurned, and youth abandoned to unwonted licence; when the imagination was made feverish by visions of indistinct good, and the passions swelled by the sympathy of millions to a resistless torrent. A more dangerous school for the character cannot well be conceived. That All-seeing Being, who knows the trials of his creatures and the secrets of the heart, can alone judge to what degree crimes are extenuated by circumstances so inauspicious. This we must remember in reviewing the history of men, who were exposed to trials unknown to ourselves. But because the turpitude of an evil agent is diminished by infelicities of education or condition, we must not therefore confound the immutable distinctions of right and wrong, and withhold our reprobation from atrocities which have spread misery and slavery far and wide.

It is also due to Napoleon to observe, that there has always existed, and still exists, a mournful obtuseness of moral feeling in regard to the crimes of military and political life. The wrong-doing of public men on a large scale, has never drawn upon them that sincere, hearty abhorrence which visits private vice. Nations have seemed to court aggression and bondage by their stupid, insane admiration of successful tyrants. The wrongs, from which men have suffered most, in body and mind, are yet unpunished. True, Christianity has put into our lips censures on the aspiring and the usurping. But these reproaches are as yet little more than sounds, and unmeaning commonplaces, They are repeated for form's sake. When we read or hear them, we feel that they want depth and strength. They are not inward, solemn, burning convictions, breaking from the indignant soul with a tone of reality, before which guilt would cower. The true moral feeling in regard to the crimes of public men is almost to be created. We believe, then, that such a character as Bonaparte's is formed with very little consciousness of its turpitude; and society, which contributes so much to its growth, is responsible for its existence, and merits in part the misery which it spreads.

Of the early influences under which Bonaparte war formed, we know little. He was educated in a military school, and this, we apprehend, is not an institution to form much delicacy, or independence of moral feeling; for the young soldier is taught, as his first duty, to obey his superior without consulting his conscience; to take human life at another's bidding; to perform that deed, which above all others requires deliberate conviction, without a moment's inquiry as to its justice, and to place himself a passive instrument in hands which, as all history teaches, often reek with blood causelessly shed.

His first political association was with the Jacobins, the most sanguinary of all the factions which raged in France, and whose sway is emphatically called "the reign of terror." The service which secured his command in Italy, was the turning of his artillery on the people, who, however dangerous when acting as a mob, happened in the present case to understand their rights, and were directing their violence against manifest usurpation.

His first campaign was in Italy, and we have still a vivid recollection of the almost rapturous admiration, with which we followed his first triumphs; for then we were simple enough to regard him as the chosen guardian of liberty. His peculiar tactics were not then understood; the secret of his success had not reached us; and his rapid victories stimulated the imagination to invest him with the mysterious powers of a hero of romance. We confess that we cannot now read the history of his Italian wars without a quickened movement in the veins. The rapidity of his conceptions; the inexhaustibleness of his invention; the energy of his will; the decision which suffered not

a moment's pause between the purpose and its execution ; the presence of mind, which, amidst sudden reverses, and on the brink of ruin, devised the means of safety and success ; these commanding attributes, added to a courage, which, however suspected afterwards, never faltered then, compel us to bestow, what indeed we have no desire to withhold, the admiration which is due to superior power.

Let not the friends of peace be offended. We have said, and we repeat it, that we have no desire to withhold our admiration from the energies which war often awakens. Great powers, even in their perversion, attest a glorious nature, and we may feel their grandeur, whilst we condemn with our whole strength of moral feeling, the evil passions by which they are depraved. We are willing to grant that war, abhor it as we may, often developes and places in strong light, a force of intellect and purpose, which raises our conception of the human soul. There is perhaps no moment in life, in which the mind is brought into such intense action, in which the will is so strenuous, and in which irrepressible excitement is so tempered with self-possession, as in the hour of battle. Still the greatness of the warrior is poor and low compared with the magnanimity of virtue. It vanishes before the greatness of principle. The martyr to humanity, to freedom, or to religion ; the unshrinking adherent of despised and deserted truth ; who alone, unsupported, and scorned, with no crowd to infuse into him courage, no variety of objects to draw his thoughts from himself, no opportunity of effort or resistance to rouse and nourish energy, still yields himself, calmly, resolutely, with invincible philanthropy, to bear prolonged and exquisite suffering, which one retracting word might remove ; such a man is as superior to the warrior, as the tranquil and boundless heavens above us, to the low earth we tread beneath our feet.

We have spoken of the energies of mind called forth by war. If we may be allowed a short digression, which, however, bears directly on our main subject, the merits of Napoleon, we would observe, that military talent, even of the highest order, is far from holding the first place among intellectual endowments. It is one of the lower forms of genius ; for it is not conversant with the highest and richest objects of thought. We grant that a mind, which takes in a wide country at a glance, and understands almost by intuition the positions it affords for a successful campaign, is a comprehensive and vigorous one. The general, who disposes his forces so as to counteract a greater force ; who supplies by skill, science, and genius, the want of numbers ; who dives into the counsels of his enemy, and who gives unity, energy, and success to a vast sphere of operations, in the midst of causualties and obstructions which no wisdom could foresee, manifests great power. But still the chief work of a general is to apply physical force ; to remove physical obstructions ; to

avail himself of physical aids and advantages; to act on matter; to overcome rivers, ramparts, mountains, and human muscles; and these are not the highest objects of mind, nor do they demand intelligence of the highest order; and accordingly nothing is more common than to find men, eminent in this department, who are almost wholly wanting in the noblest energies of the soul, in imagination and taste, in the capacity of enjoying works of genius, in large views of human nature, in the moral sciences, in the application of analysis and generalization to the human mind and to society, and in original conceptions on the great subjects which have absorbed the most glorious understandings. The office of a great general does not differ widely from that of a great mechanician, whose business it is to frame new combinations of physical forces, to adapt them to new circumstances and to remove new obstructions. Accordingly great generals away from the camp, are commonly no greater men than the mechanician taken from his workshop. In conversation they are often dull. Works of profound thinking on general and great topics they cannot comprehend. The conqueror of Napoleon, the hero of Waterloo, undoubtedly possesses great military talents, but we have never heard of his eloquence in the senate, or of his sagacity in the cabinet; and we venture to say, that he will leave the world, without adding one new thought on the great themes, on which the genius of philosophy and legislature has meditated for ages. We will not go down for illustration to such men as Nelson, a man great on the deck, but debased by gross vices, and who never pretended to enlargement of intellect. To institute a comparison in point of talent and genius between such men and Milton, Bacon, and Shakspeare, is almost an insult to these illustrious names.

Who can think of these truly great intelligences; of the range of their minds through heaven and earth; of their deep intuition into the soul; of their new and glowing combinations of thought; of the energy with which they grasped and subjected to their main purpose, the infinite materials of illustration which nature and life afford; who can think of the forms of transcendent beauty and grandeur which they created, or which were rather emanations of their own minds; of the calm wisdom and fervid impetuous imagination which they conjoined; of the dominion which they have exerted over so many generations, and which time only extends and makes sure; of the voice of power, in which, though dead, they still speak to nations, and awaken intellect, sensibility, and genius in both hemispheres; who can think of such men, and not feel the immense inferiority of the most gifted warrior, whose elements of thought are physical forces and physical obstructions, and whose employment is the combination of the lowest class of objects, on which a powerful mind can be employed?

We return to Napoleon. His splendid victories in Italy spread his name like lightning through the civilized world. Unhappily they imboldened him to those unprincipled and open aggressions, to the indulgence of that lawless, imperious spirit which marked his after course, and kept pace with his growing power. In his victorious career, he soon came in contact with States, some of which, as Tuscany and Venice, had acknowledged the French Republic, whilst others, as Parma and Modena, had observed a strict neutrality. The oldfashioned laws of nations, under which such States would have found shelter, seemed never to have crossed the mind of the young victor. Not satisfied with violating the neutrality of all, he seized the port of Leghorn, and ruined the once flourishing commerce of Tuscany; and having exacted heavy tribute from Parma and Modena, he compelled these powers to surrender, what had hitherto been held sacred in the utmost extremities of war, some of their choicest pictures, the chief ornaments of their capitals. We are sometimes told of the good done by Napoleon to Italy. But we have heard his name pronounced as indignantly there as here. An Italian cannot forgive him for robbing that country of its noblest works of art, its dearest treasures and glories, which had made it a land of pilgrimage to men of taste and genius from the whole civilized world, and which had upheld and solaced its pride under conquest and humiliation. From this use of power in the very dawn of his fortunes, it might easily have been foretold what part he would act in the stormy day which was approaching, when the sceptre of France and Europe was to be offered to any strong hand, which should be strong enough to grasp it.

Next to Italy, Egypt became the stage for the display of Napoleon; Egypt, a province of the Grand Signior, with whom France was in profound peace; and who, according to the long established relations of Europe, was her natural ally. It would seem, that this expedition was Bonaparte's own project. His motives are not very distinctly stated by his biographer. We doubt not that his great aim was conspicuousness. He chose a theatre where all eyes could be turned upon him. He saw that the time for usurpation had not yet come in France. To use his own language, 'the fruit was not yet ripe.' He wanted a field of action which would draw upon him the gaze of the world, and from which he might return at the favourable moment for the prosecution of his enterprises at home. At the same time he undoubtedly admitted into his mind, which success had already intoxicated, some vague wild hope of making an impression on the Eastern world, which might place its destinies at his command, and give him a throne more enviable than Europe could bestow. His course in the East exhibited the same lawlessness, the same contempt of all restraints on his power, which we have already noted. No means which pro-

mised success, were thought the worse for their guilt. It was not enough for him to boast of his triumphs over the cross, or to profess Mahometanism. He claimed inspiration, and a commission from God, and was anxious to join the character of prophet to that of hero. This was the beginning of the great weaknesses and errors into which he was betrayed by that spirit of self-exaggeration, which under the influence of past success and of unbounded flattery, was already growing into a kind of insanity. In his own view he was fit to be a compeer with Mahomet. His greatness in his own eyes made him blind to the folly of urging his supernatural claims on the Turk, who contemned, even more than he abhorred, a Frank; and who would sooner have sold himself a slave to Christians, than have acknowledged a renegade Christian as a sharer of the glories of Mahomet. It was not enough for Bonaparte, on this expedition, to insult God, to show an impiety as foolish as it was daring; he proceeded to trample on the sentiments and dictates of humanity with equal hardihood. The masacre of Jaffa is universally known. Twelve hundred prisoners, and probably more, who had surrendered themselves to Napoleon, and were apparently admitted to quarter, were two days afterwards marched out of the fort, divided into small bodies, and then deliberately shot; and, in case the musket was not effectual, were despatched by bayonets. This was an outrage, which cannot be sheltered by the laws and usages of war, barbarous as they are. It was the deed of a bandit and savage, and ought to be execrated by good men, who value and would preserve the mitigations which Christianity has infused into the conduct of national hostilities.

The next great event in Bonaparte's history was the usurpation of the supreme power of the state, and the establishment of military despotism over France. On the particulars of this criminal act we have no desire to enlarge, nor are we anxious to ascertain, whether our hero, on this occasion, lost his courage and self-possession, as he is reported to have done. We are more anxious to express our convictions of the turpitude of this outrage on liberty and justice. For this crime, but one apology can be offered. Napoleon, it is said, seized the reins, when, had he let them slip, they would have fallen into other hands. He enslaved France at a moment, when, had he spared her, she would have found another tyrant. Admitting the truth of the plea, what is it but the reasoning of the highwayman, who robs and murders the traveller, because the booty was about to be seized by another hand, or because another dagger was ready to do the bloody deed? We are aware that the indignation, with which we regard this crime of Napoleon, will find a response in few breasts; for to the multitude a throne is a temptation which no virtue can be expected to withstand. But moral truth is immovable amidst the sophistry, ridicule, and abject reasonings of men, and the time will come, when it will find a meet voice to

give it utterance. Of all crimes against society, usurpation is the blackest. He who lifts a parricidal hand against his country's rights and freedom; who plants his foot on the necks of thirty millions of his fellow-creatures; who concentrates in his single hand the powers of a mighty empire, and who wields its powers, squanders its treasures, and pours forth its blood like water, to make other nations slaves and the world his prey; this man, as he unites all crimes in his sanguinary career, so he should be set apart by the human race for their unmingled and unmeasured abhorrence, and should bear on his guilty head a mark as opprobrious as that which the first murderer wore. We cannot think with patience of one man fastening chains on a whole people, and subjecting millions to his single will; of whole regions overshadowed by the tyranny of a frail being like ourselves. In anguish of spirit we exclaim, How long will an abject world kiss the foot which tramples it? How long shall crime find shelter in its very aggravations and excess?

Perhaps it may be said, that our indignation seems to light on Napoleon, not so much because he was a despot, as because he became a despot by usurpation; that we seem not to hate tyranny itself, so much as a particular mode of gaining it. We do indeed regard usurpation as a crime of peculiar blackness, especially when committed, as in the case of Napoleon, in the name of liberty. All despotism, however, whether usurped or hereditary, is our abhorrence. We regard it as the most grievous wrong and insult to the human race. But towards the hereditary despot we have more of compassion than indignation. Nursed and brought up in delusion, worshipped from his cradle, never spoken to in the tone of fearless truth, taught to look on the great mass of his fellow beings as an inferior race, and to regard despotism as a law of nature and a necessary element of social life; such a prince, whose education and condition almost deny him the possibility of acquiring healthy moral feeling and manly virtue, must not be judged severely. Still, in absolving the despot from much of the guilt which seems at first to attach to his unlawful and abused power, we do not the less account despotism a wrong and a curse. The time for its fall, we trust, is coming. It cannot fall too soon. It has long enough wrung from the labourer his hard earnings; long enough squandered a nation's wealth on its parasites and minions; long enough warred against the freedom of the mind, and arrested the progress of truth. It has filled dungeons enough with the brave and good, and shed enough of the blood of patriots. Let its end come. It cannot come too soon.

We have now followed Bonaparte to the moment of possessing himself of the supreme power. Those who were associated with him in subverting the government of the Directory, essayed to lay restraints on the First Consul, who was to take their place. But he indignantly repelled them. He held the sword,

and with this, not only intimidated the selfish, but awed and silenced the patriotic, who saw too plainly that it could only be wrested from him by renewing the horrors of the revolution.—We now proceed to consider some of the means, by which he consolidated his power, and raised it into the imperial dignity. We consider these as much more important illustrations of his character than his successive campaigns, to which accordingly we shall give little attention.

One of his first measures for giving stability to his power, was certainly a wise one, and was obviously dictated by his situation and character. Having seized the first dignity in the state by military force, and leaning on a devoted soldiery, he was under no necessity of binding himself to any of the parties which had distracted the country—a vassalage to which his domineering spirit could ill have stooped. Policy and his love of mastery pointed out to him an indiscriminate employment of the leading men of all parties: and not a few of these had become so selfish and desperate in the disastrous progress of the revolution, that they were ready to break up old connexions, and to divide the spoils of the republic with a master. Accordingly he adopted a system of comprehension and lenity, from which even the emigrants were not excluded, and had the satisfaction of seeing almost the whole talent which the revolution had quickened, leagued in the execution of his plans. Under the able men whom he called to his aid, the finances and the war department, which had fallen into a confusion that threatened ruin to the state, were soon restored to order, and means and forces provided for retrieving the recent defeats and disgraces of the French armies.

This leads us to mention another most important and effectual means by which Napoleon secured and enlarged his power. We refer to the brilliant campaign immediately following his elevation to the consulate, and which restored to France the ascendancy which she had lost during his absence. On his success at this juncture his future fortunes wholly depended. It was in this campaign that he proved himself the worthy rival of Hannibal. The energy which conducted an army, with its cavalry, artillery, and supplies, across the Alps, by untried paths, which only the chamois hunter, born and bred amidst glaciers and everlasting snows, had trodden, gave the impression, which of all others he most desired to spread, of his superiority to nature, as well as to human opposition. This enterprise was in one view a fearful omen to Europe. It showed a power over the minds of his soldiers, the effects of which were not to be calculated. The conquest of St. Bernard by a French army was the boast of the nation; but a still more wonderful thing was, the capacity of the general to inspire into that army the intense force, confidence, resolution, and patience, by which alone the work could be accomplished. The victory of

Marengo, gained by one of the accidents of war in the moment of apparent defeat and ruin, secured to Bonaparte the dominion which he coveted. France, who in her madness and folly had placed her happiness in conquest, now felt that the glory of her arms was safe only in the hands of the First Consul; whilst the soldiery, who held the sceptre in their gift, became more thoroughly satisfied that triumph and spoils waited on his standard.

Another important and essential means of securing and building up his power, was the system of *espionage*, called the police, which, under the Directory, had received a development worthy of those friends of freedom, but which was destined to be perfected by the wisdom of Napoleon. It would seem as if despotism, profiting by the experience of ages, had put forth her whole skill and resources in forming the French police, and had forged a weapon, never to be surpassed, for stifling the faintest breathings of disaffection, and chaining every free thought. This system of *espionage* (we are proud that we have no English word for the infernal machine) had indeed been used under all tyrannies. But it wanted the craft of Fouché, and the energy of Bonaparte, to disclose all its powers. In the language of our author, "it spread through all the ramifications of society;" that is, every man, of the least importance in the community, had the eye of a spy upon him. He was watched at home as well as abroad, in the boudoir and theatre, in the brothel and gaming-house; and these last-named haunts furnished not a few ministers of the Argus-eyed police. There was an ear open through all France to catch the whispers of discontent; a power of evil, which aimed to rival, in omnipresence and invisibleness, the benignant agency of the Deity. Of all instruments of tyranny, this is the most detestable; for it chills the freedom and warmth of social intercourse; locks up the heart; infects and darkens men's minds with mutual jealousies and fears; and reduces to system a wary dissimulation, subversive of force and manliness of character. We find, however, some consolation in learning that tyrants are the prey of distrust, as well as the people over whom they set this cruel guard; that tyrants cannot confide in their own spies, but must keep watch over the machinery which we have described, lest it recoil upon themselves. Bonaparte, at the head of an army, is a dazzling spectacle; but Bonaparte, heading a horde of spies, compelled to doubt and fear these base instruments of his power, compelled to divide them into bands, and to receive daily reports from each, so that, by balancing them against each other, and sifting their testimony, he might gather the truth; Bonaparte, thus employed, is any thing but imposing. It requires no great elevation of thought to look down on such an occupation with scorn; and we see, in the anxiety and degradation which it involves, the beginning of that retribution which tyranny cannot escape.

Another means by which the First Consul protected his power can excite no wonder. That he should fetter the press, should banish or imprison refractory editors, should subject the journals and more important works of literature to jealous superintendence, these were things of course. Free writing and despotism are such implacable foes, that we hardly think of blaming a tyrant for keeping no terms with the press. He cannot do it. He might as reasonably choose a volcano for the foundation of his throne. Necessity is laid upon him, unless he is in love with ruin, to check the bold and honest expression of thought. But the necessity is his own choice; and let infamy be that man's portion who seizes a power which he cannot sustain, but by dooming the mind, through a vast empire, to slavery, and by turning the press, that great organ of truth, into an instrument of public delusion and debasement.

We pass to another means of removing obstructions to his power and ambition, still worse than the last. We refer to the terror which he spread by his severities, just before assuming the imperial power. The murder of the Duke d'Enghien was justified by Napoleon as a method of striking fear into the Bourbons, who, as he said, were plotting his death. This may have been one motive; for we have reason to think that he was about that time threatened with assassination. But we believe still more that he intended to awe into acquiescence the opposition, which, he knew, would be awakened in many breasts, by the prostration of the forms of the republic, and the open assumption of the imperial dignity. There were times when Bonaparte disclaimed the origination of the murder of the Duke d'Enghien. But no other could have originated it. It bears internal marks of its author. The boldness, decision, and overpowering rapidity of the crime, point unerringly to the soul where it was conceived. We believe that one great recommendation of this murder was, that it would strike amazement and terror into France and Europe generally, and show that he was prepared to shed any blood, and to sweep before him every obstruction in his way to absolute power. Certain it is, that the open murder of the Duke d'Enghien, and the justly suspected assassinations of Pichegru and Wright, did create a dread, such as had not been felt before; and whilst on previous occasions some faint breathings of liberty were to be heard in the legislative bodies, only one voice, that of Carnot, was raised against investing Bonaparte with the imperial crown, and laying France, an unprotected victim, at his feet.

There remain for our consideration other means employed by Bonaparte for building up and establishing his power, of a different character from those we have named, and which on this account we cannot pass without notice. One of these was the concordat which he extorted from the pope, and which professed to re-establish the Catholic religion in France. Our

religious prejudices have no influence on our judgment of this measure. We make no objections to it, as the restoration of a worship which, on many accounts, we condemn. We view it now simply as an instrument of policy, and, in this light, it seems to us no proof of the sagacity of Bonaparte. It helps to confirm in us an impression which other parts of his history give us, that he did not understand the peculiar character of his age, and the peculiar and original policy which it demanded. He always used commonplace means of power, although the unprecedented times in which he lived required a system which should combine untried resources and touch new springs of action. Because old governments had found a convenient prop in religion, Napoleon imagined that it was a necessary appendage and support of his sway, and resolved to restore it. But at this moment there were no foundations in France for a religious establishment, which could give strength, and a character of sacredness, to the supreme power. There was comparatively no faith, no devout feeling, and, still more, no superstition to supply the place of these. The time for the reaction of the religious principle had not yet arrived; and a more likely means of retarding it could hardly have been devised, than the nursing care extended to the church by Bonaparte, the recent Mussulman, the known despiser of the ancient faith, who had no worship at heart but the worship of himself. Instead of bringing religion to the aid of the state, it was impossible that such a man should touch it without loosening the faint hold which it yet retained on the people. There were none so ignorant as to be the dupes of the First Consul in this particular. Every man, woman, and child, knew that he was playing the part of a juggler. Not one religious association could be formed with his character or government. It was a striking proof of the self-exaggerating vanity of Bonaparte, and of his ignorance of the higher principles of human nature, that he not only hoped to revive and turn to his account the old religion, but imagined that he could, if necessary, have created a new one. "Had the pope never existed before, he should have been made for the occasion," was the speech of this political charlatan; as if religious opinion and feeling were things to be manufactured by a consular decree. Ancient legislators, by adopting and sympathizing with popular and rooted superstitions, were able to press them into the service of their institutions. They were wise enough to build on a pre-existing faith, and studiously to conform to it. Bonaparte, in a country of infidelity and atheism, and whilst unable to refrain from sarcasms on the system which he patronized, was weak enough to believe that he might make it a substantial support of his government. He undoubtedly congratulated himself on the terms which he exacted from the pope, and which had never been conceded to the most powerful monarchs; forgetting that his apparent success was the defeat of his plans; for just as far

as he severed the church from the supreme pontiff, and placed himself conspicuously at its head, he destroyed the only connexion which could give it influence. Just so far its power over opinion and conscience ceased. It became a coarse instrument of state, contemned by the people, and serving only to demonstrate the aspiring views of its master. Accordingly the French bishops in general refused to hold their dignities under this new head, preferred exile to the sacrifice of the rights of the church, and left behind them a hearty abhorrence of the concordat among the more zealous members of their communion. Happy would it have been for Napoleon had he left the pope and the church to themselves. By occasionally recognising and employing, and then insulting and degrading the Roman pontiff, he exasperated a large part of Christendom, fastened on himself the brand of impiety, and awakened a religious hatred, which contributed its full measure to his fall.

As another means employed by Bonaparte for giving strength and honour to his government, we may name the grandeur of his public works, which he began in his consulate and continued after his accession to the imperial dignity. These dazzled France, and still impress travellers with admiration. Could we separate these from his history, and did no other indication of his character survive, we should undoubtedly honour him with the title of a beneficent sovereign; but connected as they are, they do little or nothing to change our conceptions of him as an all-grasping, unprincipled usurper. Paris was the chief object of these labours; and surely we cannot wonder, that he who aimed at universal dominion, should strive to improve and adorn the metropolis of his empire. It is the practice of despots to be lavish of expense on the royal residence and the seat of government. Travellers in France, as in other countries on the continent, are struck and pained by the contrast between the magnificent capital and the mud-walled village, and uninteresting province. Bonaparte had a special motive for decorating Paris, for "Paris is France," as has often been observed; and in conciliating the vanity of the great city, he secured the obedience of the whole country. The boasted internal improvements of Napoleon scarcely deserve to be named, if we compare their influence with the operation of his public measures. The conscription, which drew from agriculture its most effective labourers, and his continental system, which sealed up every port and annihilated the commerce of his empire, drained and exhausted France to a degree, for which his artificial stimulants of industry, and his splendid projects afforded no compensation. Perhaps the most admired of all his public works is the road over the Simplon, to which all travellers concur in giving the epithet, stupendous. But it ought not to amaze us, that he, who was aspiring at unlimited dominion, should establish communications between the different provinces of his empire. It

ought not to amaze us, that he, who had scaled the glaciers of St. Bernard, should covet some easier passage for pouring his troops into Italy; nor is it very wonderful, that a sovereign, who commanded the revenues of Europe, and who lived in an age when civil-engineering had been advanced to a perfection before unknown, should accomplish a bolder enterprise than his predecessors. We would add, that Napoleon must divide with Fabbroni the glory of the road over the Simplon; for the genius which contrived and constructed, is more properly its author, than the will which commanded it.

There is, however, one great work, which gives Bonaparte a fair claim on the gratitude of posterity, and entitles him to an honourable renown. We refer to the new code of laws, which was given to France under his auspices. His participation in this work has indeed been unwarrantably and ridiculously magnified. Because he attended the meetings of the commissioners to whom it was assigned, and made some useful and sagacious suggestions, he has been praised, as if he had struck out, by the miraculous force of his genius, a new code of laws. The truth is, that he employed for this work, as he should have done, the most eminent civilians of the empire; and it is also true, that these learned men have little claim to originality; for, as our author observes, the code "has few peculiarities making a difference betwixt its principles and those of the Roman law." In other words, they preferred wisdom to novelty. Still Bonaparte deserves great praise for his interest in the work, for the impulse he gave to those to whom it was committed, and for the time and thought which, amidst the cares of a vast empire, he bestowed upon it. That his ambition incited him to this labour, we doubt not. He meant to entwine the laurels of Justinian with those of Alexander. But we will not quarrel with ambition, when it is wise enough to devote itself to the happiness of mankind. In the present case he showed that he understood something of true glory; and we prize the instance more, because it stands almost alone in his history. We look on the conqueror, the usurper, the spoiler of kingdoms, the insatiable despot, with disgust, and see in all these characters an essential vulgarness of mind. But when we regard him as a Fountain of Justice to a vast empire, we recognise in him a resemblance to the just and benignant Deity, and cheerfully accord to him the praise of bestowing on a nation one of the greatest gifts, and of the most important means of improvement and happiness, which it is permitted to man to confer. It was, however, the misery of Bonaparte, a curse brought on him by his crimes, that he could touch nothing without leaving on it the polluting mark of despotism. His usurpation took from him the power of legislating with magnanimity, where his own interest was concerned. He could provide for the administration of justice between man and man, but not between the citizen and the ruler. Political

offences, the very class which ought to be submitted to a jury, were denied that mode of trial. Juries might decide on other criminal questions; but they were not to be permitted to interpose between the despot and the ill-fated subjects who might fall under his suspicion. These were arraigned before "special tribunals, invested with a half military character," the ready ministers of nefarious prosecutions, and only intended to cloak by legal forms the murderous purpose of the tyrant.

We have thus considered some of the means by which Bonaparte consolidated and extended his power. We now see him advanced to that imperial throne, on which he had long fixed his eager eye. We see France now awed and now dazzled by the influence we have described, and at last surrendering, by public, deliberate acts, without a struggle or a show of opposition, her rights, liberties, interests, and power to an absolute master and to his posterity for ever. Thus perished the name and forms of the republic. Thus perished the hopes of philanthropy. The air, which a few years ago resounded with the shouts of a great people casting away their chains, and claiming their birthright of freedom, now rung with the servile cries of long life to a blood-stained usurper. There were indeed generous spirits, true patriots, like our own La Fayette, still left in France. But few, and scattered, they were left to shed in secret the tears of sorrowful and indignant despair. By this base and disastrous issue of their revolution, the French nation not only renounced their own rights, but brought reproach on the cause of freedom, which years cannot wash away. This is to us a more painful recollection than all the desolations which France spread through Europe, and than her own bitter sufferings when the hour of retribution came upon her. The fields which she laid waste are again waving with harvest; and the groans which broke forth through her cities and villages, when her bravest sons perished by thousands and ten thousands on the snows of Russia, have died away, and her wasted population is renewed. But the wounds which she inflicted on freedom by the crimes perpetrated in that sacred name, and by the abject spirit with which that sacred cause was deserted, are still fresh and bleeding. France not only subjected herself to a tyrant, but what is worse, she has given tyranny every where new pleas and arguments, and imboldened it to preach openly, in the face of heaven, the impious doctrines of absolute power and unconditional submission.

Napoleon was now Emperor of France; and a man unacquainted with human nature, would think that such an empire, whose bounds now extended to the Rhine, might have satisfied even an ambitious man. But Bonaparte obeyed that law of progress, to which the highest minds are peculiarly subjected; and acquisition inflamed, instead of appeasing the spirit of dominion. He had long proposed to himself the conquest of

Europe, of the world; and the title of Emperor added intenseness to this purpose. Did we not fear that by repetition we might impair the conviction which we are most anxious to impress, we would enlarge on the enormity of the guilt involved in the project of universal empire. Napoleon knew distinctly the price which he must pay for the eminence which he coveted. He knew that the path to it lay over wounded and slaughtered millions, over putrefying heaps of his fellow-creatures, over ravaged fields, smoking ruins, pillaged cities. He knew that his steps would be followed by the groans of widowed mothers and famished orphans; of bereaved friendship and despairing love; and that in addition to this amount of misery, he would create an equal amount of crime, by multiplying indefinitely the instruments and participators of his rapine and fraud. He knew the price, and resolved to pay it. But we do not insist on a topic which few, very few as yet, understand or feel. Turning then for the present from the moral aspect of this enterprise, we will view it in another light, which is of great importance to a just estimate of his claims on admiration. We will inquire into the nature and fitness of the measures and policy which he adopted for compassing the subjugation of Europe and the world.

We are aware that this discussion may expose us to the charge of great presumption. It may be said that men, having no access to the secrets of the cabinets, and no participation in public affairs, are not the best judges of the policy of such a man as Napoleon. This we are not anxious to disprove, nor shall we quarrel with our readers for questioning the soundness of our opinions. But we will say, that though distant, we have not been indifferent obervers of the great events of our age, and that though conscious of exposure to many errors, we have a strong persuasion of the substantial correctness of our views. We express then, without reserve, our belief that the policy of Napoleon was wanting in sagacity, and that he proved himself incapable, as we before suggested, of understanding the character and answering the demands of his age. His system was a repetition of old means, when the state of the world was new. The sword and the police, which had sufficed him for enslaving France, were not the only powers required for his designs against the human race. Other resources were to be discovered or created; and the genius for calling them forth did not, we conceive, belong to Napoleon.

The circumstances under which Napoleon aspired to universal empire differed in many respects from those under which former conquerors were placed. It was easy for Rome, when she had subdued kingdoms, to reduce them to provinces and to govern them by force; for nations at that period were bound together by no tie. They had little communication with each other. Differences of origin, of religion, of manners, of language, of modes of

warfare; differences aggravated by long and ferocious wars, and by the general want of civilization,—prevented joint action, and almost all concern for one another's fate. Modern Europe, on the other hand, was an assemblage of civilized states, closely connected by commerce, by literature, by a common faith, by interchange of thoughts and improvements, and by a policy which had for ages proposed, as its chief object, the establishment of such a balance of power as would secure national independence. Under these influences the human mind had made great progress; and in truth the French revolution had resulted from an unprecedented excitement and development of men's faculties, and from the extension of power and intelligence through a vastly wider class than had participated in them at any former period. The very power which Napoleon was wielding, might be traced to an enthusiasm essentially generous, and manifesting a tendency of the civilized world to better institutions. It is plain that the old plans of conquests, and the maxims of comparatively barbarous ages, did not suit such a state of society. An ambitious man was to make his way by allying himself with the new movements and excitements of the world. The existence of a vast maritime power like England, which by its command of the ocean and its extensive commerce, was brought into contact with every community, and which at the same time enjoyed the enviable pre-eminence of possessing the freest institutions in Europe, was of itself a sufficient motive for a great modification of the policy, by which one state was now to be placed at the head of the nations. The peculiar character and influence of England, Bonaparte seemed indeed never able to comprehend; and the violent measures by which he essayed to tear asunder the old connexions of that country with the continent, only gave them strength, by adding to the ties of interest, those of sympathy, of common suffering, and common danger.

Force and corruption were the great engines of Napoleon, and he plied them without disguise or reserve, not caring how far he insulted, and armed against himself, the moral and national feelings of Europe. His great reliance was on the military spirit and energy of the French people. To make France a nation of soldiers was the first and main instrument of his policy; and here he was successful. The revolution indeed had in no small degree done this work to his hands. To complete it, he introduced a national system of education, having for its plain end to train the whole youth of France to a military life, to familiarize the mind to this destination from its earliest years, and to associate the idea of glory almost exclusively with arms. The conscription gave full efficacy to this system; for as every young man in the empire had reason to anticipate a summons to the army, the first object in education naturally was, to fit him for the field. The public honours bestowed on military talent, and a rigorous impartiality in awarding promotion to merit, so that no origin, however ob-

scure, was a bar to what were deemed the highest honours of Europe, kindled the ambition of the whole people into a flame, and directed it exclusively to the camp. It is true, the conscription, which thinned so terribly the ranks of her youth and spread anxiety and bereavement through all her dwellings, was severely felt in France. But Napoleon knew the race whom it was his business to manage; and by the glare of victory, and the title of the Grand Empire, he succeeded in reconciling them for a time to the most painful domestic privations, and to an unexampled waste of life. Thus he secured, what he accounted the most important instrument of dominion, a great military force. But, on the other hand, the stimulants which for this purpose he was forced to apply perpetually to French vanity, the ostentation with which the invincible power of France was trumpeted to the world, and the haughty, vaunting style which became the most striking characteristic of that intoxicated people, were perpetual irritations of the national spirit and pride of Europe, and implanted a deep hatred towards the new and insulting empire, which waited but for a favourable moment to repay with interest the debt of humiliation.

The condition of Europe forbade, as we believe, the establishment of universal monarchy by mere physical force. The sword, however important, was now to play but a secondary part. The true course for Napoleon seems to us to have been indicated, not only by the state of Europe, but by the means which France in the beginning of her revolution had found most effectual. He should have identified himself with some great interests, opinion, or institutions, by which he might have bound to himself a large party in every nation. He should have contrived to make at least a specious cause against all old establishments. To contrast himself most strikingly and most advantageously with former governments, should have been the key of his policy. He should have placed himself at the head of a new order of things, which should have worn the face of an improvement of the social state. Nor did the subversion of republican forms prevent his adoption of this course, or of some other which would have secured to him the sympathy of multitudes. He might still have drawn some broad lines between his own administration and that of other states, tending to throw the old dynasties into the shade. He might have cast away all the pageantry and forms of courts, distinguished himself by the simplicity of his establishments, and exaggerated the relief which he gave to his people, by saving them the burdens of a wasteful and luxurious court. He might have insisted on the great benefits that had accrued to France from the establishment of uniform laws, which protected alike all classes of men; and he might have virtually pledged himself to the subversion of the feudal inequalities which still disfigured Europe. He might have insisted on the favourable changes to be introduced into property, by abolishing the entails

which fettered it, the rights of primogeniture, and the exclusive privileges of a haughty aristocracy. He might have found abuses enough against which to array himself as a champion. By becoming the head of new institutions, which would have involved the transfer of power into new hands, and would have offered to the people a real improvement, he might every where have summoned to his standard the bold and enterprising, and might have disarmed the national prejudices to which he fell a prey. Revolution was still the true instrument of power. In a word, Napoleon lived at a period, when he could only establish a durable and universal control through principles and institutions of some kind or other, to which he would seem to be devoted.

It was impossible, however, for such a man as Napoleon to adopt, perhaps to conceive, a system such as has now been traced; for it was wholly at war with that egotistical, self-relying, self-exaggerating principle, which was the most striking feature of his mind. He imagined himself able, not only to conquer nations, but to hold them together by the awe and admiration which his own character would inspire; and this bond he preferred to every other. An indirect sway, a control of nations by means of institutions, principles, or prejudices, of which he was to be only the apostle and defender, was utterly inconsistent with that vehemence of will, that passion for astonishing mankind, and that persuasion of his own invincibleness, which were his master feelings, and which made force his darling instrument of dominion. He chose to be the great, palpable, and sole bond of his empire; to have his image reflected from every establishment; to be the centre in which every ray of glory should meet, and from which every impulse should be propagated. In consequence of this egotism, he never dreamed of adapting himself to the moral condition of the world. The sword was his chosen weapon, and he used it without disguise. He insulted nations as well as sovereigns. He did not attempt to gild their chains, or to fit the yoke gently to their necks. The excess of his extortions, the audacity of his claims, and the insolent language in which Europe was spoken of as the vassal of the great empire, discovered that he expected to reign, not only without linking himself with the interests, prejudices, and national feelings of men, but by setting all at defiance.

It would be easy to point out a multitude of instances in which he sacrificed the only policy by which he could prevail, to the persuasion that his own greatness could more than balance whatever opposition his violence might awaken. In an age in which Christianity was exerting some power, there was certainly a degree of deference due to the moral convictions of society. But Napoleon thought himself more than a match for the moral instincts and sentiments of our nature. He thought himself able to cover the most atrocious deeds by the splendour

of his name, and even to extort applause for crimes by the brilliancy of his success. He took no pains to conciliate esteem. In his own eyes he was mightier than conscience; and thus he turned against himself the power and resentment of virtue in every breast where that divine principle yet found a home.

Through the same blinding egotism he was anxious to fill the thrones of Europe with men bearing his own name, and to multiply every where images of himself. Instead of placing over conquered countries efficient men, taken from themselves, who, by upholding better institutions, would carry with them large masses of the people, and who would still, by their hostility to the old dynasties, link their fortunes with his own, he placed over nations such men as Jerome and Murat. He thus spread a jealousy of his power, whilst he rendered it insecure; for as none of the princes of his creation, however well disposed, were allowed to identify themselves with their subjects, and to take root in the public heart, but were compelled to act openly and without disguise, as satellites and prefects of the French emperor, they gained no hold on their subjects, and could bring no strength to their master in his hour of peril. In none of his arrangements did Napoleon think of securing to his cause the attachment of nations. Astonishment, awe, and force, were his weapons, and his own great name the chosen pillar of his throne.

So far was Bonaparte from magnifying the contrast and distinctions between himself and the old dynasties of Europe, and from attaching men to himself by new principles and institutions, that he had the great weakness, for so we view it, to revive the old forms of monarchy, and to ape the manners of the old court, and thus to connect himself with the herd of legitimate sovereigns. This was not only to rob his government of that imposing character which might have been given to it, and of that interest which it might have inspired, as an improvement on former institutions, but was to become competitor in a race in which he could not but be distanced. He could indeed pluck crowns from the heads of monarchs; but he could not by any means infuse their blood into his veins, associate with himself the ideas which are attached to a long line of ancestry, or give to his court the grace of manners which belongs to older establishments. His true policy was, to throw contempt on distinctions which he could not rival; and had he possessed the genius and spirit of the founder of a new era, he would have substituted for a crown, and for other long worn badges of power, a new and simple style of grandeur, and new insignia of dignity, more consonant with an enlightened age, and worthy of one who disdained to be a vulgar king. By the policy which he adopted, if it be worthy of that name, he became a vulgar king, and showed a mind incapable of answering the wants and demands of his age. It is well known that the progress of intelligence had done

much in Europe to weaken men's reverence for pageantry and show. Nobles had learned to lay aside their trappings in ordinary life, and to appear as gentlemen. Even royalty had begun to retrench its pomp; and, in the face of all this improvement, Bonaparte stooped from his height to study costumes, to legislate about court-dresses and court-manners, and to outshine his brother monarchs in their own line. He desired to add the glory of master of ceremonies to that of conqueror of nations. In his anxiety to belong to the caste of kings, he exacted scrupulously the observance and etiquette with which they are approached. Not satisfied with this approximation to the old sovereigns, with whom he had no common interest, and from whom he could not have removed himself too far, he sought to ally himself by marriage with the royal families in Europe, to ingraft himself and his posterity on an old imperial tree. This was the very way to turn back opinion into its old channels; to carry back Europe to its old prejudices; to facilitate the restoration of its old order; to preach up legitimacy; to crush every hope that he was to work a beneficent change among nations. It may seem strange that his egotism did not preserve him from the imitation of antiquated monarchy. But his egotism, though excessive, was not lofty, nor was it seconded by a genius, rich and inventive, except in war.

We have now followed Napoleon to the height of his power, and given our views of the policy by which he hoped to make that power perpetual and unbounded. His fall is easily explained. It had its origin in that spirit of self-reliance and self-exaggeration of which we have seen so many proofs. It began in Spain. That country was a province in reality. He wanted to make it one in name; to place over it a Bonaparte; to make it a more striking manifestation of his power. For this purpose he "kidnapped" its royal family, stirred up the unconquerable spirit of its people, and after shedding on its plains and mountains the best blood of France, lost it for ever. Next came his expedition against Russia, an expedition against which his wisest counsellors remonstrated, but which had every recommendation to a man who regarded himself as an exception to his race, and able to triumph over the laws of nature. So insane were his self-confidence and impatience of opposition, that he drove, by his outrages, Sweden, the old ally of France, into the arms of Russia, at the very moment that he was about to throw himself into the heart of that mighty empire. On his Russian campaign we have no desire to enlarge. Of all the mournful pages of history, none are more sad than that which records the retreat of the French army from Moscow. We remember that when the intelligence of Napoleon's discomfiture in Russia first reached this country, we were among those who exulted in it, thinking only of the results. But when subsequent and minuter accounts brought distinctly before our eyes that unequalled

army of France, broken, famished, slaughtered, seeking shelter under snowdrifts, and perishing by intense cold, we looked back on our joy with almost a consciousness of guilt, and expiated by a sincere grief our insensibility to the sufferings of our fellow-creatures. We understand that many interesting notices of Napoleon, as he appeared in this disastrous campaign, are given in the Memoirs of Count Segur—a book from which we have been repelled by the sorrows and miseries which it details. We can conceive few subjects more worthy of Shakspeare than the mind of Napoleon, at this moment, when his fate was sealed; when the tide of his victories was suddenly stopped and rolled backwards; when his dreams of invincibleness were broken as by a peal of thunder; when the word which had awed nations died away, on the bleak waste, a powerless sound; and when he, whose spirit Europe could not bound, fled in fear from a captive's doom. The shock must have been tremendous to a mind so imperious, scornful, and unschooled to humiliation. The intense agony of that moment when he gave the unusual orders to retreat; the desolateness of his soul, when he saw his brave soldiers and his chosen guards sinking in the snows, and perishing in crowds around him; his unwillingness to receive the details of his losses, lest self-possession should fail him; the levity and badinage of his interview with the Abbé de Pradt, at Warsaw, discovering a mind labouring to throw off an insupportable weight, wrestling with itself, struggling against misery; and, though last not least, his unconquerable purpose still clinging to lost empire as the only good of life; these workings of such a spirit would have furnished to the great dramatist a theme worthy of his transcendent powers.

By the irretrievable disasters of the Russian campaign, the empire of the world was effectually placed beyond the grasp of Napoleon. The tide of conquest had ebbed, never to return. The spell which had bound the nations was dissolved. He was no longer the Invincible. The weight of military power, which had kept down the spirit of nations, was removed, and their long-smothered sense of wrong and insult broke forth like the fires of a volcano. Bonaparte might still perhaps have secured the throne of France; but that of Europe was gone. This, however, he did not, could not, would not understand. He had connected with himself too obstinately the character of the world's master, to be able to relinquish it. Amidst the dark omens which gathered round him, he still saw in his past wonderful escapes, and in his own exaggerated energies, the means of re building his fallen power. Accordingly the thought of abandoning his pretensions does not seem to have crossed his mind, and his irreparable defeat was only a summons to new exertion. We doubt, indeed, whether Napoleon, if he could have understood fully his condition, would have adopted a different course. Though despairing, he would probably have raised new armies,

and fought to the last. To a mind which has placed its whole happiness in having no equal, the thought of descending to the level even of kings is intolerable. Napoleon's mind had been stretched by such ideas of universal empire, that France, though reaching from the Rhine to the Alps, seemed narrow to him. He could not be shut up in it. Accordingly, as his fortunes darkened, we see no signs of relenting. He could not wear, he said, "a tarnished crown," that is, a crown no brighter than those of Austria and Russia. He continued to use a master's tone. He showed no change but such as opposition works in the obstinate. He lost his temper, and grew sour. He heaped reproaches on his marshals and the legislative body. He insulted Metternich, the statesman, on whom, above all others, his fate depended. He irritated Murat by sarcasms, which rankled within him, and accelerated, if they did not determine, his desertion of his master. It is a striking example of retribution, that the very vehemence and sternness of his will, which had borne him onward to dominion, now drove him to the rejection of terms which would have left him a formidable power, and thus made his ruin entire. Refusing to take counsel of events, he persevered in fighting with a stubbornness which reminds us of a spoiled child, who sullenly grasps what he knows he must relinquish, struggles without hope, and does not give over resistance until his little fingers are, one by one, unclenched from the object on which he has set his heart. Thus fell Napoleon. We shall follow his history no further. His retreat to Elba, his irruption into France, his signal overthrow, and his banishment to St. Helena, though they add to the romance of his history, throw no new light on his character, and would, of course, contribute nothing to our present object. There are, indeed, incidents in this portion of his life which are somewhat inconsistent with the firmness and conscious superiority which belonged to him. But a man, into whose character so much impulse, and so little principle entered, must not be expected to preserve unblemished, in such hard reverses, the dignity and self-respect of an emperor and a hero.

In the course of these remarks, our views of the conqueror, of the First Consul, and of the Emperor, have been given plainly and freely. The subject, however, is so important and interesting, that we have thought it worth our while, though at the hazard of some repetition, to bring together in a narrower compass what seem to us the great leading features of the intellectual and moral character of Napoleon Bonaparte.

His intellect was distinguished by rapidity of thought. He understood by a glance what most men, and superior men, could learn only by study. He darted to a conclusion rather by intuition than reasoning. In war, which was the only subject of which he was master, he seized in an instant on the great points of his own and his enemy's positions; and combined at once the

movements by which an overpowering force might be thrown with unexpected fury on a vulnerable part of the hostile line, and the fate of an army be decided in a day. He understood war as a science; but his mind was too bold, rapid, and irrepressible, to be enslaved by the technics of his profession. He found the old armies fighting by rule, and he discovered the true characteristic of genius, which, without despising rules, knows when and how to break them. He understood thoroughly the immense moral power which is gained by originality and rapidity of operation. He astonished and paralyzed his enemies by his unforeseen and impetuous assaults, by the suddenness with which the storm of battle burst upon them; and whilst giving to his soldiers the advantages of modern discipline, breathed into them by his quick and decisive movements, the enthusiasm of ruder ages. The power of disheartening the foe, and of spreading through his own ranks a confidence, and exhilarating courage, which made war a pastime, and seemed to make victory sure, distinguished Napoleon in an age of uncommon military talent, and was one main instrument of his future power.

The wonderful effects of that rapidity of thought by which Bonaparte was marked, the signal success of his new mode of warfare, and the almost incredible speed with which his fame was spread through nations, had no small agency in fixing his character, and determining for a period the fate of empires. These stirring influences infused a new consciousness of his own might. They gave intensity and audacity to his ambition; gave form and substance to his indefinite visions of glory, and raised his fiery hopes to empire. The burst of admiration, which his early career called forth, must in particular have had an influence in imparting to his ambition that modification by which it was characterized, and which contributed alike to its success and to its fall. He began with *astonishing* the world, with producing a sudden and universal *sensation*, such as modern times had not witnessed. To *astonish* as well as to sway by his energies, became the great aim of his life. Henceforth to rule was not enough for Bonaparte. He wanted to amaze, to dazzle, to overpower men's souls, by striking, bold, magnificent, and unanticipated results. To govern ever so absolutely would not have satisfied him, if he must have governed silently. He wanted to reign through wonder and awe, by the grandeur and terror of his name, by displays of power which would rivet on him every eye, and make him the theme of every tongue. Power was his supreme object; but a power which should be gazed at as well as felt, which should strike men as a prodigy, which should shake old thrones as an earthquake, and, by the suddenness of its new creations, should awaken something of the submissive wonder which miraculous agency inspires.

Such seems to us to have been the distinction or charac-

teristic modification of his love of fame. It was a diseased passion for a kind of admiration, which, from the principles of our nature, cannot be enduring, and which demands for its support perpetual and more stimulating novelty. Mere esteem he would have scorned. Calm admiration, though universal and enduring, would have been insipid. He wanted to electrify and overwhelm. He lived for effect. The world was his theatre, and he cared little what part he played, if he might walk the sole hero on the stage, and call forth bursts of applause which would silence all other fame. In war, the triumphs which he coveted were those in which he seemed to sweep away his foes like a whirlwind; and the immense and unparalleled sacrifice of his own soldiers, in the rapid marches and daring assaults to which he owed his victories, in no degree diminished their worth to the victor. In peace he delighted to hurry through his dominions; to multiply himself by his rapid movements; to gather at a glance the capacities of improvement which every important place possessed; to suggest plans which would startle by their originality and vastness; to project in an instant works which a life could not accomplish, and to leave behind the impression of a superhuman energy.

Our sketch of Bonaparte would be imperfect indeed, if we did not add that he was characterized by nothing more strongly than by the spirit of *self-exaggeration*. The singular energy of his intellect and will, through which he had mastered so many rivals and foes, and overcome what seemed insuperable obstacles, inspired a consciousness of being something more than man. His strong original tendencies to pride and self-exaltation, fed and pampered by strange success and unbounded applause, swelled into an almost insane conviction of superhuman greatness. In his own view, he stood apart from other men. He was not to be measured by the standard of humanity. He was not to be retarded by difficulties to which all others yielded. He was not to be subjected to laws and obligations which all others were expected to obey. Nature and the human will were to bend to his power. He was the child and favourite of fortune; and if not the lord, the chief object of destiny. His history shows a spirit of self-exaggeration, unrivalled in enlightened ages, and which reminds us of an oriental king to whom incense had been burnt from his birth as to a deity. This was the chief source of his crimes. He wanted the sentiment of a common nature with his fellow beings. He had no sympathies with his race. That feeling of brotherhood, which is developed in truly great souls with peculiar energy, and through which they give up themselves willing victims, joyful sacrifices, to the interests of mankind, was wholly unknown to him. His heart, amidst all its wild beatings, never had one throb of disinterested love. The ties which bind man to man he broke asunder. The proper happiness of a man, which consists in the victory of

moral energy and social affection over the selfish passions, he cast away for the lonely joy of a despot. With powers which might have made him a glorious representative and minister of the beneficent Divinity, and with natural sensibilities which might have been exalted into sublime virtues, he chose to separate himself from his kind, to forego their love, esteem, and gratitude, that he might become their gaze, their fear, their wonder; and for this selfish, solitary good, parted with peace and imperishable renown.

This insolent exaltation of himself above the race to which he belonged, broke out in the beginning of his career. His first success in Italy gave him the tone of a master, and he never laid it aside to his last hour. One can hardly help being struck with the *natural* manner with which he arrogates supremacy in his conversation and proclamations. We never feel as if he were putting on a lordly air, or borrowing an imperious tone. In his proudest claims, he speaks from his own mind, and in native language. His style is swollen, but never strained, as if he were conscious of playing a part above his real claims. Even when he was foolish and impious enough to arrogate miraculous powers and a mission from God, his language showed that he thought that there was something in his character and exploits to give a colour to his blasphemous pretensions. The empire of the world seemed to him to be in a measure his due, for nothing short of it corresponded with his conceptions of himself; and he did not use mere verbiage, but spoke a language to which he gave some credit, when he called his successive conquests "the fulfilment of his destiny."

This spirit of self-exaggeration wrought its own misery, and drew down upon him terrible punishments; and this it did by vitiating and perverting his high powers. First, it diseased his fine intellect, gave imagination the ascendancy over judgment, turned the inventiveness and fruitfulness of his mind into rash, impatient, restless energies, and thus precipitated him into projects, which, as the wisdom of his counsellors pronounced, were fraught with ruin. To a man whose vanity took him out of the rank of human beings, no foundation for reasoning was left. All things seemed possible. His genius and his fortune were not to be bounded by the barriers which experience had assigned to human powers. Ordinary rules did not apply to him. His imagination, disordered by his egotism, and by unbounded flattery, leaped over appalling obstacles to the prize which inflamed his ambition. He even found excitement and motives in obstacles, before which other men would have wavered; for these would enhance the glory of triumph, and give a new thrill to the admiration of the world. Accordingly he again and again plunged into the depths of an enemy's country, and staked his whole fortune and power on a single battle. To be rash was indeed the necessary result of his self-exalting and self-relying

spirit; for to dare what no other man would dare, to accomplish what no other man would attempt, was the very way to display himself as a superior being in his own and others' eyes.—To be impatient and restless was another necessary issue of the attributes we have described. The calmness of wisdom was denied him. He, who was next to omnipotent in his own eyes, and who delighted to strike and astonish by sudden and conspicuous operations, could not brook delay, or wait for the slow operations of time. A work, which was to be gradually matured by the joint agency of various causes, could not suit a man who wanted to be felt as the great, perhaps only cause; who wished to stamp his own agency in the most glaring characters on whatever he performed; and who hoped to rival by a sudden energy the steady and progressive works of nature. Hence so many of his projects were never completed, or only announced. They swelled however the tide of flattery, which ascribed to him the completion of what was not yet begun, whilst his restless spirit, rushing to new enterprises, forgot its pledges, and left the promised prodigies of his creative genius to exist only in the records of adulation. Thus the rapid and inventive intellect of Bonaparte was depraved, and failed to achieve a growing and durable greatness, through his self-exaggerating spirit. It reared indeed a vast and imposing structure, but disproportioned, disjointed, without strength, without foundations. One strong blast was enough to shake and shatter it, nor could his genius uphold it. Happy would it have been for his fame had he been buried in its ruins.

One of the striking properties of Bonaparte's character was decision; and this, as we have already seen, was perverted, by the spirit of self-exaggeration, into an inflexible stubbornness, which counsel could not enlighten, nor circumstances bend. Having taken the first step, he pressed onward. His purpose he wished others to regard as a law of nature, or a decree of destiny. it *must* be accomplished. Resistance but strengthened it; and so often had resistance been overborne, that he felt as if his unconquerable will, joined to his matchless intellect, could vanquish all things. On such a mind the warnings of human wisdom and of Providence were spent in vain; and the man of destiny lived to teach others, if not himself, the weakness and folly of that all-defying decision, which arrays the purposes of a mortal with the immutableness of the counsels of the Most High.

A still more fatal influence of the spirit of self-exaggeration which characterized Bonaparte, remains to be named. It depraved to an extraordinary degree his moral sense. It did not obliterate altogether the ideas of duty, but, by a singular perversion, it impelled him to apply them exclusively to others. It never seemed to enter his thought, that he was subject to the great obligations of morality, which all others are called to respect. He was an exempted being. Whatever stood in his

way to empire, he was privileged to remove. Treaties only bound his enemies. No nation had rights but his own France. He claimed a monopoly in perfidy and violence. He was not naturally cruel; but when human life obstructed his progress, it was a lawful prey, and murder and assassination occasioned as little compunction as war. The most luminous exposition of his moral code was given in his counsels to the king of Holland: "Never forget, that in the situation to which my political system and the interests of my empire have called you, your first duty is towards ME, your second towards France. All your other duties, even those towards the people whom I have called you to govern, rank after these." To his own mind he was the source and centre of duty. He was too peculiar and exalted to be touched by that vulgar stain called guilt. Crimes ceased to be such when perpetrated by himself. Accordingly he always speaks of his transgressions as of indifferent acts. He never imagined that they tarnished his glory, or diminished his claim on the homage of the world. In St. Helena, though talking perpetually of himself, and often reviewing his guilty career, we are not aware that a single word of compunction escapes him. He speaks of his life as calmly as if it had been consecrated to duty and beneficence, whilst in the same breath he has the audacity to reproach unsparingly the faithlessness of almost every individual and nation with whom he had been connected. We doubt whether history furnishes so striking an example of the moral blindness and obduracy to which an unbounded egotism exposes and abandons the mind.

His spirit of self-exaggeration was seen in his openness to adulation. Policy indeed prompted him to put his praises into the mouths of the venal slaves who administered his despotism. But flattery would not have been permitted to swell into exaggerations, now nauseous, now ludicrous, and now impious, if, in the bosom of the chief, there had not lodged a flatterer who sounded a louder note of praise than all around him. He was remarkably sensitive to opinion, and resented as a wrong the suppression of his praises. The press of all countries was watched, and free states were called upon to curb it for daring to take liberties with his name. Even in books published in France on general topics, he expected a recognition of his authority. Works of talent were suppressed, when their authors refused to offer incense at the new shrine. He wished indeed to stamp his name on the literature, as on the legislation, policy, warfare of his age, and to compel genius, whose pages survive statues, columns, and empires, to take a place among his tributaries.

We close our view of Bonaparte's character, by saying, that his original propensities, released from restraint, and pampered by indulgence, to a degree seldom allowed to mortals, grew up into a spirit of despotism as stern and absolute as ever usurped

the human heart. The love of power and supremacy absorbed, consumed him. No other passion, no domestic attachment, no private friendship, no love of pleasure, no relish for letters or the arts, no human sympathy, no human weakness, divided his mind with the passion for dominion and for dazzling manifestations of his power. Before this, duty, honour, love, humanity fell prostrate. Josephine, we are told, was dear to him; but the devoted wife, who had stood firm and faithful in the day of his doubtful fortunes, was cast off in his prosperity, to make room for a stranger, who might be more subservient to his power. He was affectionate, we are told, to his brothers and mother; but his brothers, the moment they ceased to be his tools, were disgraced; and his mother, it is said, was not allowed to sit in the presence of her imperial son.* He was sometimes softened, we are informed, by the sight of the field of battle strown with the wounded and dead. But if the Moloch of his ambition claimed new heaps of slain to-morrow, it was never denied. With all his sensibility, he gave millions to the sword, with as little compunction as he would have brushed away so many insects, which had infested his march. To him, all human will, desire, power, were to bend. His superiority, none might question. He insulted the fallen, who had contracted the guilt of opposing his progress; and not even woman's loveliness, and the dignity of a queen, could give shelter from his contumely. His allies were his vassals, nor was their vassalage concealed. Too lofty to use the arts of conciliation, preferring command to persuasion, overbearing, and all-grasping, he spread distrust exasperation, fear, and revenge through Europe; and when the day of retribution came, the old antipathies and mutual jealousies of nations were swallowed up in one burning purpose to prostrate the common tyrant, the universal foe.

Such was Napoleon Bonaparte. But some will say, he was still a great man. This we mean not to deny. But we would have it understood, that there are various kinds or orders of greatness, and that the highest did not belong to Bonaparte. There are different orders of greatness. Among these, the first rank is unquestionably due to *moral* greatness, or magnanimity; to that sublime energy by which the soul, subdued by the love of virtue, binds itself indissolubly, for life and for death, to truth and duty; espouses as its own the interests of human nature; scorns all meanness and defies all peril; hears in its own conscience a voice louder than threatenings and thunders; withstands all the powers of the universe, which would sever it from the cause of freedom, virtue, and religion; reposes an unfaltering trust in God in the darkest hour, and is ever "ready to be offered up" on the altar of its country or of mankind. Of this

* See "America," p. 57. We should not give this very unamiable trait of Napoleon's domestic character, but on authority which we cannot question.

moral greatness, which throws all other forms of greatness into obscurity, we see not a trace or spark in Napoleon. Though clothed with the power of a God, the thought of consecrating himself to the introduction of a new and higher era, to the exaltation of the character and condition of his race, seems never to have dawned on his mind. The spirit of disinterestedness and self-sacrifice appears not to have waged a moment's war with self-will and ambition. His ruling passions, indeed, were singularly at variance with magnanimity. Moral greatness has too much simplicity, is too unostentatious, too self-subsistent, and enters into others' interests with too much heartiness, to live a day for what Napoleon always lived, to make itself a theme, and gaze, and wonder of a dazzled world. Next to moral, comes *intellectual* greatness, or genius in the highest sense of that word; and by this we mean that sublime capacity of thought, through which the soul, smitten with the love of the true and the beautiful, essays to comprehend the universe, soars into the heavens, penetrates the earth, penetrates itself, questions the past, anticipates the future, traces out the general and all-comprehending laws of nature, binds together, by innumerable affinities and relations, all the objects of its knowledge, and, not satisfied with what exists and with what is finite, frames to itself ideal excellence, loveliness, and grandeur. This is the greatness which belongs to philosophers, inspired poets, and to the master spirits in the fine arts. Next comes the greatness of *action;* and by this we mean the sublime power of conceiving and executing bold and extensive plans; of constructing and bringing to bear on a mighty object, a complicated machinery of means, energies, and arrangements, and of accomplishing great outward effects. To this head belongs the greatness of Bonaparte, and that he possessed it, we need not prove, and none will be hardy enough to deny. A man, who raised himself from obscurity to a throne, who changed the face of the world, who made himself felt through powerful and civilized nations, who sent the terror of his name across seas and oceans, whose will was pronounced and feared as destiny, whose donatives were crowns, whose antechamber was thronged by submissive princes, who broke down the awful barrier of the Alps and made them a highway, and whose fame was spread beyond the boundaries of civilization to the steppes of the Cossack, and the deserts of the Arab;—a man, who has left this record of himself in history, has taken out of our hands the question, whether he shall be called great. All must concede to him a sublime power of action, an energy equal to great effects.

We are not disposed, however, to consider him as pre-eminent even in this order of greatness. War was his chief sphere. He gained his ascendancy in Europe by the sword. But war is not the field for the highest active talent, and Napoleon, we suspect, was conscious of this truth. The glory of being the greatest

general of his age would not have satisfied him. He would have scorned to take his place by the side of Marlborough or Turenne. It was as the founder of an empire, which threatened for a time to comprehend the world, and which demanded other talents besides that of war, that he challenged unrivalled fame. And here we question his claim. Here we cannot award him supremacy. The project of universal empire, however imposing, was not original. The revolutionary governments of France had adopted it before; nor can we consider it as a sure indication of greatness, when we remember that the weak and vain mind of Louis XIV. was large enough to cherish it. The question is, did Napoleon bring to this design the capacity of advancing it by bold and original conceptions, adapted to an age of civilization, and of singular intellectual and moral excitement? Did he discover new foundations of power? Did he frame new bonds of union for subjugated nations? Did he discover, or originate, some common interests by which his empire might be held together? Did he breathe a spirit which should supplant the old national attachments, or did he invent any substitutes for those vulgar instruments of force and corruption, which any and every usurper would have used? Never, in the records of time, did the world furnish such materials to work with, such means of modelling nations afresh, of building up a new power, of introducing a new era, as did Europe at the period of the French revolution. Never was the human mind so capable of new impulses. And did Napoleon prove himself equal to the condition of the world? Do we detect one original conception in his means of universal empire? Did he seize on the enthusiasm of his age, that powerful principle, more efficient than arms or policy, and bend it to his purpose? What did he do but follow the beaten track? but apply force and fraud in their very coarsest forms? Napoleon showed a vulgar mind when he assumed self-interest as the sole spring of human action. With the sword in one hand and bribes in the other, he imagined himself absolute master of the human mind. The strength of moral, national, and domestic feeling, he could not comprehend. The finest, and, after all, the most powerful elements in human nature, hardly entered into his conceptions of it; and how then could he have established a durable power over the human race? We want little more to show his want of originality and comprehensiveness as the founder of an empire, than the simple fact, that he chose as his chief counsellors Talleyrand and Fouché, names which speak for themselves. We may judge of the greatness of the master-spirit from the minds which he found most congenial with his own. In war, Bonaparte was great; for he was bold, original, and creative. Beyond the camp he indeed showed talent, but not superior to that of other eminent men.

There have been two circumstances which have done much to

disarm or weaken the strong moral reprobation with which Bonaparte ought to have been regarded, and which we deem worthy of notice. We refer to the wrongs which he is supposed to have suffered at St. Helena, and to the unworthy use which the allied powers have made of their triumph over Napoleon. First, his supposed wrongs at St. Helena have excited a sympathy in his behalf, which has thrown a veil over his crimes. We are not disposed to deny that an unwarrantable, because unnecessary severity, was exercised towards Bonaparte. We deem it not very creditable to the British government that it tortured a sensitive captive by refusing him a title which he had long worn. We think that not only religion and humanity, but self-respect forbids us to inflict a single useless pang on a fallen foe. But we should be weak, indeed, if the moral judgments and feelings with which Napoleon's career ought to be reviewed, should give place to sympathy with the sufferings by which it was closed. With regard to the scruples, which not a few have expressed as to the right of banishing him to St. Helena, we can only say that our consciences are not yet refined to such exquisite delicacy as to be at all sensitive on this particular. We admire nothing more in Bonaparte than the effrontery with which he claimed protection from the laws of nations. That a man who had set these laws at open defiance should fly to them for shelter; that the oppressor of the world should claim its sympathy as an oppressed man, and that his claim should find advocates; these things are to be set down among the extraordinary events of this extraordinary age. Truly the human race is in a pitiable state. It may be trampled on, spoiled, loaded like a beast of burden, made the prey of rapacity, insolence, and the sword; but it must not touch a hair, or disturb the pillow of one of its oppressors, unless it can find chapter and verse in the code of national law, to authorize its rudeness towards the privileged offender. For ourselves, we should rejoice to see every tyrant, whether a usurper or hereditary prince, fastened to a lonely rock in the ocean. Whoever gives clear, undoubted proof, that he is prepared and sternly resolved to make the earth a slaughterhouse, and to crush every will adverse to his own, ought to be caged like a wild beast; and to require mankind to proceed against him according to written laws and precedents, as if he were a private citizen in a quiet court of justice, is just as rational as to require a man, in imminent peril from an assassin, to wait and prosecute his murderer according to the most protracted forms of law. There are great solemn rights of nature which precede laws, and on which law is founded. There are great exigences in human affairs which speak for themselves, and need no precedent to teach the right path. There are awful periods in the history of our race, which do not belong to its ordinary state, and which are not to be governed and judged by ordinary rules. Such a period was that

when Bonaparte, by infraction of solemn engagements, had thrown himself into France, and convulsed all Europe; and they who confound this with the ordinary events of history, and see in Bonaparte but an ordinary foe to the peace and independence of nations, have certainly very different intellects from our own.

We confess, too, that we are not only unable to see the wrong done to Napoleon in sending him to St. Helena, but that we cannot muster up much sympathy for the inconveniences and privations which he endured there. Our sympathies in this particular are wayward and untractable. When we would carry them to that solitary island, and fasten them on the illustrious victim of British cruelty, they will not tarry there, but take their flight across the Mediterranean to Jaffa, and across the Atlantic to the platform where the Duke d'Enghien was shot, to the prison of Toussaint, and to the fields of battle where thousands at his bidding lay weltering in blood. When we strive to fix our thoughts upon the sufferings of the injured hero, other and more terrible sufferings, of which he was the cause, rush upon us; and his complaints, however loud and angry, are drowned by groans and execrations which fill our ears from every region which he traversed. We have no tears to spare for fallen greatness, when that greatness was founded in crime, and reared by force and perfidy. We reserve them for those on whose ruin it rose. We keep our sympathies for our race, for human nature in its humbler forms, for the impoverished peasant, the widowed mother, the violated virgin; and are even perverse enough to rejoice that the ocean has a prison-house, where the author of those miseries may be safely lodged. Bonaparte's history is to us too solemn, the wrongs for which humanity and freedom arraign him, are too flagrant to allow us to play the part of sentimentalists around his grave at St. Helena. We leave this to the more refined age in which we live; and we do so in the hope that an age is coming of less tender mould, but of loftier, sterner feeling, and of deeper sympathy with the whole human race. Should our humble page then live, we trust with an undoubting faith, that the uncompromising indignation with which we plead the cause of our oppressed and insulted nature, will not be set down to the account of our vindictiveness and hardness of heart.

We observed that the moral indignation of many towards Bonaparte had been impaired or turned away, not only by his supposed wrongs, but by the unworthy use which his conquerors made of their triumph. We are told, that bad as was his despotism, the holy alliance is a worse one; and that Napoleon was less a scourge than the present coalition of the continental monarchs, framed for the systematic suppression of freedom. By such reasoning his crimes are cloaked, and his fall made the theme of lamentation. It is not one of the smallest errors and

sins of the allied sovereigns, that they have contrived, by their base policy, to turn the resentments and moral displeasure of men from the usurper upon themselves. For these sovereigns we have no defence to offer. We yield to none in detestation of the holy alliance, profanely so called. To us its doctrines are as false and pestilent as any broached by jacobinism. The allied monarchs are adding to the other wrongs of despots that of flagrant ingratitude; of ingratitude to the generous and brave nations to whom they owe their thrones, whose spirit of independence and patriotism, and whose hatred of the oppressor, contributed more than standing armies to raise up the fallen, and to strengthen the falling monarchies of Europe. Be it never forgotten in the records of despotism, let history record it on her most durable tablet, that the first use made by the principal continental sovereigns of their regained or confirmed power, was to conspire against the hopes and rights of the nations by whom they had been saved; and to combine the military power of Europe against free institutions, against the press, against the spirit of liberty and patriotism which had sprung up in the glorious struggle with Napoleon against the right of the people to exert an influence on the governments by which their dearest interests were to be controlled. Never be it forgotten that such was the honour of sovereigns, such their requital for the blood which had been shed freely in their defence. Freedom and humanity send up a solemn and prevailing cry against them to that tribunal where kings and subjects are soon to stand as equals.

But still we should be strangely blind if we were not to feel that the fall of Napoleon was a blessing to the world. Who can look, for example, at France, and not see there a degree of freedom which could never have grown up under the terrible frown of the usurper? True, Bonaparte's life, though it seemed a charmed one, must at length have ended; and we are told that then his empire would have been broken, and that the general crash, by some inexplicable process, would have given birth to a more extensive and durable liberty than can now be hoped. But such anticipations seem to us to be built on a strange inattention to the nature and inevitable consequences of Napoleon's power. It was wholly a military power. He was literally turning Europe into a camp, and drawing its best talent into one occupation—war. Thus Europe was retracing its steps to those ages of calamity and darkness when the only law was the sword. The progress of centuries, which had consisted chiefly in the substitution of intelligence, public opinion, and other mild and rational influences, for brutal force, was to be reversed. At Bonaparte's death his empire must, indeed, have been dissolved; but military chiefs, like Alexander's lieutenants, would have divided it. The sword alone would have shaped its future communities; and after years of desolation and bloodshed,

Europe would have found, not repose, but a respite, an armed truce, under warriors whose only title to empire would have been their own good blades, and the weight of whose thrones would have been upheld by military force alone. Amidst such convulsions, during which the press would have been every where fettered, and the military spirit would have triumphed over and swallowed up the spirit and glory of letters and liberal arts, we greatly fear that the human intellect would have lost its present impulse, its thirst for progress, and would have fallen back towards barbarism. Let not the friends of freedom bring dishonour on themselves, or desert their cause, by instituting comparisons between Napoleon and legitimate sovereigns, which may be construed into eulogies on the former. For ourselves, we have no sympathy with tyranny, whether it bear the name of usurpation or legitimacy. We are not pleading the cause of the allied sovereigns. In our judgment they have contracted the very guilt against which they have pretended to combine. In our apprehension, a conspiracy against the rights of the human race, is as foul a crime as rebellion against the rights of sovereigns; nor is there less of treason in warring against public freedom, than in assailing royal power. Still we are bound in truth to confess, that the allied sovereigns are not to be ranked with Bonaparte, whose design against the independence of nations, and the liberties of the world, in this age of civilization, liberal thinking, and Christian knowledge, is in our estimation the most nefarious enterprise recorded in history.

The series of events, which it has been our province to review, offers subjects of profound thought and solemn instruction to the moralist and politician. We have retraced it with many painful feelings. It shows us a great people, who had caught some indistinct glimpses of freedom, and of a nobler and a happier political constitution, betrayed by their leaders, and brought back, by a military despot, to heavier chains than those they had broken. We see with indignation one man, a man like ourselves, subjecting whole nations to his absolute rule. It is this wrong and insult to our race which has chiefly moved us. Had a storm of God's ordination passed over Europe, prostrating its capitals, sweeping off its villages, burying millions in ruins, we should have wept, we should have trembled. But in this there would have been only wretchedness. Now we also see debasement. To us there is something radically, and increasingly shocking, in the thought of one man's will becoming a law to his race; in the thought of multitudes, of vast communities, surrendering conscience, intellect, their affections, their rights, their interests, to the stern mandate of a fellow-creature. When we see one word of a frail man on the throne of France, tearing a hundred thousand sons from their homes, breaking asunder the sacred ties of domestic life, sentencing myriads of the young to make murder their calling, and rapacity their

means of support, and extorting from nations their treasures to extend this ruinous sway, we are ready to ask ourselves, Is not this a dream? And when the sad reality comes home to us, we blush for a race which can stoop to such an abject lot. At length, indeed, we see the tyrant humbled, stripped of power; but stripped by those who, with one exception, are not unwilling to play the despot on a narrower scale, and to break down the spirit of nations under the same iron sway.

How is it, that tyranny has thus triumphed? that the hopes with which we greeted the French revolution have been crushed? that an usurper plucked up the last roots of the tree of liberty, and planted despotism in its place? The chief cause is not far to seek, nor can it be too often urged on the friends of freedom. France failed through the want of that moral preparation for liberty, without which the blessing cannot be secured. She was not ripe for the good she sought. She was too corrupt for freedom. France had indeed to contend with great political ignorance; but had not ignorance been reinforced by deep moral defect, she might have won her way to free institutions. Her character forbade her to be free; and it now seems strange that we could ever have expected her to secure this boon. How could we believe, that a liberty of which that heartless scoffer, Voltaire, was a chief apostle, could have triumphed? Most of the preachers of French liberty had thrown off all the convictions which ennoble the mind. Man's connexion with God they broke, for they declared that there was no God, in whom to trust in the great struggle for liberty. Human immortality, that truth which is the seed of all greatness, they derided. To their philosophy, man was a creature of chance, a compound of matter, an ephemeron, a worm, who was soon to rot and perish for ever. What insanity was it to expect that such men were to work out the emancipation of their race! that in such hands the hopes and dearest rights of humanity were secure. Liberty was tainted by their touch, polluted by their breath, and yet we trusted that it was to rise in health and glory from their embrace. We looked to men who openly founded morality on private interest, for the sacrifices, the devotion, the heroic virtue, which freedom always demands from her assertors.

The great cause of the discomfiture of the late European struggle for liberty is easily understood by an American, who recurs to the history of his own revolution. This issued prosperously, because it was begun and was conducted under the auspices of private and public virtue. Our liberty did not come to us by accident, nor was it the gift of a few leaders; but its seeds were sown plentifully in the minds of the whole people. It was rooted in the conscience and reason of the nation. It was the growth of deliberate convictions and generous principles liberally diffused. We had no Paris, no metropolis, which a few leaders swayed, and which sent forth its influences, like "a

mighty heart," through dependent and subservient provinces. The country was all heart. The living principle pervaded the community, and every village added strength to the solemn purpose of being free. We have here an explanation of a striking fact in the history of our revolution; we mean the want or absence of that description of great men, whom we meet in other countries; men, who, by their distinct and single agency, and by their splendid deeds, determine a nation's fate. There was too much greatness in the American people, to admit this overshadowing greatness of leaders. Accordingly the United States had no liberator, no political saviour. Washington indeed conferred on us great blessings. But Washington was not a hero in the common sense of that word. We never spoke of him as the French did of Bonaparte, never talked of his eagle-eyed irresistible genius, as if this were to work out our safety. We never lost our self-respect. We felt, that under God, we were to be free through our own courage, energy, and wisdom, under the animating and guiding influences of this great and good mind. Washington served us chiefly by his sublime moral qualities, and not by transcendent talent, which, we apprehend, he did not possess. To him belonged, the proud distinction of being the leader in a revolution, without awakening one doubt or solicitude as to the spotless purity of his purpose. His was the glory of being the brightest manifestation of the spirit which reigned in his country; and in this way he became a source of energy, a bond of union, the centre of an enlightened people's confidence. In such a revolution as that of France, Washington would have been nothing; for that sympathy which subsisted between him and his fellow-citizens, and which was the secret of his power, would have been wanting. By an instinct which is unerring, we call Washington, with grateful reverence, the Father of his Country, but not its Saviour. A people, which wants a saviour, which does not possess an earnest and pledge of freedom in its own heart, is not yet ready to be free.

A great question here offers itself, at which we can only glance. If a moral preparation is required for freedom, how, it is asked, can Europe ever be free? How, under despotisms which now crush the continent, can nations grow ripe for liberty? Is it to be hoped that men will learn, in the school of slavery, the spirit and virtues which we are told can alone work out their deliverance? In the absolute governments of Europe, the very instruments of forming an enlightened and generous love of freedom are bent into the service of tyranny. The press is an echo of the servile doctrines of the court. The schools and seminaries of education are employed to taint the young mind with the maxims of despotism. Even Christianity is turned into a preacher of legitimacy, and its temples are desecrated by the abject teaching of unconditional submission. How then is the spirit of a wise and moral freedom to be generated and diffused? We have stated the difficulty in its full force, for nothing is

gained by winking out of sight the tremendous obstacles with which liberal principles and institutions must contend. We have not time at present to answer the great question now proposed. We will only say, that we do not despair; and we will briefly suggest what seems to us the chief expedient, by which the cause of freedom, obstructed as it is, must now be advanced. In despotic countries, those men, whom God hath inspired with lofty sentiments and a thirst for freedom (and such are spread through all Europe), must, in their individual capacity, communicate themselves to individual minds. The cause of liberty on the continent cannot now be forwarded by the action of men in masses. But in every country there are those who feel their degradation and their wrongs, who abhor tyranny as the chief obstruction of the progress of nations, and who are willing and prepared to suffer for liberty. Let such men spread around them their own spirit by every channel which a jealous despotism has not closed. Let them give utterance to sentiments of magnanimity in private conference, and still more by the press; for there are modes of clothing and expressing kindling truths, which, it is presumed, no censorship would dare to proscribe. Let them especially teach that great truth, which is the seminal principle of a virtuous freedom, and the very foundation of morals and religion; we mean the doctrine, that conscience, the voice of God in every heart, is to be listened to above all other guides and lords; that there is a sovereign within us clothed with more awful powers and rights than any outward king; and that he alone is worthy the name of a man, who gives himself up solemnly, deliberately, to obey this internal guide through peril and in death. This is the spirit of freedom; for no man is wholly and immutably free, but he who has broken every outward yoke, that he may obey his own deliberate conscience. This is the lesson to be taught, alike in republics and despotisms. As yet it has but dawned on the world. Its full application remains to be developed. They who have been baptized, by a true experience into this vital and all-comprehending truth, must every where be its propagators; and he who makes one convert to it near a despot's throne, has broken one link of that despot's chain. It is chiefly in the diffusion of this loftiness of moral sentiment, that we place our hope of freedom; and we have a hope, because we know that there are those who have drunk into this truth, and are ready, when God calls, to be its martyrs. We do not despair, for there is a contagion, we would rather say, a divine power in sublime moral principle. This is our chief trust. We have less and less hope from force and bloodshed, as the instruments of working out man's redemption from slavery. History shows us not a few princes, who have gained or strengthened thrones by assassination or war. But freedom, which is another name for justice, honour, and benevolence, scorns to use the private dagger, and wields with trembling the public sword. The true conspiracy, before which tyranny is to fall, is that of

virtuous elevated minds, which shall consecrate themselves to the work of awakening in men a consciousness of the rights, powers, purposes, and greatness of human nature: which shall oppose to force the heroism of intellect and conscience, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. We believe that, at this moment, there are virtue and wisdom enough to shake despotic thrones, were they as confiding as they should be in God and their own might, and were they to pour themselves through every channel into the public mind.

We close our present labours with commending to the protection of Almighty God the cause of human freedom and improvement. We adore the wisdom and goodness of his providence, which has ordained that liberty shall be wrought out by the magnanimity, courage, and sacrifices of men. We bless him for the glorious efforts which this cause has already called forth; for the intrepid defenders who have gathered round it, and whose fame is a most precious legacy of past ages; for the toils and sufferings by which it has been upheld; for the awakening and thrilling voice which comes to us from the dungeon and scaffold, where the martyrs of liberty have pined or bled. We bless him that even tyranny has been overruled for good by exciting a resistance, which has revealed to us the strength of virtuous principle in the human soul. We beseech this great and good Parent, from whom all pure influences proceed, to enkindle, by his quickening breath, an unquenchable love of virtue and freedom in those favoured men, whom he hath enriched and signalized by eminent gifts and powers, that they may fulfil the high function of inspiring their fellow-beings with a consciousness of the birth-right and destination of human nature. Wearied with violence and blood, we beseech him to subvert oppressive governments by the gentle yet awful power of truth and virtue: by the teachings of uncorrupted Christianity; by the sovereignty of enlightened opinion, by the triumph of sentiments of magnanimity, by mild, rational, and purifying influences, which will raise the spirit of the enslaved, and which sovereigns will be unable to withstand. For this peaceful revolution we earnestly pray. If, however, after long forbearing, and unavailing applications to justice and humanity, the friends of freedom should be summoned by the voice of God within, and by his providence abroad, to vindicate their rights with other arms, to do a sterner work, to repel despotic force by force, may they not forget, even in this hour of provocation, the spirit which their high calling demands! Let them take the sword with awe, as those on whom a holy function is devolved. Let them regard themselves as ministers and delegates of Him, whose dearest attribute is mercy. Let them not stain their sacred cause by one cruel deed, by the infliction of one needless pang, by shedding without cause one drop of human blood.

APPENDIX.

NAPOLEON'S QUARREL WITH METTERNICH.

Napoleon upbraided Metternich with having favoured his adversaries, by being so tardy in opening the negotiation. He intimated that the Austrian minister perhaps staid away, in order that France might be reduced to a lower state than at the opening of the campaign; while now that he had gained two battles, Austria thrust in her mediation, that he might be prevented from following up his success. In claiming to be a negotiator, Austria, he said, was neither his friend nor his impartial judge—she was his enemy. "You were about to declare yourselves," he said, "when the victory at Lutzen rendered it prudent in the first place to collect more forces. Now you have assembled behind the skreen of the Bohemian mountains 200,000 men, under Schwartzenberg's command. Ah, Metternich! I guess the purpose of your cabinet. You wish to profit by my embarrassments, and seize on the favourable moment to regain as much as you can of what I have taken from you. The only question with you is, whether you will make most by allowing me to ransom myself, or by going to war with me. You are uncertain on that point; and perhaps you only come here to ascertain which is your best course. Well, let us drive a bargain: how much is it you want?"*

To this insulting commencement Metternich replied, that "the only advantage desired by his master, was to see that moderation and respect for the rights of nations which filled his own bosom, restored to the general councils of Europe, and such a well-balanced system introduced as should place the universal tranquillity under the guarantee of an association of independent states."

It was easy to perceive which way this pointed, and to antici pate the conclusion. Napoleon affected to treat it as a figure of speech, which was to cloak the private views of Austria. "I speak clearly," he said, "and come to the point. Will it suit you to accept of Illyria, and to remain neutral? Your neutrality

* The only thing insulting about this commencement is its *truth*. No man ever looked with deeper penetration into the designs of his enemies, open and covert, than did Napoleon; and the instances are not few of his bold, outspoken denunciations of their deceit and perfidy. In his experience of monarchs, by the *grace of God*, he had ever found them fawning and grovelling under adverse circumstances, and utterly devoid of principle and good faith under all circumstances.

is all I require. I can deal with the Russians and Prussians with my own army."

"Ah, sire," replied Metternich, "it depends solely on your majesty to unite all our forces with yours. But the truth must be told. Matters are come to that extremity, that Austria cannot remain neutral—we must be with you, or against you."

After this explicit declaration, from which it was to be inferred, that Austria would not lay aside her arms, unless Bonaparte would comply with the terms which she had fixed upon as the conditions of a general pacification, and that she was determined to refuse all that might be offered as a bribe for her neutrality, the Emperor of France and the Austrian statesman retired into a cabinet, apart from the secretaries, where it is to be presumed Metternich communicated more specifically the conditions which Austria had to propose. Napoleon's voice was presently heard, exclaiming aloud, "What! not only Illyria, but half of Italy, the restoration of the Pope, and the abandoning of Poland, and the resignation of Spain, and Holland, and the Confederation of the Rhine, and Switzerland! Is this your moderation? You hawk about your alliance from the one camp to the other, where the greatest partition of territory is to be obtained, and then you talk of the independence of nations! In plain truth, you would have Italy; Sweden demands Norway; Prussia requires Saxony; England would have Holland and Belgium. You would dismember the French empire; and all these changes to be operated by Austria's mere threat of going to war. Can you pretend to win, by a single stroke of the pen, so many of the strongest fortresses in Europe, the keys of which I have gained by battles and victories? And think you that I will be so docile as to march back my soldiers, with their arms reversed, over the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, and by subscribing a treaty, which is one vast capitulation, deliver myself, like a fool, into the hands of my enemies, and trust for a doubtful permission to exist, to their generosity? Is it when my army is triumphing at the gates of Berlin and Breslau, that Austria hopes to extort such a cession from me, without striking a blow, or drawing a sword? It is an affront to expect it. And is it my father-in-law who entertains such a project? Is it he who sends you to me? In what attitude would he place me before the eyes of the French people! He is in a strange mistake if he supposes that a mutilated throne can, in France, afford shelter to his daughter and his grandson. Ah! Metternich," he concluded, "what has England given you to induce you to make war on me?"

The Austrian minister disdaining to defend himself against so coarse an accusation, only replied by a look of scorn and resentment. A profound silence followed, during which Napoleon and Metternich traversed the apartment with long steps, without looking at each other. Napoleon dropped his hat, perhaps to

give a turn to this awkward situation. But Metternich was too deeply affronted for any office of courtesy, and the emperor was obliged to lift it himself. Bonaparte then resumed the discourse, in a more temperate strain, and said he did not yet despair of peace. He insisted that the congress should be assembled, and that, even if hostilities should recommence, negotiations for peace should, nevertheless, not be discontinued; and, like a wary trader when driving a bargain, he whispered Metternich, that his offer of Illyria was not his last word.

His last word, however, had been in reality spoken, and both he and Metternich were fully acquainted with each other's views. Metternich had refused all private conditions which could be offered to detach Austria from the general cause, and Bonaparte had rejected as an insult any terms which went to lower him to a rank of equality with the other sovereigns of Europe. He would be Cæsar or nothing. It did not mend the prospect of negotiation, that he had formally insulted one of the persons most influential in the Austrian councils. The chance of peace seemed further removed than ever.

Accordingly, all the proceedings at the Congress of Prague were lingering and evasive.—See *Sir Walter Scott's Life of Napoleon.* (*Editor.*)

SWEDISH TREATY.

Art. 1. His Majesty the King of Sweden engages to employ a corps of not less than thirty thousand men in a direct operation upon the continent, against the common enemies of the two high contracting parties. This army shall act in concert with the Russian troops placed under the command of his royal highness the Prince Royal of Sweden, according to stipulations to this effect already existing between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg.

Art. 2. The said Courts having communicated to his Britannic Majesty the engagements subsisting between them, and having formally demanded his said Majesty's accession thereto, and his Majesty the King of Sweden having, by the stipulations contained in the preceding article, given a proof of the desire which animates him to contribute also on his part to the success of the common cause; his Britannic Majesty being desirous, in return, to give an immediate and unequivocal proof of his resolution to join his interests to those of Sweden and Russia, promises and engages by the present Treaty to accede to the conventions already existing between those two powers, insomuch that his Britannic Majesty will not only not oppose any obstacle to the annexation and union in perpetuity of the kingdom of Norway as an integral part to the kingdom of Sweden, but also will assist the views of his Majesty the King of Sweden to that effect, either by his good offices, or by employing, if it should be necessary, his naval co-operation in concert with the Swedish or Russian forces. It is, nevertheless, to be understood, that recourse shall not be had to

force for effecting the union of Norway to Sweden, unless his Majesty the King of Denmark shall have previously refused to join the alliance of the north, upon the conditions stipulated in the engagements subsisting between the Courts of Stockholm and St. Petersburg; and his Majesty the King of Sweden engages that this union shall take place with every possible regard and consideration for the happiness and liberty of the people of Norway.

Art. 3. In order to give more effect to the engagements contracted by his Majesty the King of Sweden, in the first article of the present treaty, which have for object direct operations against the common enemies of the two Powers; and in order to put his Swedish Majesty in a state to begin without loss of time, and as soon as the season shall permit, the said operations, his Britannic Majesty engages to furnish to his Majesty the King of Sweden (independently of other succours which general circumstances may place at his disposal) for the service of the campaign of the present year, as well as for the equipment, the transport, and maintenance of his troops, the sum of one million sterling, payable at London monthly, to the agent who shall be authorized by his Swedish Majesty to receive the same, in such manner as not to exceed the payment of two hundred thousand pounds sterling each month, until the whole shall be paid.

Art. 4. It is agreed between the two high contracting parties that an advance, of which the amount and the time of payment shall be determined between them, and which is to be deducted from the million before stipulated, shall be made to his Majesty the King of Sweden for "mise en campagne," and for the first march of the troops; the remainder of the before-mentioned succours are to commence from the day of the landing of the Swedish army, as it is stipulated by the two high contracting parties in the first article of the present treaty.

Art. 5. The two high contracting parties being desirous of giving a solid and lasting guarantee to their relations, as well political as commercial, his Britannic Majesty, animated with a desire to give to his ally evident proofs of his sincere friendship, consents to cede to his Majesty the King of Sweden, and to his successors to the crown of Sweden, in the order of succession established by his said Majesty and the States-General of his kingdom, under date the 26th of September, 1810, the possession of Guadaloupe, in the West Indies, and to transfer to his Swedish Majesty all the rights of his Britannic Majesty over that island, in so far as his said Majesty actually possesses the same. This colony shall be given up to the commissioners of his Majesty the King of Sweden in the course of the month of August of the present year, or three months after the landing of the Swedish troops on the continent; the whole to take place according to the conditions agreed upon between the two high contracting parties, in the separate article annexed to the present treaty.

Art. 6. As a reciprocal consequence of what has been stipulated in the preceding article, his Majesty the King of Sweden engages to grant, for the space of twenty years, to take date from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty the right of *entrepôt* in the ports of Gottenburg, Carlshamn, and Stralsund, whenever this last-mentioned place shall return under

the Swedish dominion, for all commodities, productions, or merchandise, whether of Great Britain or her colonies, laden on board British or Swedish vessels. The said commodities or merchandise, whether they be of such kind as may be introduced and subject to duty in Sweden, or whether their introduction be prohibited, shall pay without distinction, as duty of *entrepôt*, one per cent. *ad valorem* upon entry, and the same upon discharge: as to every other particular relating to this object, the general regulations existing in Sweden shall be conformed to; treating always the subjects of his Britannic Majesty upon the footing of the most favoured nations.

Art. 7. From the day of the signature of the present treaty, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, reciprocally promise not to separate their mutual interests, and particularly those of Sweden, which are referred to in the present treaty, in any negotiation whatever with their common enemies.

Art. 8. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Stockholm within four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Stockholm, the 2d of March, in the year of our Lord, 1813.

ALEX. HOPE. (L. S.)
ED. THORNTON. (L. S.)
LE COMTE D'ENGESTROM. (L. S.)
G. BARON DE WETTERSTEDT. (L. S.)

CONVERSATIONS OF NAPOLEON WITH CANOVA.

The permanent, or at least temporary, residence of Canova, at Paris, had long been a desideratum with its inhabitants; and in the month of September, 1809, the Duchess of Bracciano, who was in that capital, communicated this wish to her husband in Italy, adding that Madam Mère would receive that great artist in her palace with the most flattering distinction and respect. Whilst, therefore, Canova was engaged upon his statue of Venus, he received, in the name of Napoleon, who was then in Holland, a formal invitation to proceed to Paris. Great hopes were held out to him should he consent. Canova politely excused himself, alleging, among other reasons, that were he required to change his mode of life, he should be lost both to himself and his art, for which alone he lived. We begged Cardinal Fesch and the Chevalier Denon to prevent his being further pressed upon the subject, but, at length, he determined upon going himself to inform the Emperor of his sentiments. His arrival at Paris was announced in great form. On the 11th of October, 1810, he arrived at Fontainebleau, and the next day was presented to Napoleon. The Emperor, says the Abbé Missirini, the biographer of the Italian Phidias, at this time attracted the attention of all Europe; and every circumstance connected with that extraordinary man excited universal admiration. Canova, therefore, having had several very familiar conversations with him, determined upon taking notes of them, under the impression that one day they might be of some importance; he likewise hoped, as he himself said, that they would present a proof of his firmness, since, being neither seduced by flattering offers, nor alarmed by danger, he boldly declared the truth to so powerful a monarch.

On the 12th of October, about noon, Marshal Duroc presented me (says Canova) to Napoleon, who had just sat down to breakfast, and, with the exception of the empress, was alone. "You have grown rather thinner, M. Canova," were the first words he said to me. I replied, that it was the natural effect of my incessant application; after which I respectfully thanked him for the honour he had conferred on me by requiring my attendance, for the purpose of employing me professionally, and of learning my opinions upon the fine arts; I did not, however, conceal, that it was impossible for me to fix my residence out of Rome, the reasons for which I explained to him.*

* No one can doubt that Canova very properly declined to remove himself from the land of his fame and the central depot of art; but the desire on the part of Napoleon that he should do so, and illumine France with the glories of his transcendant talents, is one out of many incidents that lift the emperor above the mob of vulgar conquerors. Napoleon established his power by the sword, but his victories were a gain to the conquered: he gave liberal government for despotism; opened up national resources for the benefit of stagnant, starving, priest-bestrid, and king-ridden communities; founded wholesome civic and social institutions; and set blighted peoples on the road to civilization, refinement, and prosperity. But despotism ultimately triumphed, and Napoleon fell; and the nations were released from *his* bondage to re-enter that of their former masters.

"Paris," said he, "is the capital of the world—you must remain here: we shall make much of you."—"Sire, you may command me, but if it please your Majesty that my life should be devoted to your service, permit me, Sire, to return to Rome, after having completed the object of my visit here." At these words he smiled, and said, "In Paris you will be in your element; for here are all the chef-d'œuvres of art, the Farnese Hercules alone excepted; but we shall soon have that too."—"May it please your Majesty," replied I, "to leave Italy, at least, something. These monuments of antiquity are inseparably connected with many others, which it would be impossible to remove, either from Rome or Naples."—"Italy can indemnify herself by excavations," said he; "I shall order some to be commenced at Rome. Pray has the Pope been at much expense in excavations?"

I informed him that, owing to the want of funds, his Holiness had, at present, expended but little upon this object; but that he was of a generous disposition, and was favourably inclined towards all great undertakings; and that, thanks to his ardent love for science, and to a well-regulated economy, he had succeeded in forming a new Museum."

Napoleon here interrupted me by asking if the Borghese family had been at much expense in excavations; to which I replied that they had not, as they generally undertook them in conjunction with other persons, whose shares they afterwards purchased. I availed myself of this opportunity to convince him, that the people of Rome possessed a sacred right over all the monuments of antiquity which might be discovered on their territory; this being a species of property inherent in the soil, so that neither the noble families of Rome, nor even the Pope himself, had a right to remove these precious remains from Rome, to which city they belonged, as the inheritance of their ancestors, and the reward of their victories. "The Borghese marbles," said he, "cost me fourteen millions. How much does the Pope annually expend upon the fine arts? A hundred thousand crowns?"—"Not so much; for he is extremely poor."—"Great things, then, may be done with much less?"—"Certainly."

The conversation then turned upon the colossal statue of Napoleon, executed by me, and he seemed to wish that it had been in the modern dress. "Omnipotence itself," replied I, "would have failed, had it attempted to represent your Majesty as I now see you, with small clothes, boots, &c. in short, in the French costume. In statuary, as in all other arts, we have our sublime style; the sculptor's sublimity is nakedness, and a kind of drapery peculiar to our art." I then quoted to him several examples from the poets and the ancient monuments. The Emperor appeared convinced by them: happening, however, to speak of the other equestrian statue which I was about to model for him, and knowing that it was with drapery, Napoleon said to me, "And why is not this also represented naked?"—"It must be in the heroic costume," replied I; "nor is it correct that it should be naked in the act in which your Majesty is represented, that of a general on horseback, at the head of his army." I added, that such was the custom of the ancients, and still so that of the moderns; that the ancient kings of France in their equestrian statues had always been so represented, as was likewise that of Joseph II. at Vienna.

"Have you seen," said he, "the bronze statue of General Desaix? It appears to be very ill executed: his sash is ridiculous."

I was about to answer; but he resumed, "Is my statue a full length?"—"It is, Sire, and is already cast very successfully: an engraving has also been executed from it, and the artist wishes to have the honour of dedicating his work to your Majesty. He is an excellent young man, and your magnificence is interested in encouraging young artists, during a period so unpropitious to them."—"I wish to visit Rome," said he. I answered, "That country well deserves to be seen by your Majesty, who will find in it many objects capable of warming your imagination, such as the Capitol, the Forum of Trajan, the Sacred Way, the columns, triumphal arches," &c. &c. I then described to him some magnificent monuments, particularly the Appian Way, from Rome to Brindisi, both sides of which, like the other consular roads, are bordered with tombs. "What is there astonishing in this," said he, "the Romans were masters of the world?"—"It was not only the power," rejoined I, "but Italian genius and our love of the sublime, which produced so many magnificent works. Let your Majesty be pleased to reflect upon what the Florentines alone have done, who possessed but a very straitened territory; what also the Venetians. The Florentines had the courage to raise their wonderful cathedral by an additional tax of one penny in the pound upon the manufacture of woollen stuffs; and this alone was found sufficient for the erection of an edifice, the expenses of which would be too much for the treasury of any modern power. They also caused the gates of St. John to be executed in bronze, by Ghiberti, at the expense of forty thousand sequins, equivalent in the present day to several millions of francs. Let your Majesty also consider their industry, and at the same time their public spirit."

Such was the first conversation, after which I received the necessary orders for commencing the statue of the Empress.

On the 15th of October I began my labours, and continued during several sittings, in which I had always an opportunity of speaking with the Emperor upon different subjects, as I saw him constantly at his breakfast hour, a time in which he was totally unoccupied.

He began by asking me, "If the air of Rome was as bad and unhealthy in the time of the ancients as in our days?"—"It appears to have been so," I replied, "according to the historians. The ancients, it is clear, took precautions against the unwholesome air by means of woods and forests, which they called sacred; besides, the immense population which covered the country diminished the fatal effects of this scourge. I remember to have read in Tacitus, that upon the return of the troops of Vitellius from Germany, they fell ill, from having slept on the Vatican Mount." The Emperor immediately rang for his librarian to bring him Tacitus. We could not meet with the passage, but I sent it him shortly afterwards. He resumed by telling me, that soldiers, who arrived at Rome from distant countries, always fell ill during the first year; but that they afterwards recovered their health. In speaking of Rome, I described to him the desolation of that city; I showed him that this country could not recover itself without the assistance of some great power; that after Rome had lost the Pope, all the foreign ministers, forty cardinals, and more

than two hundred prelates, besides a great number of canons and other ecclesiastics, had already set off; and that the consequence of this emigration would be, that grass would grow in the streets. I observed to him, that a desire for his glory emboldened me to speak candidly to him, and to supplicate him to remedy the want of so much treasure that formerly flowed into Rome from all parts, but which now no longer entered it. "This treasure was not very considerable latterly," said he, "and the cultivation of cotton must be productive of some profit."—"But very little," returned I; "Lucien alone has made a few experiments in its culture: besides, Rome is in want of every thing, and your Majesty's protection is all that is now left it."—"We will make it the capital of Italy," said he, smiling, "and we will also join Naples with it. Well, what do you say? will that please you?"—"The arts," added I, "would also be productive of great prosperity to Rome; but the arts at present languish; and, with the exception of your Majesty and the imperial family, who have given some commissions, artists are now without employment. Religion, which at one time so much contributed to the prosperity of the arts, has nearly become lukewarm and indifferent." Here I proved, by examples drawn from the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, that religion alone had caused the arts to flourish; that vast sums had been employed in the construction of the Parthenon, in the statues of the Olympian Jove, Minerva, &c. &c.; that not only conquerors, but even courtezans, offered their statues to the gods; that the Romans had acted in the same manner; that they had impressed the seal of religion upon all their works, in order to throw round them greater awe and respect; and I cited as examples, their courts, statues, theatres, &c. &c. I afterwards mentioned the master-pieces of modern art, executed from religious motives; the church of St. Marc, at Venice—the cathedrals of Pisa and Orvieto—the Campo Santo of Pisa—and numberless other wonders, filled with statuary and beautiful paintings. My deduction was, that every religion has been favourable to the arts, and the Roman Catholic much more than any other; a chapel and a simple cross suffice for the protestant, and consequently afford no encouragement to the arts. Then the Emperor, turning to Maria Louisa, said, "He is right, religion always promotes the arts, and the protestants can produce nothing great."

The conversation falling upon my benefactor, Pius VII., I thought it my duty to say: "Why does not your Majesty become reconciled, in some degree, with the Pope?"—"Because priests wish to command every where," replied he; "because they wish to meddle with every thing and be masters of everything, like Gregory VII."—"It seems to me that, at present, there is no reason to apprehend this, since your Majesty's power is every where supreme."—"The Popes," added he, "have always hindered the resuscitation of the Italian nation, even when they were not the absolute masters of Rome; and this they effected by means of the factions of the Colonnas and the Orsini."—"Truly," rejoined I, "If the Popes had had your Majesty's courage, they might have found many favourable opportunities of making themselves masters of all Italy."—"As to that, this is what is wanted," cried he, placing his hand on his sword, "this is the one thing needful."—"That is true," replied I: "we have seen that if

Alexander VI. had lived, Duke Valentino would have commenced the conquest of Italy. The attempts of this kind made by Julian II. and Leo X., were, likewise, not unsuccessful; but in general the Popes were elected at too advanced an age, and if one of them was enterprising, the succeeding one, perhaps, was mild and pacific."—"It is the sword that is wanted."—"Not the sword only," replied I, "but also the pastoral staff. Machiavelli himself dared not to decide which of the two had more contributed to the aggrandisement of Rome, the arms of Romulus or the religion of Numa. So true it is, that these two means should be employed simultaneously. If the Pontiffs did not always signalize themselves by military exploits, they however, performed such brilliant actions, as always to excite the admiration of the world."

"What a great people were the Romans!" cried he.—"So they were, undoubtedly, till the second Punic War," added I.—"Cæsar, Cæsar, was the great man," he continued; "not Cæsar only, but some of the succeeding Emperors, such as Titus, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius. . . . The Romans were always great," said he, "till the time of Constantine. The Popes were wrong in fomenting discord in Italy; and in always being the first to call in the French and Germans. They were not capable of being soldiers themselves, and they have lost much."—"Since it is so," rejoined I, "your Majesty will not permit our evils to increase; but I can assure your Majesty, that unless you come to Rome's assistance, this city will become what it was when the Popes transferred the Papal seat to Avignon. Before that time it had immense supplies of water and many fountains; but the aqueducts fell into ruins, and the water of the Tiber was sold in the streets: the city was a desert." At these words he appeared affected, and then said with much vivacity, "Obstacles are thrown in my way: and this too, when I am master of France, Italy, and three-fourths of Germany; I am the successor of Charlemagne. If the present Pope were like his predecessor of that day, all might be arranged. And have not your Venetians also quarrelled with him?"—"Not in the same manner as your Majesty," replied I. "You are so great, Sire, that you could easily grant the Pontiff some spot in which his independence might be conspicuous, and in which he could have the free exercise of his ministry."

"What!" said he, "do I not allow him to do every thing he pleases, so long as he does not interfere in temporal concerns?"—"Yes, but your ministers do not follow your example. As soon as the Pope publishes any order which is displeasing to the French Government, it is immediately annulled."—"How," replied he, "do I not permit the bishops to govern the church as they think fit? Is there no religion here? Who restored the altars? Who protected the clergy?"—"If your Majesty," said I, "had pious subjects, they would be still more attached and submissive to your person."—"This is what I desire," replied he; "but the Pope is German all over;" and so saying this, he looked at the Empress, who said, "I can assure you, that when I was in Germany, the Pope was said to be wholly French."—"He would not," added Napoleon, "drive either the Russians or the English from his dominions. That is the cause of our misunderstanding."

Then I took the liberty of saying, that I had read the papers and justificative pieces printed by the Pope, together with the official documents, and that he appeared to me to have reason on his side. At this instant Marshal Duroc entered; but Napoleon interrupting me, went on—"He has even pretended to excommunicate me. Is he not aware that we might become the same as the English and the Russians?"—"I humbly crave your Majesty's pardon; but the zeal which animates me, inspires me with confidence to speak with freedom: you must allow, Sire, such a schism is contrary to your interests. I sincerely pray that Heaven may grant you a long life; but when misfortune arrives, it is to be feared that some ambitious person might suddenly appear, who for his own views, embracing those of the Pope, might occasion great disturbance in the state. In a short time, Sire, you will be a father; you should think of fixing things upon a solid basis. I earnestly entreat your Majesty to effect, in some shape or other, a reconciliation with the Pope."

"You are then anxious to see us reconciled,—so am I too; but recollect what the Romans were before they had Popes."—"Let your Majesty also reflect how religious the Romans were when they were great. That Cæsar, who is so much celebrated, ascended on his knees the steps of the Capitol to approach the Temple of Jupiter. Armies never engaged unless the religious auspices were favourable; and if a battle were fought, or even gained without them, the general was punished. Marcellus' zeal for sacred things is well known; also how a consul was condemned for having taken off the tiles from the temple of Jupiter, in Greece. In God's name, I entreat your Majesty to protect religion and its chief, and to preserve the beautiful temples of Italy and Rome. It is far more delightful to be the object of affection than that of fear."—"That is what I wish," said he, breaking off the conversation.

Upon another occasion, Venice, its artists and monuments, were the subject of conversation; and he said that he had met with excellent geographical maps in Italy. He inquired of me the names of the architects, and I mentioned the principal ones, giving to each the praise he merited. I then spoke to him of the architect Soli, who was superintending the new edifices, and who had prevented the destruction of the beautiful edifices, as had been proposed. I also mentioned Palladio, and eulogized the engraved plates with which he had enriched Cæsar's Commentaries. I also brought to his remembrance the superb edifices built by him throughout the Venetian state. My recommendation of Venice was so warm that the emotion I felt made my eyes swim with tears, and I said to him, "I assure your Majesty, that the Venetians are a worthy people."—"You speak the truth, I believe them to be so."—"But they are not happy, Sire; commerce is proscribed—the taxes are heavy; in some departments people cannot sustain life: this is the case with Passereano, in favour of which a celebrated pamphlet has been published, which perhaps your Majesty has seen."—"No," said he. I summoned courage, and added; "I have a copy, which I will present to your Majesty, if it be your pleasure." I immediately opened my portfolio, and put the pamphlet into his hands.

Napoleon, looking at the paper, said, "It is short;" and, inter-

rupting his breakfast, read it; after which, "I will speak to Aldini about it," said he. He placed it by his side, and took it away with him when he left the room. Resuming our conversation upon Venice, I expatiated upon the form and spirit of its government, and observed to him, that according to Machiavelli's opinion, it did not appear possible to me that Venice could ever fall. This great politician, going in quality of the Minister from Florence to the Emperor of Germany, wrote thus to Vettore Vettorito: "'My dear Friend—it appears to me, that the Venetians are disposed to take the right road, as they have described Saint Marc with the sword; and truly the book is not sufficient." I added that the Venetians, fearing lest a Cæsar might arise among them, had never consented to having a native general on terra firma; and that, if they had one, without, however, ever enlarging the term of his functions, they would have performed exploits far more brilliant.

"It is true," replied the Emperor, "the prolongation of command is a very dangerous thing: I myself told the Directory, that if they wished continually for war, they would at last find a person who would dictate to them."

Another time the conversation turned upon the Florentines, occasioned by his asking me where I had placed Alfieri's monument. "In the church of Santa Croce," replied I; "where are also those of Michael Angelo and Machiavelli."—"Who paid for it?"—"The Countess of Albany."—Who paid for Machiavelli's monument?"—"I believe it was raised by subscription."—"And that of Galileo?"—"His relations, if I am not mistaken. The church of Santa Croce," continued I, "is in a wretched condition; the rain penetrates through the roof, and a thorough repair is necessary. Your Majesty's glory is interested in the preservation of these fine monuments; if the government takes the revenues, it is but just to leave the donations for the necessary repairs of the building. It is the same with the cathedral of Florence; dilapidations have already commenced, for want of funds to keep it in order. As we are upon the subject of churches, the repositories of interesting works of art, I beg to say, that I am charged to supplicate your Majesty, that you will not permit the monuments of art to be sold to the Jews."—"How sold?" cried he: "all that is worth any thing shall be brought here."

"May it graciously please your Majesty to leave Florence in possession of all its monuments, which are a necessary accompaniment to the works in fresco, which it is impossible to remove. It would even be advisable, that the president of the academy of Florence might be at liberty to take the necessary measures for the preservation of these beautiful specimens, both of architecture and of fresco."

"I am very willing," said he. "It will be glorious for your Majesty; the more so, as I have heard it reported, that your Majesty's family is Florentine." At these words, the Empress turned round and said, "You are not a Corsican then?" "Yes," replied he, "but of Florentine origin." I then added, "that the president of the Academy of Florence, who interested himself with so much zeal in the preservation of the monuments, was the senator of Alessandri, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Florence, one

of whose daughters had formerly been married to a branch of the Bonaparte family. Thus you are an Italian, Sire, and we pride ourselves upon it." "I am so certainly," replied he. I thus immediately interested him in the Academy of Florence.

Another day also, I spoke to him for a considerable time in favour of the Academy of St. Luke, at Rome, which was without a school, revenues, or resources, representing to him the necessity of organizing it on the plan of that of Milan: I again introduced the subject, observing, "Let your Majesty suppose you are minus one musician, or cantatrice, and then endow the Academy of St. Luke." This I said, because I knew that he had given Crescentini a pension of thirty-six thousand francs a-year. Finding him well disposed, I wrote to M. Menneval, the Emperor's private secretary, to inform him, that his Majesty was much inclined to favour the arts at Rome, and that he had promised a decree, of which I desired to be myself the bearer. On the 8th of November, M. Menneval forwarded me, from the Minister Marescalchi, a letter, containing his Majesty's arrangements for the Roman Academy.

Speaking of the Academy and the Roman artists, the Emperor said, "Italy is ill provided with painters; we have much better ones in France." I replied, "That it was some years since I had seen the productions of the French artists, and that therefore I could draw no comparison, but notwithstanding, we had some very distinguished men: Cammuccini and Landi, at Rome; Benvenuti, at Florence; Appiani and Bossi, at Milan; were all very eminent painters." He said, that the French were deficient in colouring; but that they surpassed the Italians in design. I did not fail to observe, that ours also were excellent designers; that leaving Camuccini out of the question, whose great merit is acknowledged, Bossi had produced some delightful outlines, and Appiano had painted in fresco the saloon of his Majesty's palace at Milan, in a style of excellence which, in my opinion, could not be surpassed. "You are right as to fresco; but not as to oil," answered he. I again undertook the defence of our artists, and observed, "That he should remember that the French artists received far greater encouragement; that they were far more numerous; and that if reckoned, their number would be found to exceed that of all the artists in the rest of Europe."

He questioned me about the saloon, and the other architectural works which were executing in Paris; and I eulogized in the manner they deserved, the French artists and their productions. "Have you seen the bronze column?"—"It strikes me as very fine, Sire."—"I do not like those eagles at the corners."—"The same ornament, however, is found on the Trajan column, of which this is an imitation."

"Will the arch constructing in the Wood de Boulogne be a fine one?"—"Particularly so. There are so many of your Majesty's works which are truly worthy of the ancient Romans, especially the magnificent roads."—"Next year," said he, "the Cornice road will be completed, by which you may travel from Paris to Genoa without crossing the snow. I shall make another from Parma to the Gulf of La Spezia, where I intend forming a large harbour."—"These are grand projects," replied I, "worthy of your Majesty's vast genius;

but the preservation of the fine productions of the ancients should not be forgotten."

On the 4th of November, in the evening, I went to the Empress, with her bust in plaister; she placed herself in the same attitude, in order to enable the ladies, who were playing with her, to form a better judgment; and they were all unanimous as to the resemblance. Napoleon was not there. The Empress, therefore, said she would show it him the next morning at breakfast. She then added, "Is it, indeed, true, M. Canova, that you will not remain here?"—"I wish to return immediately to Rome," answered I, "in order that your Majesty, upon your arrival, which I hope will not be long, may find the model of your full-length statue complete." Here the Empress put many questions to me about the manner of making the cast, and of executing it in stone. My statue of the Princess Leopoldina Lœwenstein was spoken of, and the Empress observed, "It was indeed there that ideal beauty was to be found."

Some days afterwards, the Emperor saw the bust: he placed the Empress in the attitude, made her smile, and was much pleased with my work. I told him that the cheerful expression was more consonant with the character of Concord, which I had chosen for the Empress, it being to her that we were indebted for the peace.

The Empress had a slight cold, and I took the liberty of telling her, that she appeared to me to take but little care of her health; that she went a-hunting in an open carriage, which was dangerous, particularly as she was in the family-way.

"You see what she is," said Napoleon: "every one is astonished at it; but women, (striking his forehead with the end of his finger,) women will have their own way. Listen, she now insists upon going to Cherbourg, which is at so great a distance; for my part, I am always telling her to take care of herself. Are you married?"—"No, Sire," replied I; "I have been often on the point of marriage, but several circumstances have preserved me my freedom; add to which, the fear of not meeting with a woman who would love as I should have loved, deterred me from altering my condition, that I mght be more at liberty to devote myself completely to my art."—"Ah! woman, woman!" said Napoleon, smiling and continuing to eat.

As I had several times expressed to him my wish to return to Rome, after having modelled the bust of the Empress, repeating that I wished nothing for myself, it appeared to me that my refusals displeased the Emperor; for, upon my again mentioning the circumstance of my departure, he dismissed me by saying, "Go then, since you will have it so."

NAPOLEON DURING THE HUNDRED DAYS.

REVIEW OF HIS TROOPS, BY NAPOLEON, AT THE TUILERIES.

I HAVE seen him twice: the first time, on Sunday, April 16, 1815, at the review of the national guards; the second time, at the Français, on the following Friday, April 21, at his first visit to that theatre since his return. Having witnessed the first appearance of the Bourbon princes last year in front of the national guard and at the same theatre, I am able to make some comparison between the two receptions, and what is called the popularity, of each dynasty. The first occasion was a trial which some of the female partisans of Napoleon appeared to dread. A rumour had gone about that some violence would be attempted against the Emperor's person by the republicans on the day of the review. Several people whispered the suspicion to me, and added, that the deed was to be done by a female. The time naturally selected for the purpose was the moment when the national guards were to be all under arms, as that body, whatever may be their politics, would, it is thought, defend their properties, and the peace of the city, rather than fly to the revenge of any individual act. I was in the apartments in the Tuileries, allotted to Me. La Reine Hortense, who was present at one of the windows, together with some ladies of the court. The beautiful ——— was of the party: she manifested the utmost inquietude; told me that she had no alarm from the guards, but was uneasy at the appearance of several persons in plain clothes, crowding round the steps of the great porch of the palace, where the Emperor was to mount his horse: however, she recovered herself, and seemed to forget her fears when the discharges of cannon at the Invalides announced the surrender of Marseilles, and the pacification of the whole empire. By half-past one, twenty-four battalions of the guard had marched into the court of the Tuileries. There were no troops of the line or of the Imperial guard under arms on that day, but there were several military men amongst the spectators about the porch, who consisted chiefly of women, and of the above-mentioned persons, apparently of the lower classes. Your friend ——— and myself were, I think, the only gentlemen in plain clothes. We waited silently, and for some time, at the window—the anxiety of the ladies was renewed, but instantly dissipated by the shouts of *vive l' Empereur*, which announced that Napoleon was on horseback. He rode off to the left of the line, but the approaching shouts told that he was returning. An officer rode quickly past the windows, waving his sword to the lines to fall back a little, and shortly afterwards followed Napoleon himself, with his suite, and distinguished, from amidst their waving plumes and glittering uniforms, by the far-famed unornamented hat, and his simple coat, and single star and cross. He cantered down the lines; as he passed near the spot at which I had placed myself for a better view, he suddenly drew up and spoke to a man in the ranks;

an old soldier near me said aloud, without addressing himself to any one (the tears glistening in his eyes), "see how he stops to read the petition of the meanest of his army." I caught repeated glances of him as he glided through the ranks, at the end of each of which he stopped a short time, as well as before several soldiers in the line, who held out petitions for his acceptation. His progress was announced from right to left, and left to right, by continued acclamations. The battalions then moved nearer towards the palace in close order; the gates in front of the triumphal arch were thrown open, and the remaining twenty-four battalions, marching from the *Place du Carousal* into the court, were inspected in the same manner by the Emperor. Afterwards a space was made vacant in the midst of the court, half way between the palace and the triumphal arch. Napoleon advanced thither with his staff drawn round behind him. A large body of the officers of the national guard then quitted their ranks, and rushed towards the Emperor, who addressed them in the speech which you have seen in the Moniteur of the 17th, and which was frequently interrupted by shouts, and received at the close, when he added, "*vous jurez enfin de tout sacrifier à l'honneur et à l'independance de la France,*" by a thousand voices exclaiming, "we swear." After some thronging and movements, the Emperor wheeled round into an open space before the porch of the Tuileries, and put himself in front of his staff to review the whole body of the troops who prepared to pass by in columns of companies; two officers of the guard were kind enough to push me forwards within ten paces of him; many of the spectators were about the same distance from him on his right and his left, whilst a whole line of them stood opposite, just far enough to allow the columns to march between them and the Emperor. The staff were behind; Count Lobau was close upon his left, with his sword drawn: scarcely had a regiment passed when he suddenly threw his foot out of the stirrup, and coming heavily to the ground, advanced in front of his horse, which was led off by an aide-de-camp, who rushed forwards, but was too late to take hold of his stirrup. The marshals and the staff dismounted, except Count Lobau. A grenadier of the guard, without arms, stood at the Emperor's left hand, a little behind; some spectators were close to his right. The gendarmerie on horseback took but little pains to keep them at a respectful distance. The troops were two hours passing before him; during the whole of which time any assassin, unless disarmed by his face of *fascination*, might have shot or even stabbed him.

His face was of a deadly pale; his jaws overhung, but not so much as I had heard; his lips thin, but partially curled, so as to give to his mouth an inexpressible sweetness. He had the habit of retracting the lips, and apparently chewing, in the manner observed and objected to in our great actor, Mr. Kean. His hair was of a dark dusky brown, scattered thinly over his temples: the crown of his head was bald. One of the names of affection given him of late by his soldiers is "*notre petit tondu.*" He was not fat in the upper part of his body, but projected considerably in the abdomen, so much so, that his linen appeared beneath his waistcoat. He generally stood with his hands knit behind or folded before him, but sometimes unfolded them: played with his nose; took snuff three or four times, and looked at

his watch. He seemed to have a labouring, in his chest, sighing or swallowing his spittle. He very seldom spoke, but when he did, smiled, in some sort, agreeably. He looked about him, not knitting but joining his eye-brows as if to see more minutely, and went through the whole tedious ceremony with an air of sedate impatience. As the front columns of each regiment passed him, he lifted the first finger of his left hand quickly to his hat, to return the salute, but did not move either his hat or his head. As the regiments advanced, they shouted, some loudly, some feebly, "*vive l'Empereur*," and many soldiers ran out of their ranks with petitions, which were taken by the grenadier on the Emperor's left hand: once or twice, the petitioner, afraid to quit his rank, was near losing his opportunity, when Napoleon beckoned to the grenadier to step forward and take his paper. A little child, in true French taste, tricked out in regimentals, marched before one of the bands, and a general laugh ensued. Napoleon contrived to talk to some one behind him at that moment, that the ridicule might not reach, nor be partaken by him. A second child, however, of six years old perhaps, dressed out with a beard like a pioneer, marching in front of a regiment, strode directly up to him with a petition on the end of a battle-axe, which the Emperor took and read very complacently. Shortly after, an ill-looking fellow, in a half suit of regimentals, with a sword by his side, ran from the crowd of spectators, opposite or from amidst the national guards, I could not see which, and rushed directly towards the Emperor. He was within arm's length, when the grenadier on the left and an officer jumped forwards, and seizing him by the collar, pushed him farther back. Napoleon did not move a muscle of his body; not a line, not a shade of his face shifted for an instant. Perfectly unstartled, he beckoned the soldiers to let loose their prisoner; and the poor fellow approaching so close as almost to touch his person in front, talked to him for some time with eager gestures, and his hand on his heart. The Emperor heard him without interruption, and then gave him an answer, which sent him away apparently much satisfied with his audience. I see Napoleon at this moment. The unruffled calmness of his countenance, at the first movement of the soldier, relaxing softly into a look of attention and of kindness, will never be erased from my memory.

During the review, hearing a movement amongst his staff, he turned round, and seeing that it arose from a very pretty countrywoman of ours, whom one of his aides-de-camp was placing near him, replied to her courtesies with a very low bow.

The last regiment of the national guards was followed by ninety boys of the Imperial Lyceum, who came rushing by, shouting, and running, many of them out of their ranks, with petitions. Then, for the first time, Napoleon seemed delighted; he opened his mouth almost to a laugh, and turned round to his attendants on the right and left with every sign of satisfaction. These youths wished to fight the last year at the defence of Paris, and they are now again enrolled.

As to Napoleon's reception at the *Français*, it is impossible to give any idea of the joy by which he was hailed. The house was choked with spectators, who crowded into the orchestra. The play was Hector. Previously to the rising of the curtain, the airs of La Victoire and the Marseillaise were called for and performed amidst thunders of applause,

the spectators joining in the burden of the song. An actor of the Feydeau rose in the balcony and sung some occasional words to the Marseillaise, which were received in raptures, and accompanied by the whole house at the end of each verse. The enthusiasm was at its utmost pitch. Napoleon entered at the third scene. The whole mass rose with a shout which still thunders in my ears. The *vives* continued till the Emperor, after bowing to the right and left, had seated himself, and the play was recommenced. The audience received every speech which had the least reference to their returned hero with unnumbered plaudits. The words "*enfin il reparoit,*" and "*c'étoit lui,*" —*Achille,* raised the whole parterre, and interrupted the actor for some moments. Napoleon was very attentive; whilst I saw him, he spoke to none of those who stood behind him, nor returned the compliments of the audience: he withdrew suddenly at the end of the play, without any notice or obeisance, so that the multitude had hardly time to salute him with a short shout. As I mentioned before, I saw the Bourbon princes received, for the first time, in the same place last year. Their greeting will bear no comparison with that of Napoleon, nor will any of those accorded to the heroes of the very many ceremonies I have witnessed in the course of my life. Mr. Talma played Hector in his usual powerful style; and having mentioned the name of this great actor, I cannot forbear adding a story I heard from him, which shows that Napoleon has some ability in turning a kind compliment. At the first meeting between the Emperor and actor since the return from Elba, the former, addressing him with his usual familiarity, said, "So, Talma, Chateaubriand says that you gave me lessons how to act the Emperor: I take his hint as a compliment, for it shows I must at least have played my part well."

The intimacy between the master and the scholar has been of long standing: the reputation of the former was established when the latter was scarcely known, and the young officer accepted of admissions for the theatre from his acquaintance. At that time one of the principal amusements of the two friends, together with that of a third person, a Mr. Le Noire, afterwards a general, was the relation of stories of ghosts and old castles, into which (the candles being extinguished) the future conqueror of Europe entered with all his heart, and was seriously offended when his companions interrupted him by tripping up his chair, shaking the table, or any other practical pleasantry.

PARIS ON THE ENTRANCE OF NAPOLEON.

Paris, on the entry of Napoleon, presented but a mournful spectacle. The crowd which went out to meet the Emperor remained in the outskirts of the city; the shops were shut; no one appeared at the windows; the boulevards were lined with a multitude collected about the many mountebanks, tumblers, &c., which for the two last days had been placed there in greater numbers than usual by the police, in order to divert the populace. There was no noise nor any acclamations; a few low murmurs and whispers were alone heard, when the spectators of these open shows turned round to look at the string of six or eight carriages, which preceded the imperial troops. The regiments then passed along, and cried out *Vive l'Empereur ;—*

not a word from any one. They tried the more popular and ancient exclamation, *Vive Bonaparte ;*—all still silent. The patience of the dragoons was exhausted ; some brandished their swords, others drew their pistols, and rode into the alleys amidst the people, exclaiming, "*crie, donc, Vive l'Empereur!*" but the crowd only gave way, and retreated without uttering a word.

UNION OF THE WORKMEN OF ST. ANTOINE.

On Sunday last, May 14, a body of the workmen of St. Antoine and St. Marceau, representing a federation, which had two days before formed itself in those suburbs, to the number of 30,000, marched before the Emperor at the Tuileries. The express purpose of this union is to form a body of sharpshooters to fight in advance of the national guard, in case the enemy shall present itself before the capital. They demand arms, with which they promise to guarantee Paris against the reappearance of the allies. The number of those who were ranged in order of battle at the court of the Tuileries, and passed Napoleon previously to his review of some regiments of the line and of the young guard, amounted to 12,000 ; they had demanded this presentation, but had made no preparation for appearing before their Emperor, the greater part being in their labouring dresses, and in their dustmen's hats : nevertheless, when drawn up and when marching, they fell so easily into their ranks, and proceeded in such order, that they might, in any other country, have been taken for old soldiers ; indeed, many of them have served.

On the 30th of March, the works of Paris were re-commenced at the fountain of the Elephant, the Louvre, the new market-place of St. Germains, and the office of foreign affairs : the next week the workmen were doubled ; the streets recovered their former names ; the public buildings their imperial inscriptions ; the theatres were declared on their ancient footing ; and the imperial conservatory, for the education and maintenance of actors and singers of both sexes, restored. This is the only establishment of the kind in Europe ; it was commenced under the republic, but received its present endowment chiefly from Napoleon. The representations take place every other Sunday, at two o'clock, when the pupils, in their usual dresses, sing and recite portions of operas and plays to an audience which pays for admission, and thus contributes to support the institution. M. Talma is the principal professor of declamation. The suppression of the conservatory by the Bourbons was a measure the economy of which was not sufficiently considerable to be set off against the odium occasioned by this declaration against the amusements of the Parisians, who had rather be limited to their ounces of bread, as in the days of terror, than be deprived of their shows.

FÊTE GIVEN BY THE IMPERIAL GUARD.

On this Sunday, the 2d, the imperial guard gave a fête to the national guard and garrison of Paris, in the Champ de Mars. The common soldiers, to the number of 15,000, were placed at tables in the open air ; whilst the officers dined in the galleries of the palace of the mi-

litary school. After the repast, which was served up in presence of an immense multitude, on the sloping sides of the plain, and which was interrupted by many military songs and other toasts to the health of the Emperor, the Empress, and the imperial prince (for so the King of Rome is now denominated), repeated to the sound of music, and discharges of artillery, the whole mass of guests and spectators rose to the shout of some voices which cried out, "To the column!" The procession, carrying a bust of the Emperor, with music, moved towards the Tuileries, and presented itself under the imperial apartments with unceasing acclamations, to which Napoleon replied by appearing at the window, and saluting the enthusiastic multitude, who then repaired to the column of the grand army in the square Vendôme, under which the bust of Napoleon received a solemn inauguration; at which moment the pedestal of the pillar and the houses of the square were spontaneously illuminated, and rings of soldiers, national guards, and citizens, danced round the monument of their former glories. The evening ended with a procession round the boulevards, the palais royal, and principal streets of the neighbouring quarter. No excesses, no insulting of royalists, no turbulent shouts, or menacing gestures; in short, no sign of the triumph of one citizen over another was displayed during this fête.—*Letters written from Paris during the last reign of Napoleon.*

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